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FREEDOM AND FELLOWSHIP IN RELIGION

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS OF THE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

HELD AT BOSTON, U.S.A., SEPTEMBER 22-27, 1907

EDITED BY

CHARLES W. WENDTE

"Freedom is re-created year by year
By hearts wide open on the Godward side."

J. R. Lowell

WITH FIFTY-FIVE PORTRAITS

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL
BOSTON, MASS.

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FOREWORD.

The present volume contains the proceedings, addresses, and papers of the Fourth International Congress, held in Boston, September 22-27, under the auspices of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers. This Council was organized in Boston in May, 1900, at a meeting in Channing Hall, called and presided over by Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, D.D., president of the American Unitarian Association, of which Rev. Charles W. Wendte was secretary, and which was participated in by a number of representative foreign liberals. Its purpose is "to open communication with those in all lands who are striving to UNITE PURE RELIGION AND PERFECT LIBERTY, and to increase fellowship and co-operation among them."

This International Council seeks to bring into closer union, for exchange of ideas, mutual service, and the promotion of their common aims, the historic liberal churches, the liberal elements in all churches, the scattered liberal congregations and isolated workers for religious freedom and progress in many lands.

It aims to be a source of encouragement and strength to them in their struggles against dogmatic intolerance and ecclesiastical tyranny.

It cultivates large and fraternal relations with the great liberal movements in religion now going on under various names and auspices throughout the world.

To promote these ends, it holds a biennial or triennial Congress in some acknowledged seat of religious enlightenment and freedom, the general arrangements for which are intrusted to the liberal bodies and communities which have extended the invitation. Such Congresses have been held in London (1901), Amsterdam (1903), and Geneva (1905), attended by from 500 to 1,000 members, representing fifteen nationalities and some twenty-five religious fellowships.

The papers and proceedings of these Congresses have been published in three volumes.*

The next session is to be held in Berlin, Germany, in 1910, by invitation of several liberal associations of that country.

A general description of the Fourth Congress, held in Boston, the most largely attended and successful thus far held, will be found on page 18 of this book. The present volume includes the papers, addresses, and record of proceedings of all its meetings, except two or three of the smaller gatherings and the banquet. The speeches at the latter, while delightful, were mostly of a post-prandial nature, and were fully reported in the *Boston Christian Register* of Oct. 10, 1907.

The papers and addresses before the Boston Congress were all read in English, save three, but many of them were translated from their originals in foreign tongues. Various hands were engaged in this task. The essay of Professor Otto Pfeleiderer, and Professor Martin Rade's paper on "The Burden and Blessing of Tradition," were rendered into English by Rev. J. F. C. Meyer, of South Natick. Rev. E. W. Lummis, at present pastor in Fuldera, Switzerland, made the English version of the address by Rev. L. Ragaz on "The Ethical Basis of Liberal Christianity." Miss Lilian Muldowney rendered into English the address by Rev. E. Rochat. The editor of this volume is responsible for the translation of papers by Professor R. Eucken, Rev. G. Schoenholzer, and Abbé Houtin, and the revision of all the addresses of non-English-speaking delegates. Most of the speakers were able to look over the proofs of their own articles before their inclusion in this volume. It is believed, therefore, that substantial accuracy has been attained,—a somewhat difficult task in

* "Liberal Religious Thought at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century." 354 pp. Addresses and Proceedings of the First Congress of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Thinkers and Workers, held in London, May 30 to June 1, 1901. Edited by W. Copeland Bowie, London. Two shillings. Fifty cents.

"Religion and Liberty." 555 pp. Addresses and Proceedings of the Second Congress of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, held in Amsterdam, Holland, Sept. 1 to 4, 1903. Edited by P. H. Hugenoltz, Jr., Leiden. Two shillings. Fifty cents.

"Actes du III^{me} Congrès Internationale du Christianisme Libéral et Progressif." 350 pp. Octavo. Addresses and Proceedings at the Third Congress of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, held in Geneva, Aug. 28-31, 1905. Edited by E. Montet, Geneva. Ten of the papers in English. Two shillings. Fifty cents. These volumes are on sale by Philip Green, 5 Essex Street, Strand, London, and the American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, U.S.A.

view of the many languages spoken by the representatives of sixteen nations who participated in the meetings and the brief space of time (three months) which has elapsed since the adjournment of the Congress. It is hoped that the portraits and other illustrations scattered throughout the book may add to its interest. To our regret, certain others we desired to include were unobtainable.

The editor returns his sincere acknowledgments to the authors of papers, the President and committees of the Congress, and to his fellow-workers in all departments of its activity for their counsel and aid in the preparation of this book.

CHARLES W. WENDTE.

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Hon. MARCUS P. KNOWLTON, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

Hon. HENRY W. LAWRENCE, Salt Lake City.

HENRY C. LEA, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.

Hon. JAMES P. LEATHER, justice of the Superior Court of Indiana.

Hon. JOHN D. LONG, former governor of Massachusetts and ex-Secretary of the Navy.

Miss ALICE M. LONGFELLOW, Cambridge.

Hon. WILLIAM CALEB LORING, justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

Miss EMMA C. LOW, president of the National Alliance of Unitarian Women.

Rev. CLAY MACCAULEY, Boston, Mass.

ST. CLAIR MCKELWAY, Esq., editor of the *Brooklyn Eagle*.

Professor GEORGE F. MOORE, D.D., professor in Harvard University.

Hon. THOMAS J. MORRIS, D.D., United States Circuit Judge, Baltimore, Md.

Hon. JAMES M. MORTON, justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

- Rev. PHILIP S. MOXOM, D.D., minister of the South Congregational Church, Springfield.
- Rev. THEODORE T. MUNGER, D.D., New Haven, Conn.
- Professor CHARLES E. NORTON, professor emeritus in Harvard University.
- Hon. THOMAS W. PALMER, *ex-United States senator from Michigan.*
- Hon. GEORGE C. PERKINS, *United States senator from California.*
- President HENRY S. PRITCHETT, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Hon. FRANK S. ROBY, judge of the Appellate Court of Indiana.
- JACOB H. SCHIFF, Esq., New York, N.Y.
- Professor NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, professor of Semitic languages and literature, Cornell University.
- President JACOB G. SCHURMAN, president of Cornell University.
- President L. CLARK SEELYE, president of Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- President WILLIAM F. SLOCUM, president of Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.
- ALBERT K. SMILEY, Esq., Lake Mohonk, N.Y.
- Hon. GOLDWIN SMITH, Toronto, Canada.
- EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN, LL.D., New York.
- Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUS, United States Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D.C.
- Rev. JOSIAH STRONG, president of the American Institute of Social Service, New York.
- Rev. J. J. SUMMERBELL, D.D., Dayton, Ohio.
- President JOSEPH SWAIN, president of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.
- Hon. WILLIAM H. TAFT, United States Secretary of War, Washington, D.C.
- President JAMES M. TAYLOR, president of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
- President CHARLES F. THWING, president of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Dr. BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, secretary of the American Peace Society, Boston.
- President CHARLES R. VAN HISE, president of the University of Wisconsin.
- Judge REUBEN E. WALKER, justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire.
- Hon. WILLIAM D. WASHBURN, *ex-United States senator from Minnesota.*
- Rev. JOHN B. WESTON, D.D., president Christian Biblical Institute, New York.
- President BENJAMIN I. WHEELER, president of the University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Hon. ALFRED T. WHITE, Brooklyn, N.Y.
- Dr. JAMES M. WHITON, chairman New York State Conference of Religion.
- HENRY W. WILBUR, general secretary Friends' General Conference, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Hon. WILLARD A. WHITE, Bois , Ida.
- Mrs. ROGER WOLCOTT, Milton, Mass.
- Dr. ROBERT S. WOODWARD, president of Carnegie Institute, Washington, D.C.
- Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, president of Clark College, Worcester, Mass.

FOREIGN DELEGATES IN ATTENDANCE ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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| Rev. Alexander O. Ashworth, Belfast,
Ireland. | Rev. E. Gwilym Evans, Dukinfield. |
| Mrs. Alexander O. Ashworth, Belfast,
Ireland. | Rev. James Forrest, Glasgow. |
| John W. Barlow, Bury. | Mrs. James Forrest, Glasgow. |
| Thomas Beaumont, Sheffield. | Miss Rebecca Gardner, Horsham. |
| Arthur V. Billson, Ashleigh. | Miss M. Goodyer, Wilmslow. |
| Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, London. | Rev. J. L. Haigh, Liverpool. |
| Mrs. W. Copeland Bowie, London. | Mrs. J. L. Haigh, Liverpool. |
| Miss Clara Copeland Bowie, London. | Miss E. Hankinson, Wilmslow. |
| Sir William Bowring, Bart., Liverpool. | Rev. F. Hankinson, London. |
| Lady Bowring, Liverpool. | Simon Harris, Hull. |
| Henry R. Bramley, Sheffield. | Mrs. Simon Harris, Hull. |
| Rev. Jabez A. Brinkworth, Saffron
Walden. | Rev. Wiltred Harris, Bolton. |
| Miss Ethel Brooks, Wilmslow. | Rev. Charles Harvey-Cook, Warring-
ton. |
| Miss Fanny Brooks, Wilmslow. | Miss Helen Brooke Herford, London. |
| Miss Lucy Brooks, Wilmslow. | Rev. F. Savell Hicks, London. |
| Miss Jane E. Brown, Leeds. | Rev. J. Crowther Hirst, Liverpool. |
| Miss Carstairs, Liverpool. | Rev. W. Holmshaw, Manchester. |
| Herbert S. Carter, Parkstone, Dorset. | Mrs. W. Holmshaw, Manchester. |
| Rev. Benjamin C. Constable, Stock-
port. | Rev. John Hunter, Glasgow. |
| Miss Emily Cooke, Liverpool. | Rev. Arthur Hurn, London. |
| Rev. Gordon Cooper, London. | Rev. T. J. Jenkins, Hinckley. |
| Mrs. M. Evelyn Crompton, Bolton. | Miss Harriet M. Johnson, Liverpool. |
| Miss Edith Cropper, Bolton. | Rev. E. Ceredig Jones, Bradford. |
| Dr. W. Evans Darby, London. | Rev. J. A. Kelly, Belfast, Ireland. |
| Rev. J. Tyssul Davis, Chatham. | Rev. W. H. Lambelle, Middles-
brough. |
| Rev. Valentine D. Davis, London. | Herbert B. Lawford, London. |
| Rev. A. H. Dolphin, Sheffield. | T. Oliver Lee, Birmingham. |
| Miss Jane Duncan, Richmond, Surrey. | Miss E. Rosalind Lee, Stourbridge. |
| Rev. Thomas Dunkerley, Comber,
Ireland. | Fred. Maddison, M.P., London. |
| Rev. T. E. M. Edwards, London. | Rev. John McDowell, Bath. |
| Rev. John Ellis, Halifax. | H. B. Melville, Kirkcaldy, Scotland. |
| Rev. E. D. Priestley Evans, Bury. | Mrs. H. B. Melville, Kirkcaldy,
Scotland. |
| | Miss Dorothy A. Nicholson, Hale. |
| | George J. Notcutt, Ipswich. |

- Mrs. E. M. Ormrod, Bolton.
 Rev. A. Ernest Parry, Birkenhead.
 Rev. Thomas Paxton, Birmingham.
 Mrs. Thomas Paxton, Birmingham.
 Rev. Charles Peach, Manchester.
 Rev. J. Arthur Pearson, Oldham.
 Mrs. J. Arthur Pearson, Oldham.
 Rev. Gertrude von Petzold, Leicester.
 Col. Thomas Phillips, Aberdare,
 So. Wales.
 Rev. J. Channing Pollard, Lancaster.
 Rev. W. W. Chynoweth Pope, London.
 John Preston, Stockport.
 Mrs. John Preston, Stockport.
 Rev. W. G. Price, Dukinfield.
 Rev. Henry Rawlings, M.A., London.
 Rev. H. D. Roberts, Liverpool.
 Mrs. H. D. Roberts, Liverpool.
 Reuben Robertson, Lytham.
 Rev. Thomas Robinson, Altrincham.
 Rev. Charles Roper, London.
 Rev. J. Ruddle, Sheffield.
 Mrs. Henry Rutt, London.
 Rev. Matthew R. Scott, Bolton.
 Miss A. Elizabeth Shaen, London.
 Rev. William R. Shanks, Leeds.
 William Shaw, Dukinfield.
 Miss Fanny A. Short, London.
 Rev. H. Bodell Smith, Manchester.
 Rev. Thomas P. Spedding, Stockport.
 Miss Elizabeth J. Spencer, Southampton.
 Rev. James E. Stead, Manchester.
 Rev. Christopher J. Street, Sheffield.
 Rev. Frederick Summers, London.
 Mrs. Frederick Summers, London.
 Miss E. E. Talbot, London.
 Rev. W. G. Tarrant, London.
 Rev. Hugon S. Tayler, Chesterfield.
 Rev. Felix Taylor, Richmond.
 Miss Harriet Taylor, Bolton.
 Rev. A. Hermann Thomas, Lough-
 borough.
 Rev. T. Arthur Thomas, Llandyssul,
 Wales.
 Rev. Charles Travers, Preston.
 Rev. William L. Tucker, London.
 Rev. Ellison A. Voysey, Northampton.
 John A. Wadsworth, Halifax.
 Rev. Alexander Webster, Aberdeen,
 Scotland.
 Miss Christine Wells, St. Albans, Scot-
 land.
 Ernest J. White, Bath.
 J. Harrop White, Mansfield.
 Mrs. J. Harrop White, Mansfield.
 Louis N. Williams, Aberdare, So.
 Wales.
 Jeremiah Wigley, Manchester.
 Miss Robina Winn, Hull.
 Rev. J. J. Wright, Manchester.
 Rev. C. M. Wright, Birmingham.
 Rev. Isaac Wrigley, Stourbridge.

AUSTRIA.

Professor Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, Dr. Philos., University of Prague;
 Mrs. Olga Masaryk, Prague; Miss Masaryk, Prague.

DENMARK.

Mr. Theo. Berg, Copenhagen, editor *Lys Over Landet*.

FRANCE.

Professor A. Gaston Bonet-Maury, D.D., LL.D., University of Paris; Abbé
 A. Houtin, Paris; Professor Jean Réville, D.D., Collège de France, Paris;
 Madame Réville, Paris; T. R. Slattery, Paris.

GERMANY.

Rev. Max Fischer, D.D., pastor St. Mark's Church, Berlin; Fräulein Margarete Fischer, Berlin; Professor Otto Pfeiderer, D.D., University of Berlin; Professor Martin Rade, D.D., University of Marburg; Frau Rade, Marburg; Dr. Janet Perkins, Berlin; Dr. Wilhelm Cohnstaedt, Frankfort-am-Main.

GUIANA, DUTCH SOUTH AMERICA.

Mr. Rudolphus L. Worst, Paramaribo.

HOLLAND.

Rev. F. C. Fleischer, pastor Mennonite Church, Makkum; Professor H. Y. Groenewegen, D.D., University of Leiden; Rev. P. H. Hugenholtz, Jr., pastor Free Congregation, Amsterdam; Professor H. U. Meyboom, D.D., University of Groningen; Miss Meyboom, Groningen; Miss A. Opwyrda, The Hague; Miss Theodora van Eck, Oegstgelt; Miss Agnes Henny, Zutphen.

HUNGARY.

Rev. Nicolas Jozan, pastor Unitarian Congregation, Budapest.

INDIA.

M. Barakatullah, Bhopal; S. L. Joshi, Calcutta; D. L. Joshi, Calcutta, Professor Sakharan Ganesh Pandit, Bombay; Professor G. Subba Rau, M.A., Calicut; S. C. K. Rutnam, M.A., Ceylon; B. M. Sehanavis, B.A., Calcutta.

ITALY.

Rev. L. E. Tony André, D.D., pastor Evangelical Reformed Church, Florence.

JAPAN.

Rev. Saichiro Kanda, Tokio; Sakyo Kanda, Tokio; Miss Catherine Osborn, Universalist Mission, Tokio; Sakusuke Momekura, Tokio; T. Watanabe; K. Kanokogi.

NEW ZEALAND.

Miss Mary E. Richmond, Wellington.

SWEDEN.

Professor O. E. Lindberg, Gotheburg.

SWITZERLAND.

Professor Édouard Montet, D.D., dean Theological Faculty, University of Geneva; Rev Leonhard Ragaz, pastor at the cathedral, Basel; Mrs. Ragaz, Basel; Rev. Ernest Rochat, D.D., pastor, Geneva; Rev. G. Schoenholzer, pastor New Minster, Zürich.

UNITED STATES.

The enrolled members of American nationality in the Boston International Congress numbered over twenty-two hundred. The names of many who took a prominent part in the meetings will be found scattered through the pages of this volume.

OFFICIAL DELEGATES TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS AT BOSTON, SEPTEMBER, 1907.

NOTE.—Names marked with an asterisk are those of delegates who, so far as known, were unable to attend the Congress.

DELEGATES FROM ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

1. AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION: S. A. Eliot, D.D., *President*; Rev. Charles E. St. John, *Secretary*; Mr. Francis H. Lincoln, *Treasurer*.

2. NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF UNITARIAN AND OTHER CHRISTIAN CHURCHES: Hon. Carroll D. Wright, *President*; Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, *Chairman of the Council*; Rev. Walter F. Greenman, *Secretary*.

3. NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF UNITARIAN AND OTHER LIBERAL CHRISTIAN WOMEN: Miss Emma C. Low, *President*; Mrs. Emily A. Field; Mrs. R. H. Davis.

4. WESTERN UNITARIAN CONFERENCE: *Rev. Wilson M. Backus, *Secretary*; Rev. Miss Mary A. Safford, *Secretary*; Rev. Minot O. Simons; Rev. John W. Day.

5. UNITARIAN SUNDAY SCHOOL SOCIETY: Rev. Edward A. Horton, *President*; Rev. W. I. Lawrance.

6. UNITARIAN CONFERENCE OF THE MIDDLE STATES AND CANADA: Rev. Thomas R. Slicer, D.D.; Rev. George H. Badger, *Secretary*; Rev. William S. Barnes.

7. SOUTHERN CONFERENCE OF UNITARIAN AND OTHER CHRISTIAN CHURCHES: Rev. William H. Ramsay; Rev. Clifton M. Gray, *Secretary*.

8. PACIFIC UNITARIAN CONFERENCE: *Hon. Horace Davis, Rev. W. G. Eliot, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Henry F. Spencer.

9. YOUNG PEOPLE'S RELIGIOUS UNION: Mr. Fred. G. Melcher, Miss Elizabeth Loring.

10. MINISTERIAL UNION: Rev. Henry C. De Long, Rev. Roderick Stebbins, Rev. Eugene R. Shippen.

11. FACULTY OF DIVINITY IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY: Professor William Wallace Fenn, *Dean*; Professor George F. Moore, D.D.

12. MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL: Rev. Franklin C. Southworth, *President*; Professor Francis A. Christie; Professor George L. Cary, D.D.; Professor H. H. Barber.

13. PACIFIC UNITARIAN SCHOOL FOR THE MINISTRY: *Rev. George W. Stone, *Mr. and Mrs. Francis Cutting.

14. BOSTON ASSOCIATION OF MINISTERS: Rev. W. H. Lyon, D.D., Moderator; Rev. James Huxtable, *Scribe*.

15. BENEVOLENT FRATERNITY OF CHURCHES: Rev. P. R. Frothingham, *President*; Mr. Courtenay Guild; Mr. Ernest Jackson, *Secretary*.

16. CHILDREN'S MISSION: Mr. Parker B. Field, Mr. Henry M. Williams.

17. SOCIETY FOR MINISTERIAL RELIEF: Mr. Thomas Minns, Mr. Arthur T. Lyman.

18. UNITARIAN CLUB, BOSTON: Mr. Solomon Lincoln, *President*; Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, *Secretary*.

19. CHANNING CLUB: Mr. Geo. H. Ellis, *President*; Mr. Henry C. Noble; Mr. Frederick W. Porter, *Secretary*.

20. HARVARD UNITARIAN CLUB: Rev. E. M. Slocombe, Mr. Paul S. Phalen.

21. THE NORSE UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA: Rev. Amadeus Norman, Prof. J. J. Skoerdalsvald, *Hon. A. O. Owen.

22. MINISTERS' INSTITUTE: Rev. Augustus M. Lord, Rev. Frank W. Pratt.

23. UNIVERSALIST GENERAL CONVENTION: Rev. J. C. Adams, D.D.; Rev. M. D. Shutter, D.D.; Rev. Lee S. McColester, D.D.; Rev. George L. Perin, D.D.; Rev. W. C. Selleck, D.D.; Rev. Florence K. Crooker; Mr. Henry M. Dodge; Mr. Hosea Ballou.

24. WOMEN'S NATIONAL MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH: Mrs. Cordelia A. Quimby, Mrs. Marion D. Shutter, Mrs. Adclaide B. Kimmel, Miss Catherine Osborne, Miss Emma F. Foster.

25. MASSACHUSETTS UNIVERSALIST CONVENTION: Rev. R. Perry Bush, D.D.; Rev. George F. Knight, D.D.

26. CRANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, TUFTS COLLEGE: F. W. Hamilton, D.D., *President*; Rev. George F. Knight, D.D.

27. THEOLOGICAL FACULTY OF ST. LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY: Rev. Henry P. Forbes, *Dean*.

28. GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS: Joseph J. Janney William G. Brown, Elizabeth Powell Bond, Susan W. Janney, R. Barclay Spicer, Sarah T. Miller, Bertha Janney, Sarah Gardner Magill, Ruth C. Wilson, Eliza M. Wilbur, Elwood Roberts, Samuel Livesey, Mary Travilla, George A. McDowell, Harry A. Hawkins, Rachel W. Underhill, Anna M. Jackson, Norwood P. Hallowell, Dr. Joseph Swain, Elizabeth G. Haviland, John W. Hutchinson, Ellwood Burdsall, T. O. Atkinson, Benjamin H. Miller, Edward A. Pennock, Edward H. Magill, Isaac Wilson, Henry W. Wilbur, Phebe Wilbur Griffin, Mrs. Elwood Roberts, Mary R. Livesey, Edward P. Thomas, Jane C. McDowell, Charles F. Underhill, William M. Jackson, Job H. Wilbur, Sarah H. Hallowell, James S. Haviland, Martha G. Haviland, E. Eliza Hutchinson, Luella M. Burdsall, Ellen D. Smith.

29. AMERICAN CHRISTIAN CONVENTION: Rev. J. J. Summerbell, D.D.; Rev. J. B. Weston, D.D.; Rev. Alva H. Morrill, D.D.; Rev. George A. Conibear.

30. GERMAN EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF PITTSBURG, CINCINNATI, AND

ST. LOUIS: Rev. Hugo Eisenlohr; *Rev. Charles Voss; *Rev. J. H. Asbeck, D.D.; *Rev. Pedro Ilgen, D.D.

31. FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA: Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Rev. Charles W. Wendte.

32. CONGRESS OF RELIGION: Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, *Rev. C. A. Osborne, Miss Mary E. Hawley.

33. NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE OF RELIGION: Dr. J. M. Whiton, *Rabbi Silberman, Rev. Thomas R. Slicer.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

(32 Associations.)

34. BRITISH AND FOREIGN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION: Sir W. B. Bowring, Bart.; Rev. W. Copeland Bowie; Rev. V. D. Davis, B.A.; Rev. C. J. Street, M.A., LL.B; Rev. W. G. Tarrant, B.A.

DISTRICT SOCIETIES, ENGLAND.

35. East Cheshire Christian Union: Rev. B. C. Constable.
36. Eastern Union of Unitarian and Other Free Christian Churches: Mr. G. J. Notcutt.
37. Liverpool District Missionary Association: Rev. H. D. Roberts.
38. London District Unitarian Society: Rev. E. Savell Hicks, M.A.
39. London and South Eastern Counties Provincial Assembly: Rev. T. E. M. Edwards.
40. Manchester District Association: Rev. W. Holmshaw, Rev. C. Peach.
41. Midland Christian Union: Rev. I. Wrigley, Mr. T. Oliver Lee.
42. Midland Sunday School Association: Rev. Thomas and Mrs. Paxton.
43. North and East Lancashire Unitarian Mission: Rev. J. J. Wright.
44. North Lancashire and Westmoreland Unitarian Association: Rev. Charles Travers, Rev. J. C. Pollard.
45. North Midland Presbyterian and Unitarian Association: Rev. A. Herman Thomas, Mrs. Harrop White.
46. Northumberland and Durham Unitarian Association: Rev. W. H. Lambelle.
47. Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire: Rev. T. P. Spedding.
48. Southern Unitarian Association: Mr. H. S. Carter, Miss E. J. Spencer.
49. Western Union of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches: Rev. John McDowell.
50. Yorkshire Unitarian Union: Mr. H. Bramley, Mr. T. Beaumont.

DISTRICT SOCIETIES, WALES.

51. South Wales Unitarian Association: Rev. T. A. Thomas.
52. South-east Wales Unitarian Society: Mr. L. N. Williams.

SCOTLAND.

53. Scottish Unitarian Association: Rev. James Forrest, M.A.

IRELAND.

54. Association of Irish Non-subscribing Presbyterians and Other Free Churches: Rev. T. Dunkerley, B.A., Rev. J. A. Kelly.

GENERAL SOCIETIES, GREAT BRITAIN.

55. The National Triennial Conference: Sir William B. Bowring, Mr. J. Harrop White.
 56. General Baptist Assembly of Messengers, Elders, and Representatives: Rev. J. A. Brinkworth.
 57. Missionary Conference: Rev. W. R. Shanks, Rev. H. Bodell Smith.
 58. The Ministerial Fellowship: Rev. A. H. Dolphin, Rev. J. C. Hirst.
 59. Central Postal Mission: Miss E. Talbot.
 60. National Unitarian Temperance Association: Miss Harriet Johnson.
 61. Laymen's Club: Mr. H. B. Lawford.
 62. Women's Social Club: Mrs. Copeland Bowie.
 63. Manchester College, Oxford: Rev. V. D. Davis, B.A.
 64. Unitarian Home Missionary College, Manchester: Rev. J. A. Pearson.
 65. The Sunday School Association: Rev. J. J. Wright, Rev. H. Rawlings, M.A.
 66. Manchester District Sunday School Association: Rev. W. G. Price, Rev. J. E. Stead, Mr. Jeremiah Wigley.

GERMANY.

67. Der Deutsche Protestantenverein: Rev. Max Fischer, D.D.
 68. Freunde der Christlichen Welt: Professor Martin Rade, D.D.
 69. Deutsche Freie Gemeinden zu Koenigsberg, Dantzic, Tilsit, und Frankfurt-am-Main: *Dr. Julius Rupp, *Rev. Carl Schieler, *Rev. Georg Schneider.

HOLLAND.

70. Nederlandsche Protestantenbond: Professor H. Y. Groenewegen, D.D.; Rev. P. H. Hugenholtz, Jr.
 71. Remonstrantsche Broederschap: Professor H. Y. Groenewegen, D.D.
 72. De Vrije Gemeente, Amsterdam: Rev. P. H. Hugenholtz, Jr.
 73. Commissie voor de Zondagschulen von den Nederl. Protestantenbond: Miss Theodora van Eck.

HUNGARY.

74. The Hungarian Unitarian Churches: Rev. Nicolas Jozan.
 75. The Body of Professors of the Budapest Reformed Theological Academy (Budapesti reformatus theologiai tanari kar): *Professor Farkos Szoets.

SCANDINAVIA.

76. Det Fri Kerkesamfund of Denmark and Unitarian Congregations of Norway: Mr. Theo. Berg.

SWITZERLAND.

77. Schweizerischer Verein fuer freies Christentum: Rev. G. Schoenholzer.
78. Section de Genève de l'Union Suisse du Christianisme Libéral: Rev. E. Rochat, D.D., *Rev. Louis Maystre.

FRANCE.

79. Union des Églises Réformées Unies: Professor Jean Réville, D.D.
80. Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante, Paris: Professor G. Bonet-Maury.
81. La Revue Chrétienne de Paris: Professor Viénot, Directeur; Rev. L. E. Tony André, D.D.

ITALY.

82. Église Évangélique Reformée de Florence: Rev. L. E. Tony André, D.D. (unofficial).

INDIA.

83. The Brahmo-Somaj Committee of India, Calcutta: Mr. Binay Mohon Sehanavis, B.A.
84. Bombay Prarthana Somaj Mandir: *Mr. V. A. Sukthanker, Mr. G. Subba Rau.
85. Religio-Philosophical Association (Kashi Tattva Sabbha) of Benares: Mr. Sakharam Ganesh, Pandit.
86. Khasi Hills Unitarian Union, Assam: *Kynjro Singh.

JAPAN.

87. The Japanese Unitarian Association: Rev. Saichiro Kanda.
88. The Universalist Mission in Japan: Miss Catherine Osborn.
89. The Unity Club, Tokio: Mr. Saseko.

AUSTRALIA.

90. The Australian Church: *Rev. Charles Strong, D.D.
91. Unitarian Churches in Australia: *Rev. R. B. Lambley.
92. The Unitarian Churches of New Zealand: Miss Mary E. Richmond.

PROGRAM.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

10.30 A.M. Members of the Congress conduct services in different city and suburban churches.

[*A special circular announcing the churches, preachers, and times of services.*]

4 P.M. Public organ recital in the First Church. Mr. Arthur Foote, organist.

8 P.M. Opening meeting of the Congress in Symphony Hall, The music led by a chorus of 300 from the Handel and Haydn Society. Mr. Emil Mollenhauer, conductor; Mr. H. G. Tucker, organist. Addresses by Rev. T. R. Slicer, All Souls' Church, New York; Dr. Edward E. Hale, chaplain United States Senate; Dr. Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee, Ala.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

9 A.M. Morning prayer in King's Chapel, led by Rev. Lewis G. Wilson, of Boston.

10 A.M. Meeting in Tremont Temple of the National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches.

MORNING SESSION.

10 A.M. Opening devotional meeting. Address by the President, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, LL.D., president of Clark College, Worcester, Mass. Appointment of committees and introduction of business. Report of the Council, by Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, Chairman, Boston, Mass. Address, "The Property Rights and Duties of American Churches," Charles W. Eliot, LL.D., president of Harvard University. Address, "Faith as Affected by Freedom," Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., minister of the Old South Congregational Church, Boston.

12.30. Adjournment.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

2 P.M. Opening devotional meeting. Address, "Our Free Churches in Relation to Theological Development," Professor William W. Fenn, A.M., B.D., dean of the Harvard Divinity School. Address, "The Good and Evil of Denominationalism," Professor Francis A. Christie, Meadville Theological Seminary, Meadville, Pa. Address, "The Separation of Church and State," Hon. Marcus P. Knowlton, chief justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Address, "A United Liberal Church," Rev. Marion D. Shutter, D.D., minister of the Church of the Redeemer (Universalist), Minneapolis, Minn. Reports of committees and final business.

4.30. Adjournment.

Concord Excursion.

The foreign guests on Monday afternoon make an excursion to Concord. A special train from the North Station at 2 P.M. At Concord the train met by carriages, and guests taken to view the various historic and literary landmarks of Concord,—the scene of the Concord fight, the homes and graves of Emerson, Hawthorne, the Alcotts, Thoreau, and other liberal thinkers. Afternoon tea served at the First Parish Meeting-house. The return train for Boston at 4.45 P.M.

8 P.M. Reception at the Hotel Somerset. Admission restricted to members of the Congress. Special ticket furnished free to members on registering. Brief addresses by Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr., governor of the Commonwealth; Professor Montet, the retiring President of the International Council; Sir William B. Bowring, Bart., president of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association; Dr. Meyboom, of Groningen; Professor Réville, of Paris; Professor Pfeiderer, of Berlin; Rev. S. Kanda, of Tokio; and other friends. Music and refreshments.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24.

9 A.M. Morning prayer in King's Chapel, conducted by Rev. Wm. G. Eliot, Jr.

10 A.M. First Session of the International Congress in Tremont Temple. Opening devotional meeting. Mr. F. O. Nash, organist.

Address of the President. Appointment of committees and introduction of business. Report of the General Secretary, Rev. Charles W. Wendte, Boston, U.S.A. Address, "The Unitarian Movement in England," Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, London, England. Address, "The Protestantenverein of Germany," Dr. Max Fischer, minister of St. Mark's Church, Berlin, Germany. Address, "The Religious Crisis in France," Professor Jean Réville, professor in the College of France, Paris, France.

12.30. Adjournment.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

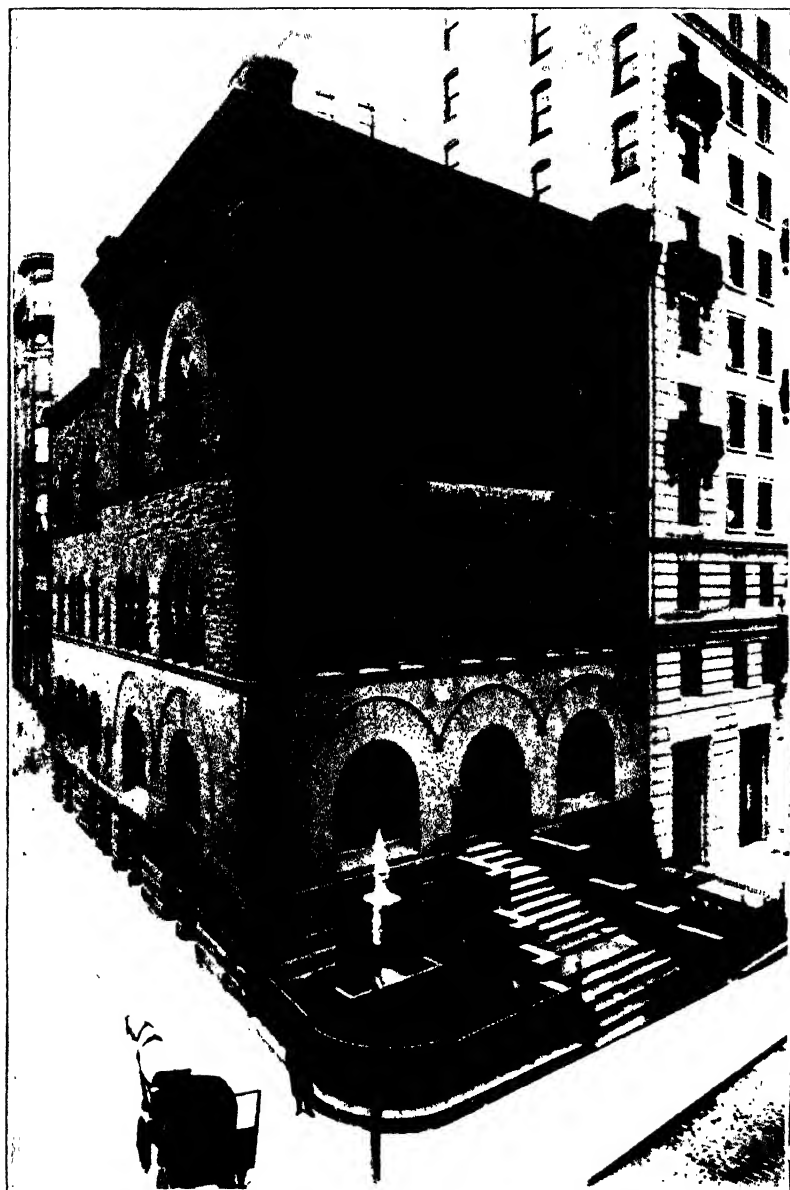
2 P.M. Opening devotional meeting. Address, "The Religious Situation in Germany," Dr. Martin Rade, professor in the University of Marburg, Germany. Address, "The State of Religious Liberalism in Romance Switzerland," Dr. E. Rochat, Geneva, Switzerland. Address, "The Liberal Outlook in Denmark and Norway," Mr. Theo. Berg, Copenhagen.

3.30. Adjournment.

DEPARTMENT MEETINGS.

1. King's Chapel, 3.30 P.M. Department of Religious Education, Rev. Franklin C. Southworth, president of Meadville Theological School, presiding. A conference concerning the materials and methods of Religious Education in family, school, and church. Addresses by Rev. Henry T. Cope, secretary of the Religious Education Association, on "The New Education," Rev. P. H. Hugenholtz, Jr., Amsterdam, Holland, on "The Psychology of Conversion," and by others.

2. Pilgrim Hall, Congregational House, 3.30 P.M. Department of the History and Philosophy of Religion. Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., presiding. Addresses by Rev. Christopher J. Street, Manchester, England, on "The Relation of Christianity to Universal Religion," Professor R. Eucken, of the University of Jena, Germany, on "What does a Free Christianity require to win the Victory?" Rev. Gottfried Schoenholzer, Zürich, Switzerland, on "A Protestant Declaration of Faith," and others.



UNITARIAN BUILDING, BOSTON
HEADQUARTERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

3. Channing Hall, 3.30 P.M. Department of New Americans. Dr. Edward E. Hale presiding. A conference concerning the ways of helping people of European origin who are making their homes in America. Addresses by Professor T. G. Masaryk, of Prague, Rev. L. E. Tony André, of Florence, Rev. N. Jozan, of Budapest, Rev. Amandus Norman, Hanska, Minn., and others.

EVENING SESSION.

8 P.M. Religious services in Arlington Street Church. The services conducted by Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, minister of the church, and others. The sermon by the Rev. John Hunter, D.D., minister of the Trinity Congregational Church, Glasgow. Music by the choir of Arlington Street Church, Mr. Lewis G. Thompson, organist.—At the Second Church. Overflow religious services. The sermon by Rev. U. G. B. Pierce, minister of the Unitarian church in Washington, D.C. The services conducted by Revs. H. D. Roberts, of Liverpool, and Thomas Van Ness.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

9 A.M. Communion service in King's Chapel. The address by the Rev. Charles Gordon Ames, D.D., of Boston.

10 A.M. The Third Session of the International Congress, Tremont Temple. Opening devotional meeting. Address, "The Religious Situation in Austria," Professor T. G. Masaryk, University of Prague, Bohemia. Address, "The Ideals of Hungary," Rev. N. Jozan, minister of the Unitarian church, Budapest. Address, "The Condition of Religious Liberalism in Holland," Professor H. Y. Groenewegen, Leiden, Holland. Address, "The Progress of Theology in Scotland," Rev. Alexander Webster, minister of the Unitarian church, Aberdeen, Scotland.

12 M. Adjournment.

2.30 P.M. Reception of the members of the International Council by the Governor of the Commonwealth at the State House.

DEPARTMENT MEETINGS.

1. King's Chapel, 3.30 P.M. Department of Comity and Fellowship. Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago, an honorary Vice-

President of the Congress, presiding. A conference on the possibilities of closer co-operation among the organized Christian fellowships represented in the Congress. Addresses by Dr. James M. Whiton, secretary of the New York Conference of Religion, Mr. Henry W. Wilbur, secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Friends' Principles, Rev. J. B. Weston, D.D., New York, and others.

2. Old South Meeting-house, corner Washington and Milk Streets, 3.30 P.M. Department of Social and Public Service. Rev. J. H. Crooker, D.D., presiding. Addresses by F. Maddison, Esq., M.P., London, England, on "Religion and Social Reforms," Rev. L. Ragaz, minister of the cathedral, Basel, Switzerland, on "The Ethical Basis of Liberal Christianity," Rev. W. G. Tarrant, London, England, "The World War with Intoxicants," Rev. Chas. F. Dole, and others.

3. Channing Hall, 3.30 P.M. Department of Women's Work. Miss Emma C. Low, president of the National Alliance of Unitarian and Other Christian Women, presiding. Addresses by Rev. Gertrude von Petzold, London, England, Miss T. van Eck, Amsterdam, Holland, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Lady Bowring, Miss Mary E. Richmond, of New Zealand, Mrs. R. H. Davis, and others.

4. Library, 4.30 P.M. Department of Press and Publication. Rev. Frederick A. Bisbee, D.D., editor of the *Universalist Leader*, presiding. A conference of the editors and publishers of the liberal religious papers and periodicals.

8 P.M. Fourth Session of the International Congress. Old South Church, corner Boylston and Dartmouth Streets. Opening devotional meeting, conducted by Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D. Address, "The Religious Situation in Italy," Rev. L. E. T. André, Florence, Italy. Address, "The Protestants of France: Their Past and Present Condition," Professor A. Gaston Bonet-Maury, University of Paris. Address, "The Crisis in the Catholic Church," Abbé A. Houtin, Paris, France. Music by the choir of the Old South Church.—The Second Church, Copley Square. Hon. James M. Morton, justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, presiding. Opening devotional meeting, conducted by Rabbi Charles Fleischer, of Boston. Address, "Religious Forces in Japan," Mr. Saichiro Kanda, secretary of the Japanese Unitarian Association, Tokio. Address, "The Ideals of the Brahmo-Somaj," Professor

G. Subba Rau, Calicut, India. Address by Mr. J. L. Joshi, of India, on "Missionary Opportunities in India." Address by Mr. Barakatullah, of Bhopal, India, on "Liberal Mohammedanism." Music by the choir of the Second Church.

South Congregational Church. Rev. Thomas R. Slicer, D.D., presiding. Professor O. E. Lindberg, of Gotheburg, "The Religious Situation in Sweden." Revs. Thomas P. Spedding and Chas. Peach of England, "The Van Mission in England."

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

9 A.M. Morning prayer in King's Chapel.

10 A.M. Fifth Session of the International Congress in Sanders Theatre, Harvard University, Cambridge. Hon. John D. Long presiding. Address of welcome by President Charles W. Eliot, LL.D. Address, "John Calvin and the Reformation Monument at Geneva," Professor E. Montet, dean of the Theological Faculty at the University of Geneva. Address, "The Tendency of Positive Religions to Universal Religion," Professor Otto Pfleiderer, D.D., University of Berlin. An illustrated description of Harvard University by Professor Francis G. Peabody, D.D.

12.30 P.M. Foreign guests and delegates invited by the University to lunch at the Harvard Union, admission by red or white badge. American delegates and members invited to lunch by the First Parish of Cambridge in the Parish House, admission by blue badge.

2 to 4 P.M. Personally conducted visits to the university grounds, buildings, and museums and to the historic and literary landmarks of Cambridge.

From 4 to 5 afternoon tea served at the residence of the President of the Congress, 25 Reservoir Street.

8 P.M. A banquet at the Somerset Hotel by invitation of the Unitarian Club of Boston. Admission by special ticket. Rev. Samuel M. Crothers, D.D., presiding. Addresses by distinguished guests.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

Excursion to Plymouth. A special train from the South Station at 9 A.M. A special ticket required. At Plymouth the company proceed to the First Parish Meeting-house. An address of

welcome by Hon. Arthur Lord, president of the Pilgrim Society. Address, "The Remonstrants of Holland," by Professor H. Y. Groenewegen, of the University of Leiden. Lunch served to the guests and foreign delegates at the Universalist church at 1 P.M. Visits to Plymouth Rock, Pilgrim Hall, and other places of interest.

At 3.10 special train for Boston. A stop of one hour at Hingham. A visit to the oldest place of public worship now in use in the United States, the Meeting-house of the First Parish. Afternoon tea served in the First Parish House by the ladies of the three Hingham Parishes. Addresses of welcome by Francis H. Lincoln and Rev. Louis C. Cornish.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

Excursion to Fairhaven. A special train from the South Station at 9 A.M. Exercises in the Memorial Church at Fairhaven. Music and addresses. Luncheon in the Parish House adjoining. The special train to Boston at 4 P.M.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

Members of the Congress conduct services in the different city and suburban churches. (See special circular.)

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

Meeting of the Ministerial Union, Channing Hall, 10 A.M. Rev. Seth C. Beach presiding. Morning address by Rev. F. C. Fleischer, Makkum, Holland, "The Mennonites, in their International Relations." The afternoon address by Rev. Valentine D. Davis, London, England. The greetings of the English Ministerial Association presented by its president, Rev. Charles Roper, of London. Luncheon at 12.30.

THE BOSTON INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS, SEPTEMBER 22-27, 1907.

The Fourth Congress, held in Boston under the auspices of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, was in every respect a worthy successor of the great meetings previously held in London, Amsterdam, and Geneva. In point of attendance it exceeded them all, and was beyond the anticipation of the Local Committee. Provision had been made for the accommodation of fifteen hundred persons, but nearly twenty-four hundred registered themselves as members, paying the Congress fee, while a much larger number took part in the proceedings of the Congress. The halls engaged often proved too small for the great audiences which presented themselves, and overflow meetings had hurriedly to be arranged. At times four or five well-attended and even crowded meetings were being held at the same hour, evincing the remarkable interest in the Congress taken by the general public. The supply of badges, reception tickets, programs, guide-books, and other souvenirs also fell short of the demand. But all shortcomings were graciously borne, as inevitable under the circumstances, the general satisfaction over the success of the Congress overcoming all individual annoyance. The centre of the week's hospitalities was the Unitarian Building on Beacon Street. From the window boxes that stood on every outer window sill of the building gay blossoming plants and long trailing vines waved a welcome to all comers. Between them hung great laurel wreaths, and on each side of the front steps were decorative plants. At each side of the entrance stands of great silken flags of various nations proclaimed the international character of the Congress almost as clearly as the greeting, "Welcome to the International Congress," on the front wall. Within, brilliant autumn flowers gave an air of festivity, and here, as in the churches, Symphony Hall, Tremont Temple, and at the hotels, and even in the streets, the wearers of the Council badges, red or blue, were most hospitably received.

All speakers, and all delegates from foreign countries, approximating two hundred in number, were tendered the hospitalities of the Local Committee, many of them being entertained at the Hotel Bellevue, next door to the Unitarian Building, as well as at other hostelrys and in private families. The chief places of assembly, Tremont Temple, King's Chapel, Channing, Pilgrim, and Ford Halls, and the State House, were all within five minutes' walk of the Congress headquarters, which proved a great convenience. The great rush of delegates occurred on Saturday, the 21st. The arrangements for their reception at the Unitarian Building had been carefully planned. With a reception committee of ladies of the Women's Unitarian National Alliance in daily attendance, with bureaus of registration and information, post-office facilities, a corps of guides, mostly young clergymen, speaking several languages and assiduous in their attentions, rest-rooms and refreshments, every possible want of the delegates, American or foreign, seemed to have been provided for. In this connection the devoted and efficient service of Mr. George W. Fox, for fifty-three years assistant secretary of the American Unitarian Association, of Rev. W. Channing Brown, its Field Secretary for New England, of Miss Helen F. Pettes, assistant of President S. A. Eliot, Mrs. Percy G. Bolster and Miss Florence Everett of the National Alliance, of Miss Henrietta S. Rogers and Mr. Paul Phalen are gratefully remembered.

The names of the clerical helpers were Revs. John H. Applebee, Alfred W. Birks, Louis H. Buckshorn, Albert W. Clark, Arthur H. Coar, F. R. Griffin, C. W. Heizer, Carl G. Horst, R. F. Leavens, Samuel R. Maxwell, John F. Meyer, A. E. Mullett, William W. Peck, George H. Reed, F. S. C. Wicks.

Besides the serious business of the sessions ample opportunities were given for recreation by a series of social gatherings and excursions to neighboring places of interest. These are treated of in their appropriate places in this volume.

On Sunday, the 22d of September, according to arrangements previously perfected, some fifty clergymen from abroad, chiefly British, occupied Boston and suburban pulpits, a special printed circular announcing the appointments. This was repeated on the following Sunday, the 29th inst., and proved an interesting and valuable feature of the session.

The opening meeting in Symphony Hall, spoken of elsewhere, was all that its projectors had anticipated. No one who witnessed it will ever forget the scene: the great audience of between four thousand and five thousand persons, with other thousands trying vainly to obtain entrance; the platform crowded with distinguished men and women belonging to many different nationalities and religious fellowships, and the Handel and Haydn chorus of three hundred; the mighty outburst of song as the great congregation uplifted the beautiful hymns written for the occasion by Rev. F. L. Hosmer and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe or stood reverently during the rendering of the "Hallelujah Chorus"; the rapt attention with which the audience listened to the "Greeting and Message of the Congress," "Glory to God in the Highest," "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men," voiced by Rev. T. R. Slicer, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, and Dr. Booker T. Washington. All felt it to be a worthy and auspicious opening of the week's proceedings.

Tremont Temple, the scene of most of the meetings throughout the week, and itself a beautiful and ornate audience-room seating twenty-five hundred persons, was decorated with festoons of the national colors and foreign flags massed about the organ and choir-loft. Appropriate texts in large lettering were posted conspicuously: "After the way that is called heresy, so worship we the God of our fathers," "The truth shall make you free," "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," "One is your father, even God, and all ye are brethren." In great gold letters on blue background, running entirely around both galleries, were displayed the names of the best-known saints and heroes of liberal religion in all countries,—a glorious company. They were as follows:—

Servetus, Socinus, Penn, Fox, Hicks, Francis David, Kossuth, Vane, Biddle, Lindsey, Priestley, Martineau, Bowring, Armstrong, Herford, Kuenen, Tiele, Coquerel, A. Réville, Fontanes, Mazzini, H. Lang, Bluntschli, Bouvier, Agassiz, Schleiermacher, Rothe, Ritschl, Rammohun Roy, Mozoomdar, Fukuzawa, Mayhew, Freeman, Channing, Emerson, Parker, Murray, Ballou, Gannett, Hildekoper, Peabody, Alexander Campbell, Ware, Walker, Dewey, Chapin, Furness, Bellows, Clarke, Hedge, Bushnell, Phillips Brooks, Starr King, May, Isaac Wise, Franklin, Jefferson, Adams,

Everett, Webster, Sumner, Story, Bancroft, Curtis, Andrew, Parkman, Mann, Hawthorne, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Dorothea Dix, Howe, Louisa Alcott, Lowell, Holmes.

The speakers announced on the Program of the Congress were worthy successors of these departed heroes of the liberal faith. In intellectual and scholarly value their papers and addresses were equal to the occasion. Collected, for the most part, in the present volume, they afford an excellent summary of the principles and aims of religious liberalism, as well as a comprehensive survey of the present conditions of liberal religion in the leading countries of the world.

Very noteworthy was the spirit—considerate, conciliatory, and charitable—which characterized the utterances of the week. Differences of opinion were often expressed, but never in a dissonant or unkind manner. There was an almost entire absence of bitterness or denunciation, even when dogmas, institutions, and courses of action most hostile to the liberal cause were treated of. Throughout the great *affirmations* of the liberal faith were emphasized rather than its incidental denials. The reports of the liberal situation in some of the countries represented at the Congress were not always encouraging, but this did not abate in any degree the fervent faith of their spokesmen in the principles of liberal religion and its ultimate triumph in church and society.

The closing session, held by invitation of the authorities of Harvard University in the Harvard Memorial Building, Cambridge, was a most impressive occasion. The action taken indorsing the projected monument in Geneva to the memory of John Calvin, and that to Michael Servetus in Vienne, France, was another display of the large-mindedness and irenical purpose of this International Council of Religious Liberals.

To American liberals present the spectacle of so many delegates from foreign lands in attendance at the meetings (over one hundred and twenty from Great Britain alone) was very inspiring, and gave them an enlarged idea of the extension and promise of the liberal religious movement throughout the world. Not less did they felicitate themselves on the wider fellowship among progressive Christians in the United States which this international gathering brought to pass. Several American denominations united in welcoming

and entertaining the Congress. Among these were the Unitarians, Universalists, Christians, and Liberal Friends, together with liberal associations like the Congress of Religion, the Free Religious Association, and independent churches, as well as broad-minded individuals, both lay and clerical, in many of the leading denominations of the land. No such federation of liberal religious bodies had ever before taken place in the United States. It is hoped that some way may be devised by which it may be continued hereafter and made to contribute still more effectively to the cause of religious freedom and progress in this country. This united action on the part of religious denominations and individuals through their mutual interest in our International Congress is the usual result of its sessions in different countries, and one of the most valuable services it renders them. It was so at our meetings in Holland and Switzerland, while, in extending an invitation to the Congress to hold its next session in Berlin in 1910, the four or five liberal associations of Germany which united in it have for the first time in their history joined themselves together for a common purpose and work,—a fact full of happy auguries to their cause and their country.

It only remains to say that the Boston Congress was quite fully reported in the Boston *Transcript*, *Globe*, *Herald*, and other dailies, and, through the medium of the Associated Press, in the leading newspapers of the United States. The *Christian Register*, in four successive issues, printed many of the papers in full, as did the *Universalist Leader*, *Chicago Unity*, and other liberal organs. Appreciative notices also appeared in the *Outlook*, the *Congregationalist*, the *Friends' Intelligencer*, and a few other religious weeklies. The delegates from abroad, on their return to their own countries, wrote elaborate and highly commendatory reports of the meetings. The British Unitarian weeklies, the *Inquirer* and *Christian Life*, devoted many columns to the proceedings and papers. In three numbers of the Dutch liberal organ, *Hervorming*, Professor Meyboom gave an interesting account of the Congress. Professor Jean Réville published a series of comprehensive and laudatory articles in *Le Protestant* of Paris, and Rev. Dr. Max Fischer in the *Protestantenblatt* of Berlin. Professor Martin Rade printed in his paper, *Die Christliche Welt* of Marburg, several most discriminating and appreciative reviews of the Congress. Mr. Theo. Berg, of Copenhagen,

devoted a whole number of his journal, *Lys over Landet*, to a detailed report. Prof. H. Y. Groenewegen in six successive numbers of the *Courant* of Rotterdam gave a particularly full and excellent account of the Boston meetings. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* contained full and well-informed letters from its special correspondent at the Congress, Dr. Coehnstadt. Rev. A. Altherr in his Swiss liberal organ, and many others in Europe, India, Japan, and Australia, gave more or less extended accounts of the meetings, thus spreading its message of emancipation, enlightenment, and goodwill throughout the world.

OPENING EXERCISES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS, IN SYMPHONY HALL, BOSTON, ON SUNDAY EVENING, SEPT. 22, 1907, AT EIGHT O'CLOCK.

(NOTE.—The largest hall in the city suitable for such a gathering had been secured for the opening session of the Congress, but proved to be inadequate to the popular demands of the occasion. Long before the appointed hour of beginning it was filled with a great and expectant company, numbering not less than 4,000 souls, crowding the platform, aisles, and corridors, while thousands outside tried in vain to gain access to the hall.)

ORDER OF SERVICE.

Music rendered by the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston.
Mr. Emil Mollenhauer, Conductor; Mr. H. G. Tucker, Organist.

ORGAN VOLUNTARY.

CHORAL, "A Mighty Fortress is our God" (Martin Luther),
J. S. Bach

HYMN (written for this meeting) Tune, "Truro"
For he looked for the city which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God.—
Hebrews xi. 10.

O Pilgrim city by the sea,
In thee we meet on kindred ground,—
Pilgrims toward better things to be,
By one high faith and purpose bound.

The separating seas are crossed,
Each heart is understood of each;
On this our day of Pentecost
Fade out the lines of race and speech.

One heritage alike we share,
Unspeakable and still more vast,—
The widening thought, the hope, the prayer,
The nobler life of all the past.

And one the goal to which we press
By toilsome paths as yet untrod,—
Earth's longed-for reign of righteousness
The shining City of our God.

O Thou through whom our fathers wrought,
From age to age our trust and stay,
Still keep us open to Thy thought
And speed us on our pilgrim way!

FREDERICK L. HOSMER.

RESPONSIVE READING FROM THE SCRIPTURES.

CHORUS.

"And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together;
for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it." *Handel*

ADDRESS, "Glory to God" REV. THOMAS R. SLICER

CHORUS, "How lovely are the messengers!" *Mendelssohn*

ADDRESS, "Peace on Earth," REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

HYMN (written for this meeting) Tune, "Benediction"

Hail! Mount of GOD, whereon with reverent feet
The messengers of many nations meet;
Diverse in feature, argument, and creed,
One in their errand, brothers in their need.

Not in unwisdom are the limits drawn
That give far lands opposing dusk and dawn.
One sun makes bright the all-pervading air,
One fostering spirit hovers everywhere.

So with one breath may fervent souls aspire,
With one high purpose wait the answering fire.
Be this the prayer that other prayer controls,—
That light divine may visit human souls.

The worm that clothes the monarch spins no flaw,
The coral builder works by heavenly law;
Who would to Conscience rear a temple pure
Must prove each stone and seal it, sound and sure.

Upon one steadfast base of truth we stand,
Love lifts her sheltering walls on either hand;
Arched o'er our head is Hope's transcendent dome,
And in the Father's heart of hearts our home.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

ADDRESS, "Good Will to Men," DR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

CHORUS, "Hallelujah" *Handel*

BENEDICTION REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

THREE ADDRESSES ON THE GREETING AND MESSAGE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

I. GLORY TO GOD.

BY REV. THOMAS R. SLICER, D.D., MINISTER OF ALL SOULS' CHURCH,
NEW YORK.

"In the beginning, God," are the opening words of the Genesis. That great psalm of praise that is the story of the making of the world proceeds until God breathes into man's nostrils the breath of life and man becomes a living soul. God and the soul are the only words essential to religion. All else is the effort to build a bridge between God and the soul by which the soul shall find its way to God and God shall be known to the living soul.

There was with the angel a great company of the heavenly hosts, saying, "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace among men of good will." And the centuries that elapsed between that cosmogony in Genesis and the echoing upon the plains of Bethlehem were centuries filled with man's attempts to realize that he is a living soul.

I am glad to-night to be assigned this place in which I conceive it to be my duty to lead, as far as I may, your worship of the living God as part of that great company that are echoing still the angelic song of the children of God. And I recall that some thirty years ago, when I was striving to find my way out of the conditions of a faith that was taught in terms of definition to a faith which should achieve for itself the victories of the soul, I opened the pages of John Henry Newman and found that great Catholic saying, "Reason and faith are incompatible in the same mind, or nearly so." And, as I laid down the book of this man out in search of a religion, trying to find his way by the "kindly light" through the gloom that encompassed his mind, I opened my mail of the day, and in it there was a letter from Cyrus Bartol, who for forty-five years was the minister of one

church in this city of Boston, and the first line of that letter was, "Reason is always hospitable to the faith it is twin with." And between John Henry Newman and his glimmering light shining from afar, and Cyrus Bartol with that beacon light shining from within, is comprised the history of the difference between the religion of tradition and the religion of the spirit. Ours is a reasoned faith: it has, for its beginning, God; for its process, God; for its ultimate, God; for its inspiration, God; and I bring to this great company of liberal thinkers and workers to-night this ascription of praise to the Eternal, in confidence that religion was never more firmly grounded in the thinking mind, nor more constantly achieving for itself victories through the thinking mind. For we stand, as you know, for religion as a natural function of the human soul. And it follows, as the functions that are highest in human life—breathing and the action of the heart, upon which human life depends—are automatic, so religion, this highest natural function of the human soul, is also automatic. Its aspiration and its inspiration are almost unconsciously its own in the presence of the living God. The soul, this living child of God, sits central, as some ancient merchant might at the Damascus Gate, and all the caravans of the world are coming his way. He sorts the product of the outlying districts of the world, and assigns to each its place in the trades that he conducts. And the soul, looking through the gates of sense,—the eye-gate and the ear-gate and the gate of touch,—is building up from its central position the power and efficiency of life. The church, therefore, is no survival of the ages of faith. It is a barrier built to shut out the inroads of despair. It is not a monument over the grave of dead illusions: it is a beacon kindled on the headlands of hope. It is dynamic; a power-house for the accumulated energies of life, that they may be distributed to re-enforce the human soul in its activities in the world. It is no sanctuary of uncommunicated mysteries: it is rather the place for realizing the friendly intimacies of the soul with the Eternal.

Now note what threatens the Church even in our aspect of it, which is the freest. We must recognize its constant tendency to lapses from its great ideals. It has heard a voice which has said to it, "See that thou make all things according to the pattern that I showed to thee in the mount"; and it is encouraged to believe that its highest moment may be made constant, and its highest vision may be

permanent. And yet the moment that it loses touch with this central power, substituting contentions with men for communion with God, substituting the mere draperies and accessories of religion for its vital principle, the Church turns to some makeshift for the re-enforcement of its power. It multiplies its services, it enriches its ritual, it organizes institutions for men that have forgotten to pray. It makes its observances more exact, and thus builds about it barriers between itself and the living fact that it adores in the great conscious Personality of which its own personality is the conscious child.

And so it is also in philosophy. We are just now threatened with a danger that we shall be drawn away from these high intimacies with the Eternal. Men have been so intent upon getting the philosophy of the life of the soul *down upon the ground*, that at Oxford, the ancient home of the Ideal, a school of "humanism," so called, utters its voice; but it will never, I think, see at Oxford in the name of "humanism" such a scene as in the sixteenth century was witnessed when one Oxford martyr said to another, "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley: we have lit a candle in England to-day that shall never be put out." Men are not martyrs for an accommodation of truth to expediency. It comes to us in the "History of Rationalism," by Alfred Benn, as Ophelism, from its root which means "use." It is still the effort to domesticate the celestial ideals on terrestrial planes in the name of practical results. And, if I may dare in the presence of this Boston audience to say it, in this city there has been at least one attempt to give us the yellow journalism of philosophy in the name of Pragmatism. "Is it effective? Has it a cash value? Does it pay? Is it coming our way?" Not what are its absolute securities, but what are its convertible assets? These are the test questions on its real examination papers! All these are substitutes for the Ideal that threaten the soul, because the soul has lost its confidence in itself as the child of the living God.

Now, mark you, this confidence, this sense of divine communion, this consciousness of rights in God that belong to the soul, reverts again and again to its idealization of life's energies and life's activities. That for which we have stood is still true, that only transfigured character can be the effective means of regeneration for the world. They came to the demon-possessed boy at the foot of the mount and saw the Master of Life cast out the demon. The disciples had

been with him in the mount where the Transfiguration had shown upon his face and in his word, and where there had sounded a voice, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." There is no short road, there is no easy path, there is no compromise of the soul that is possible between the soul and God. And every time, my friends, that the Church has tried to substitute for the struggle of soul a compromise of faith, it has enunciated some "analogy of revealed and natural religion" or some "limits of religious thought." It has been said that the term "agnostic" is the child of Huxley's brain, and as such child it has had an honest and a useful purpose. But there is another agnosticism that was born of the union of Butler's "Analogy" and Mansell's "Limits of Religious Thought," and domesticated itself under the forms of religion and with the usages of faith within the Church when it was baptized. That is the agnosticism that preserves the matrix of beliefs, that it may turn out of it the recurrent senseless archaic phraseology which it never ceases to rehearse. The very essence of personality is its current, fluent mutability. It knows perfectly well that God is, but says with Chrysostom, "I know that God is everywhere, but the *how* of his being I do not know." It recognizes the diversity of faiths, but says with Saint Ambrose, "Religions are many, but religion is one." And every now and then we are startled by the revenges that the soul calls upon itself for its own neglect. The strange, peculiar, and unclassified phases of faith now current and popular are simply the soul's revenge for its own neglect. Robbed of its ideals, it lapses into vain idolatries.

We read last winter, those of us, perhaps, who knew what was best to read, the Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen. And when you come to the year 1875 in that wonderful volume in which Maitland has been the ideal biographer of a life that is superbly and supremely interesting, when you come to the year 1875, you find a letter of Stephen's to our own James Russell Lowell, as the writer stands in the shadow of a great affliction. His wife, Thackeray's daughter, has died, and he writes to Lowell, "I thank—something" (this sceptic, this critic, this clear-minded man who supposed he was abandoning Christianity when he was leaving a national church),—"I thank something," he says to Lowell, "that I loved her as heartily as I knew how to love, that I would have died for her with pleasure that I

scarcely ever saw a cloud upon her bright face." And this Alpine rose blooming on the edges of Stephen's arctic mind, this Alpine rose of faith and emotion, unfolds a body of divinity. "I thank something," then that "something" is. "I loved her as profoundly as I can ever love," then this "something" is the source of the divine affections which have glorified life. "That I would have died for her with pleasure," then this "something" is the inspiration of self-sacrifice. "And that I never saw a cloud upon her bright face," then this law of love and sacrifice is also the fountain of joy. And Leslie Stephen, clear of mind and whole of heart and earnest of spirit, comes back upon the tides of a great emotion to that "something" that still overshadows him and in whose shadow he sits and quiets himself.

We know perfectly well that the conditions of the divine life cannot be known to us in their entirety. But we say with that great liberal whose bright example still haunts the shores of life and falls as radiance from the heavens to which he was so lately taken,—we say with Martineau, "The possible always is, and its categories of the right, the beautiful, and the necessarily true may have their contents defined and wait for their realization whatever centuries may elapse." And this, he adds, "is not the work of objective science: it is the work of *self-reflection*." It is this transfigured character, this transformed man, that can take upon his lips the Gloria with which we began our meeting,—*"Glory to God in the highest."* We know there are vast margins of being unexplored, we know that there are riddles as yet unguessed, we know that there are mysteries under the shadow of which we take our way, but nothing of these things shall prevent us from living a great and beautiful life.

And just here we come upon the difference between the man out in search of a religion and the man whose heart is set upon reality. The man in search of a religion inquires eagerly of every passer-by, going to most strange resorts of inquiry for the confirmation of his search, asking on every hand, "Is there some rock smitten in the desert for the thirst of a soul like mine?" But the man whose heart is set upon reality goes into that inner sanctuary of his own nature and finds the kingdom of heaven already beginning there.

And it is for this reason that respecting this great and ultimate truth of religion, as of all others, the liberal faith refuses to dogmatize. It knows perfectly well, as a great European thinker said of

late, that "dogma is not the book of life, but its index"; that sometimes, when it supposes that it is struggling for its life, religion "suffers the Nemesis of finding that it is only struggling to preserve this index." It was long ago said that "the small and great, when they shall stand before God, shall be judged out of the things written in the Book of Life." We think they will not be judged out of what is outlined as speculation in the index.

It has been reserved for the great heresy that began in the fourth century and continues to this day to arrogate to itself the "indexing" of what the soul may believe and what it may not believe.

And so we come in this great faith that we hold to give glory to God for the achievement of our freedom, to give glory to God for the confidence of our faith, for the fact that we are fronting continually that Ultimate Reality of which it has been well said by the great German educator, Herbart, that we believe that it is, because, "where nothing is, nothing can appear," and we are not to be misled by the march of phenomena to suppose that they are the show of what has no existence behind them,—phantoms real in a universe which has no final Reality! So with Browning we are continually saying, with each day's excursion into the unseen, as we shall say at last when we make the beginning of the great voyage,—

"Once more I go on my adventure brave and new,
Fearless and unafraid."

We say with Emerson, "Whatever it is that the great Providence has in reserve for us, it must be something beautiful and in the great style of his work." This is our faith.

And so what better could we say to-night in this ascription of praise to the great Author of our being and the Achiever of victories in us and for us than to take up the ancient word? "O Eternal, Thou hast searched me and known me; Thou hast known my downsitting and my uprising; Thou understandest my thought afar off. Whither shall I go from Thy spirit, and whither shall I flee from Thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there; if I make my bed in the underworld, behold, Thou art there. If I take the wings of morning and fly into the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall Thy hand lead me and Thy right hand shall hold me." This is the soul's confession to the Great Companion.

And so, matching this great word of the One Hundred and Thirty-ninth Psalm to the words of the Christian apostle, we may well say, as a company of believers, as children of the living God:—

“Now unto Him who is able to do exceedingly abundantly above all that we can ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory in the Church and in Christ Jesus forever. Amen.”

II. PEACE ON EARTH.

BY EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., OF BOSTON, CHAPLAIN UNITED STATES SENATE.

Angels are messengers whose duty it is to go on God's errands. The angels who sang “Glory to God in the Highest” also sang “on earth peace.”

The last session of this International Congress, held two years since in the city of Geneva, was made glad by the announcement of Peace among the Nations.

“No war nor battle's sound
Was heard the world around.”

It was our good fortune in New England that the great Treaty of 1905 which gives dignity and solemnity to the twentieth century was signed within our borders. An island had been found at the mouth of one of our rivers where the etiquettes of diplomacy could be satisfied, and the distinguished envoys of Russia and Japan could meet in peace at the mediation of the President of the United States. In the two words “United States” there is good omen for the world's “united nations.” As the “United-States” is one nation, the united world is to be one empire of the living God. The words “Thy kingdom come,” repeated every morning in a thousand million prayers, have their concrete and visible interpretation. The instinct of the early-born Church of Christ is justified when, in the prelude or overture to the gospel history, the proclamation which follows the strain of “Glory to God” is his royal promise of peace on earth. “When ye enter a house, wherever it may be, and

whosoever it may be, north, south, east, or west, from this moment to the end of time, ye shall salute it, saying, Peace be to this house."

The prophecy of old centuries had called the Saviour of mankind, in advance of his coming, by the name of the "Prince of Peace." And that Church which has taken his name, though it has but meanly followed in his footsteps, has been glad to preserve the name as its noblest tribute in his honor. In ceremony, in poetry, nay, in a sort of faith, it calls him the "Prince of Peace."

I know very well, of course, that the superficial people, the light-weights of literature and of society, say glibly, "What are the signs of his coming?" They say, "Of course, you know men are developed from wolves and tigers, and in all human affairs, you know, there must be a drop of the tiger blood."

I had been speaking on Peace before the professors of a Western college, and one of them, not the professor of history, asked me smartly why wars were more and more frequent, why peace reigned less and less. I was able to answer in a moment, "Because that is not true." In the last half of the seventeenth century the American States were at war nearly half the time. In the seventeenth century they were at war more than a quarter of the time. In the eighteenth century, which secured their independence, they were at war thirty-seven years out of a hundred. In the nineteenth century they were at war seven years in a hundred. As for this professor and for the other light-weights, I like to refer them to those chapters of Gibbon in which he shows that under the Antonines and their predecessors and successors the Roman Empire enjoyed nearly two centuries of absolute peace. It had a larger population than the Europe of Gibbon's time. It was in those centuries that the arts and agriculture and literature of Asia subdued barbarous Europe, because barbarous Europe was at peace. The white linen which puts us in uniform this evening, the coats on our backs, as we shall face this winter's storms, would not be known in Europe to-day but that in those two centuries of peace Europe learned from Asia the arts by which she clothes herself.

The light-weights are apt to say that God is on the side of the strongest battalions,—which is probably true. But, as has been well observed, success waits not on the strength of battalions, but on

Justice, Truth, Honor, and Union. And it is quite certain that God is with them.

Justice brings in peace: peace follows justice. That is the gospel of the beginning; it is the gospel of to-day; it is the gospel of the future. You and I need not distress ourselves about gunpowder and torpedoes and the apparatus of war. This is no question of dropping a spark upon gunpowder or the striking a blow upon dynamite. We know perfectly well what the machinery of war means. Some of us are old enough to remember the end of the Civil War, and we know perfectly well that every weapon used at the end of the Civil War, by sea or by land, is now rusting in the rubbish heap. Not one weapon of them all, from the great frigates down to the small swords, would be of use in any warfare. And we know perfectly well that the "Dreadnoughts" and the torpedoes, these things on which we are spending a few hundreds of millions of dollars every year, will all be in the waste heap before the next forty years have gone by. Things always perish: the idea is eternal. "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will among men." That is the lesson which at this moment the United States of America has for its business to proclaim to the united nations of the world.

Now our new century is to be not so much the century of physical invention, not so much the century of territorial discovery, as the century of the reign of Ideas. Man, the child of God, has found out that he is the child of God, and he means that God's kingdom shall come. Man works with God and God with man, that the will of God may be done on earth as it is done in heaven. In a world thus governed the nations of the world have met at The Hague in one congress. Congress, a place to which men go together. They have consulted together for the first time. They are consulting together, have been to-day, will be to-morrow. They are consulting, not how this nation shall be stronger, not how that nation shall be made weaker, but how all the nations, great and small, may live together in peace, how this world shall be one world. "As Thou, Father, art in me and I in Thee, that they may be perfected into one."

Really, it is enough to know that the distinguished men who adequately represent the nations of the world, great and small, are for the first time together. One might say that for a beginning this is enough. The nations look each other in the face, and yet they are

not on the field of battle. The nations look each other in the face, and ask each other how they can make a closer union. Might there be one august tribunal which should represent the wisdom, the history, the religion of the world, and which should be able to issue its decisions, yes or no, in the great crises of the history of the world?

Our friends from the older continent, so called, as they arrive in America (which, the geologists tell us, is the oldest continent of all), will find that we are united, absolutely united in one determination, that war shall cease and peace shall take its place! We remember our own name,—that this nation is called the nation of the *United States*. Our fathers highly resolved that, when these States differed from each other, as they would differ, they should refer their differences to one supreme tribunal. This tribunal shall proclaim the difference between right and wrong. Questions of boundary, questions of language, questions of trade, questions of race, should be referred to the supreme tribunal. Our fathers determined on this. And to this the United States agrees. If it needed a lesson, it learned its lesson in its one great failure; and even there and then the power of union, “that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in me and I in Thee,” prevailed. The United States of America is the great peace society of the world.

The United States of America proposes in this first decade of a new century that the nations of the world, if they stand for life instead of death, for heaven instead of hell, for right instead of wrong, shall unite just as these States have united. Absolute freedom to the individual, absolute self-rule in the smallest communities, absolute self-government in every historical State, but Unity, Union, Harmony, and mutual life, blending all the nations of civilization in one. Harmony instead of discord, union for disunion,—a common life; in place of contest and jealousy, the reign of peace. We will establish Justice, and Peace shall follow.

“Traveller, lo! the Prince of Peace,
Lo! the Son of God is come.”

III. GOOD WILL TO MEN.

BY DR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, PRINCIPAL OF TUSKEGEE
INSTITUTE, ALABAMA.

I have been a slave in body, and know its meaning, but there is no form of physical slavery that is as hurtful as mental and spiritual slavery. Having, therefore, experienced one form of bondage, I have long since registered a high and, I trust, holy resolve in heaven that henceforward no influence shall enslave me in mind or in heart. Hence as an ex-slave and as an American citizen, I count it a high privilege to be permitted to share in the duty of extending a welcome to those who have come here from this and foreign lands to attend this International Council of Religious Thinkers and Workers.

My first introduction to the world of religious thought was in this wise: one morning, before the break of day, just prior to her departure for the work of the day, I recall the picture of my now sainted mother bending over my body as I lay upon a dirt floor, wrapped in a bundle of rags, earnestly praying that Abraham Lincoln might succeed, and that one day she and her boy might be free. I am here to-night to celebrate with you the answer to that prayer. I join all the more heartily in this festival of religious freedom of thought and activity because my race in America, as has been true of the oppressed in all lands, owes a peculiar debt of gratitude to those of the liberal faith.

When fire comes into contact with dynamite or powder, something happens. The two cannot dwell together in peace, and, when the religion that is pure and undefiled comes into contact with slavery, oppression, and ignorance, something always happens. The two cannot dwell together in peace. So, when the experiment was tried of having great souls of the liberal faith inhabit the same country with slavery, the outcome was failure. Slavery, with its results, could not live in the same country and in peace by the side of Abraham Lincoln, James Russell Lowell, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, George William Curtis, William Ellery Channing, James Freeman Clarke, and our own living saint and sage, Edward

Everett Hale. I repeat that, when slavery touched these great souls, something happened; and the institution of human slavery was forever banished from our land, and the world was convinced anew that it was impossible for human bondage and oppression to dwell in peace in the same land with education and religious freedom.

If I correctly understand the meaning and object of this great international gathering of spiritual thinkers and leaders, it is to impress upon the world the fact that religion is not meant to estrange men and races, but to acquaint each with the best that is in the other and to unite them in a common bond of service. This you will do with all men, no matter what tongue they speak or in what land they dwell or to what race they belong.

If I interpret correctly the spirit of this international and interdenominational organization, it is to impress upon mankind the old and fundamental truth that there is something in religion, something in the end at which it aims, that is far above church, name, creed, or dogma; something that transcends in importance denominational statistics or church wealth. You would concern yourself with the vital things of religion, you would follow the teachings of the Great Book when it says, in effect, "Not by power nor by might, but by my spirit shall the world be redeemed." You would put not a mere name, not a mere formula, but the spirit of Christ into every human being. It often requires, it seems to me, a great crisis in the affairs of races and nations to teach us how to rise above all that is little and narrowing in our religious life. Within our country and within recent years we have had two such great lessons. The one was during the time that the great battle was raging between slavery and freedom, between union and the proposed disruption of the nation. The other lesson came, as a result of the war, when millions of ignorant and poverty-stricken negroes were suddenly made citizens and required protection and education. On each of these supreme occasions men and women lifted themselves into the atmosphere of Christian brotherhood and united Christian service, where all was forgotten save the spirit of the Master and the essentials of true religion. If this can be done once, it can be done again. In this connection may I suggest, to the credit of American Unitarians, that they always stand ready to sacrifice the reward for work that shows itself merely in increased church plants, denominational numbers, and

financial statistics, in order that they may perform the higher work of spreading the spirit of service and religious freedom and toleration: hence it is that Unitarians are likely to find more evidences of the fruit of their efforts outside of their immediate church circles than within them.

I do not speak to you as a pessimist. Far from that. My observation and experience firmly convince me that the spread of religion is making the world better and lifting mankind up to a higher plane of living. The world is going forward, not backward. Until some one is able to invent and enforce a law which will stop the progress of the civilization of the world, the forces of righteousness and justice need have no fear of defeat. Your work of spreading, defending, and vitalizing religious thought and effort is not in vain. Christian civilization is moving forward, not halting or retrograding, and no one is in a better position to realize this than one who belongs, as I do, to what is known as one of the unpopular or disadvantaged races. It is a long step from a Virginia slave plantation to the platform upon which I speak to-night. This fact of my personal experience gives me the right to say and repeat, Your work is not in vain. In America and in all countries the spirit of the Master is slowly entering all the problems that relate to justice and fair play. This is so in regard to the great problems of labor and capital, of education, and the adjustment of the relations of race to race, in the securing to all the important but sure protection and encouragement of the law.

We have a potent example of this progress in the case of more than ten million negroes in America who, in about forty years, in the face of difficulties, have accumulated more than \$350,000,000 worth of taxable property, who have acquired nearly half a million homes and farms, who have moved forward to the extent that 56 per cent. can read and write the English language, who have 16,000 Christian ministers and 24,000 church organizations with \$27,000,000 worth of church property. In this connection I want the world to know that the educated negro is not a rapist, and is rarely a criminal of any character.

In the solution of all these great questions we are far from perfection, and wrong and injustice still exist, and much serious work remains before the right shall completely triumph. For one, I like

a hard, serious, and perplexing problem at which to work. For myself, I would not care to live in an age where there was no hard problem to be solved or weak portion of the human family to be reached and lifted up.

In proportion as we reach down and lift up the weakest, we ourselves are made strong. In the degree that we mete out injustice to the humblest and weakest, in like degree are we degraded and weakened.

In our haste and shortness of vision we are often too prone to depend upon the passing of statutory laws to settle serious problems. The most fundamental and vital things of life are above and beyond the control of statutory laws.

You remember Saint Paul's letter to the Galatians in which he says, "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." And then Saint Paul adds these pregnant words, "Against such there is no law." It is away up in Saint Paul's atmosphere, above the reach of man, where your race, my race, and all races are to look for the final solving of all the perplexing questions of the earth.

Let me, again, in the name of my race, our whole country, bid you welcome and God-speed in your mission of spreading religious freedom and truth, and knitting together all the people of the earth in a common bond of brotherhood and service. Such gatherings as this are helping to hasten the day referred to by Christ when he said, "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

If in the midst of denominational rivalry and bigotry, and if in the midst of racial pride and selfishness, and if in the midst of national ambition and desire for power, if for a short season the progress of the world seems to halt or slacken, let us not grow discouraged or faithless or lose hope in our task, but at all times be ready to exclaim with one of old,—

"The stormy billows are high,
Their fury is mighty, but
The Lord is above them, and
Is almighty and almighty."

And He will hasten the coming of the day when there will be good will toward all men.

FIRST GENERAL SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

Held at Tremont Temple, Boston, Tuesday morning, September 24.

The Congress met at 10 A.M., Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, D.D., in the chair.

The exercises opened with the singing of a hymn written for the occasion by Rev. Seth C. Beach, D.D., Scripture reading and prayer by Rev. Henry Rawlings, of London, England.

HYMN.

BY SETH C. BEACH.

Kingdom of God! the day how blest,
When to Thy fold as to their home,
From north and south, from east and west,
Thine own of every name shall come!

Day of the Lord! Thine hour draws nigh,
We see the radiant dawn afar;
The light of truth illumines the sky,
Resplendent as the morning star.

Not ours the noon, but ours the dawn,
The prelude to the full-orbed day;
And ours to bid the clouds be gone,
And give the light unhindered way.

All glory, gracious God, to Thee!
We lift our eyes unto the hills,
And, lo! the blessed prophecy,
By Thy strong arm, its course fulfils.

Rev. George Batchelor, Professor Jean Réville, and Rev. W. Copeland Bowie were appointed a Nominating Committee, and it was announced that any business introduced would go without discussion to the Executive Committee.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,
REV. SAMUEL A. ELIOT, D.D.

The significance of this gathering is that it is composed of men and women who in the pursuit of truth and righteousness dare to commit themselves unreservedly to the control of the law of liberty. This Council is the unfettered servant of truth, freedom, and brotherhood. The type of religious thought and feeling represented here is broadly inclusive. It is not to be identified with any one form of sectarian opinion or organization. The universal religious consciousness creates here a meeting-place for a score of different races, traditions, doctrines, names, and allegiances.

The intellectual characteristic of this company is open-mindedness. We do not desire to promote uniformity of opinion. We are no one-ideaed regiment, marching with the dull monotony of a hayfoot-strawfoot discipline. We are a persistently independent and self-reliant people, tolerant of exceptionality, eager to recognize and apply individual power and aptitude. We rejoice that in this gathering lonely thinkers find themselves least lonely and brave workers find themselves most positively furthered.

We come together out of our separate and peculiar traditions, our local or provincial prejudices, our legitimate preferences for certain familiar beliefs and habits. We come with our little sectarian jealousies, our misunderstandings, our possible antipathies, and we discover that our very differences represent not so much the diversities as the universality of religious faith. Here we come into the atmosphere of cordial fellowship and good will. We lay aside our narrower pursuits, the ambitions that divide us, the cares and fears that so easily beset us, and refresh ourselves with a nobler reach of vision. We meet for social intercourse and for the exchange of opinion and experience. We enjoy the stimulus of intellectual variety, we broaden our horizons, we lift our instinctive prepossessions to the higher levels of rational and friendly debate. We form enduring friendships. We discover unexpected identities of spirit and pur-

pose. We learn how much of breadth and true liberality there is in nations or communions we had supposed to be exclusive and despotic. We emphasize the convictions that all good men hold in common. We unseal again the fountains of idealism where the thirsty soul, weary of materialism, has so often refreshed itself. We renew faith and courage, and we return to our homes re-enforced by a new sense of the grandeur of our life together and the irresistible attraction of our common hopes and ideals.

But, while thus inclusive and hospitable, the field of this Council, as I understand it, is not unlimited. It is confined by the boundaries of religious thought and action, and it is practically limited to the people who believe that theology is a progressive science, and not a sealed and final "deposit of faith." It commands primarily the allegiance of people to whom religion is not a matter of outward form or stated observance, but a sentiment which expresses itself in unpretending devotion to the truth, in habitual consideration for others. in steady adherence to certain well-recognized ideals of private and public duty.

It is a commonplace to say that immense changes are taking place in the thought and life of all religious organizations. The adherents of the different communions are no longer homogeneous. They not only tolerate, but acknowledge a great and growing diversity of opinion within their own ranks. To say that a man is an Episcopalian or a Presbyterian, a Lutheran or a Calvinist, a Catholic or Protestant or Jew, no longer defines his spirit or his convictions. He may be forward-looking or backward-looking, conservative or progressive, bound by some outward law of constraint or delivered into allegiance to the law of liberty. The progressive men of all communions feel themselves in closer sympathy with men of the same spirit in other communions than with those of an opposite temper in their own, while the reactionaries of all communions are drawn together by their common opposition to the theological reconstruction which modern knowledge demands. The traditional and historic dividing-lines grow dim, but the new alignments grow more and more distinct. As the progressives of every name carry forward their principles to their logical conclusions, the reactionaries relapse toward mediævalism in their doctrines, their habits of worship, and their conceptions of the religious life. The members of this Council obviously belong

to the progressive wings of the different communions. We are a people who hold it to be the task of each generation to interpret religion afresh in the light of growing knowledge and experience and in the thought and speech of their own time. We are a people temperamentally disposed to accept modern conceptions of history, science, and philosophy.

But, while the members of this Council are liberals, they are in no sense iconoclasts. They cherish the law of historic continuity. They have no tendency to mistake restlessness for progress, or revolution for reform, or the removal of their neighbor's landmarks for the enlargement of their own territory. They believe that to develop a nobler future we must use the impulse of the toiling generations behind us. Amidst the diversities of gift and operation they seek to discern the one spirit. Reaching for things before, they hold securely to something behind.

There is nothing controversial in the purpose of this gathering, there is nothing polemic in our discussions. Though the statement of our principles appears sometimes to arouse heat in those who do not agree with us, we disclaim any desire to criticise or inflame. Our appeal is never to passion or prejudice, but to reason and good will. Our attention is not given to the defects or failures of other systems of religious thought or methods of religious organization, but solely to the development of the creative and constructive forces. We are concerned with the promotion of certain positive and universal principles of thought and conduct. Our spirit is affirmative, not negative. We desire not to destroy, but to fulfil.

And, if we are not iconoclasts or controversialists, neither are we apologists. The great convictions we hold in common rest not on the authentication of any ancient book, not on any decree of Council or of Church, but on their appeal to the conscience, reason, and experience of men. We make no unreal distinction between religion and the world, between things sacred and things secular. Religion, as we conceive it, is not something apart from life, dependent upon a special and supernatural revelation, but a part of life, simply the consummation and transfiguration of human experience.

It follows that the members of this Council are, by temperamental necessity, optimists. They believe in human nature, they have confidence in the good purposes of the universe, they commit themselves

to unfaltering trust in the ultimate victory of truth over error and of right over wrong. They are people who squarely face the unquestionable and inscrutable tragedies of human life, who have a clear perception of the narrow boundaries of human knowledge and the evils and ills that oppress and hinder mankind. They do not expect to fathom the unfathomable, yet they find ample scope, within the obvious limits, for the exercise of noble faculties, for flights of fine imagination, for disinterested and prophetic achievement. They discover no limits to the possibilities of the soul's expansion. They believe in spite of prevalent discontent, in spite of disappointment over some of the results of liberty, in spite of the inability of science to solve the ultimate mystery of existence, that life is eminently worth living and that underneath are the everlasting arms.

The leaders of this Council do not deceive themselves into thinking that their ideals are easily attained or to be immediately realized. Theirs is the joy of pursuing ideals that ever journey before them. Their good obtained is only tidings of something better. Their castles of hope shine ever along new horizons. They rejoice in a religious confidence which is allied to, and not at war with, the fundamental instincts of honor and justice, which is in harmony with the beauty of the visible universe and with the sweetness of family love. Theirs is the cheerful faith that knows that this marvellous life is not a vision that fades, but an everlasting trust. Such a faith justifies an illimitable expectation. The potential kingdom of God and brotherhood of man is here. In modest confidence, let us pledge ourselves to our high calling, resolved to do what we can that freedom and truth may more abound, that men may have life, and have it more abundantly.

Brethren of the Liberal Faith, our greeting is no empty form, no merely personal word, no conventional welcome. It is full of proud and happy memories, of bright hopes, of inspiring challenge to new courage and loyalty. To greet you, we gather the spirits of the great departed. Search the careers of the men whose names are inscribed on these walls, and you will find that they were animated by the ideals to which this gathering is pledged. These names materialize themselves into the forms of the Prophets and Poets, the Scholars, Statesmen, and Seers we have loved to honor and obey. These were men

who refused to believe that God has exhausted his creative energies; men who gave themselves not to any material end or transient object, but to quickening the primal influences by which character is moulded and truth perfected and life made more abundant; men who deserted no righteous cause because it is unpopular; men whose chosen way was freedom, whose end was righteousness, brotherhood, and truth. These were men who dared after the way called heresy to worship the God of their fathers; men who followed the truth that made them free, who cherished the love of God and man that it is the fulfilling of the law; men who mightily believed and wrought, that the unity of the spirit which is the bond of peace might be made real on earth.

If this silent band of heroes could speak to us, who can doubt what their questions would be? They would ask us what use we were making of the freedom they won for us. They would ask if the blessings of religious liberty were now the common possession of the people. They would ask if freedom had, as they believed it would, led on to brotherhood and unity and honorable serviceableness. What answer can we make to such questions? Is our answer nothing more than an excuse for our own insufficiency? Have we been true to the trust they left to us? It is for us to determine whether these names shall abide among the immortals. It is for us to perpetuate their principles and unfalteringly to pursue the ideals they have set before us.

Thus do pioneers of pure religion and perfect liberty greet you to-day,—in the words of the elder prophets that still ring down the ages,—“Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you!”

The PRESIDENT.—I spoke just now of the “modest confidence” that animates the leaders of this Council. What a pale and inadequate phrase that is to describe the buoyant, inspiring optimism of the Secretary of this Council! Mr. Wendte is a fountain of ingenuity, resourcefulness, and fertilizing imagination. You know these things, but you do not know as I do the amount of hard, patient daily work that he has put into this thing for the last seven years. I present to you the Secretary of the International Council.



REV. SAMUEL A. ELIOT, D.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE BOSTON INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF
RELIGIOUS LIBERALS, 1907

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

PRESENTED BY REV. CHARLES W. WENDTE, OF BOSTON, GENERAL
SECRETARY.

The Executive Committee of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, under whose general auspices these international meetings of religious liberals are held, heartily greets its members and friends assembled for the fourth time in conference. It congratulates them that through the hospitable invitation of their American fellow-workers they are enabled to hold a congress on American soil and in the very city where our International Council itself was born seven years ago. We meet to-day in a community identified in the world's esteem with civil and religious liberty, and with which the life and labors of Dr. William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Hosea Ballou, John Greenleaf Whittier, Phillips Brooks, and other eminent advocates of religious enlightenment and freedom were long associated. The generous activity and large plans of the Boston committee for the entertainment and work of the Congress assure a series of meetings of remarkable scope and interest, whose influence cannot fail to be of enduring advantage to the cause of "pure religion" held in the spirit of "perfect liberty."

The Executive Committee congratulates you on the general increase and inspiring promise of this movement for the federation of the religious liberals of all lands. Organized in Boston in the year 1900 by a few earnest spirits representing half a dozen of the more advanced church fellowships of Christendom, its founders could not foresee its timeliness and adaptation to the needs of the liberal religious community throughout the world. With faith and hope they sowed the seed of religious enlightenment and fraternity in the dawning light of the new century, and have been rewarded

beyond their most ardent expectations by its surprising growth and early fruition. At our Congress to-day are assembled the representatives of four of the great world-religions; namely, Judaism, Christianity, the Theism of India, and Mohammedanism. Men and women of 4 distinct races and 16 different nationalities participate in it. The members of 33 separate church fellowships will address us, and 88 religious associations, other than single churches, have sent us official delegates. If we were to take into consideration the church affiliations of the 106 honorary Vice-Presidents who have cordially permitted us to affix their names to the invitation to this Congress, our exhibit of sympathizers and friends would be still larger. 2391 persons have enrolled themselves as members of the Boston Congress, paying the Congress fee. A still larger number of persons will attend its various sessions. Of these 172 belong to foreign, mostly European countries. 122 delegates from Great Britain are in attendance on the Congress, while the religious liberals of Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland, as well as Australia, New Zealand, India, and Japan, are also, and for the most part officially, represented.

Such results may well encourage the promoters of this international endeavor to bring into closer union for exchange of ideas, mutual service, and the promotion of their common aims the historic liberal churches, the liberal elements in all churches, the scattered liberal congregations, and isolated workers for religious freedom and progress in many lands.

This purpose is being more and more realized as each successive meeting of our association brings the religious liberals of different nations into closer personal relations with each other. Our previous Congresses at London, Amsterdam, and Geneva were impressive in their exhibit of numbers, the intellectual and moral weight of their testimony, and the catholicity of their spirit. To all who attended them they were profoundly instructive and moving,—red-letter days in their spiritual history. But the best result of these Congresses was the brotherhood of soul which they generated, the mutual personal acquaintance of thinkers and workers for religious freedom, separated from each other by long stretches of sea and land, but closely affiliated in thought, in sentiment, in aspiration,

and in common labors for the advancement of truth and the practice of the good. Whatever else this International Council may have accomplished, it has certainly brought the advocates of religious freedom in many lands into closer touch and acquaintance with each other. We are no more strangers: we are friends. We clasp each other's hands to-day with a warmth born of confidence and gratitude; we look into each other's faces with affectionate interest; we listen to each other's words with eager expectation. We will tell each other of our individual experiences since last we met,—our trials and defeats, our triumphs and gains, our undying trusts and hopes for "pure religion and perfect liberty." When we return to often difficult and lonely posts of duty in far distant countries, the memory of these days of spirit-communion will remain with us as an encouragement and an inspiration. Truly, it is good for us to be here. This is to us none other than the house of God, and this is a gate to heaven!

But, in the midst of our mutual felicitation, a shadow falls across our minds as we recall tenderly and sorrowfully those brave and ardent spirits among us who, since last we came together, have ceased their faithful labors on earth and been called to more glorious service in heaven. The past year has deprived us of the companionship and counsel of one of the most widely honored and influential of our fellow-workers, Professor Albert Réville, of Paris. Eminent as a scholar and theologian, he was still more distinguished as the eloquent champion of a free and rational Christianity and for the loftiness of his moral and spiritual ideals. At our last Congress in Geneva his voice was still vibrant for religious freedom and unity, and its echoes can never die out of our hearts.

One of the first to acclaim the formation of our International Council was Signor Fernando Bracciforti, of Milan, who pleaded at our London meeting with all the impassioned earnestness of his race for religious liberty and progress, and later translated into Italian several of the papers of the Congress. A brave Garibaldian soldier, he stood for years almost alone in his native country for the Unitarian form of Christianity. He fought nobly for us, and we reverently render him the tribute of our grateful remembrance.

At the Geneva meetings in 1905 the proceedings were impressively opened by a prayer from the venerable lips of Pasteur L. Audemars,

of Lausanne, a patriarch of ninety-two years, a devoted adherent of liberal Christianity. In the fulness of his years and labors he has since been gathered to his fathers, and confides the never-completed task of religious emancipation to our loyal hands and hearts.

Rev. Richard Lyttle, a Unitarian clergyman of Monyrea, Ireland, was a delegate to our Congress at Geneva. His early death called out a remarkable demonstration of regard and sorrow on the part of his compatriots. The whole community gave itself up to mourning. Protestants and Catholics, liberals and orthodox, priests and ministers, walked side by side in long procession at his funeral, thus testifying to a noble life spent in the service of his country and his kind, and affording a striking illustration of that religious breadth and concord for whose promotion our International Council was organized.

The lamented death of Ananda Mohun Bose, the eminent Hindu lawyer and statesman, a leader in the Brahmo-Somaj, or association of Hindu Theists, affiliated with our Council, is a misfortune to us as well as to modern India. So, too, in recalling the comparatively early decease of the brilliant preacher and writer, Rev. Albert Kalt-hoff, of Bremen, we unite with our German fellow-believers in deploring the loss of one who, while often at variance with us in religious science and philosophy, was ever faithful to the fundamental verities of freedom, truth, and God.

The interval of time between our biennial Congresses is usefully occupied by your officers and Executive Committee in labors for the cause it represents, in carrying out so far as possible the decisions of previous meetings, and preparing for the next one. During the past two years a large correspondence with fellow-liberals the world over has been conducted by the General Secretary, by President Edouard Montet, and various members of the committee. By this agency the knowledge of our aims and methods has been much extended and our acquaintance with the conditions and needs of religious liberals in other lands enlarged, while we, in turn, have been enabled to reinspire many brave and devoted laborers for religious enlightenment and progress who suffer from the isolation and material privation which often attend their lot, or who are the victims of dogmatic intolerance and ecclesiastical oppression. Nor

have we always contented ourselves with words alone. Despite the fact that our Council has as yet no treasury, no funds, and no stated income, means have been found, in some cases, to make a modest contribution for the relief of individuals and agencies representing our principles and needing our help. An interesting instance of such international co-operation is to be found in the organization a year or more since, at Geneva, of a society for promoting general Protestant, and more especially French Protestant, interests in the present religious crisis in that country,—a society whose aims our Council was glad to further in both material and moral ways. The happy results attending this practical co-operation with our fellow-workers in other lands makes the creation of a central *caisse*, or treasury, for our association seem more than ever desirable. As a rule, radical thought and poverty of material resources seem to go together, while orthodoxy and wealth are almost synonymous terms. Dean Swift once sarcastically remarked that the Lord showed what *He* thought of great wealth by the people he gave it to. Would that we could be sure that our poverty is an outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace! In many communities there is no way in which our struggling cause could be more surely established than by a timely and needed grant of money for the support of a minister, the maintenance of a religious journal, or the dissemination of liberal literature.

This leads us to acknowledge with gratitude the large help our cause is receiving from the liberal religious journals of the world. Papers like the *Christian Register* and *Universalist Leader* of Boston, the *Inquirer* and *Christian Life* of London, *Das Protestantenblatt* and *Die Christliche Welt* of Germany, *Le Protestant* and *La Vie Nouvelle* of France, *De Hervorming* of Holland, give large space to the announcements of our International Council, and express great sympathy with its spirit and purposes. The journals named have recently issued as supplements two large bulletins giving information concerning the approaching session of the Boston Congress, thus assuring the latter a wide-spread and effective advertisement. Besides these journals, however, there are twenty others in the various countries of Europe, America, and Asia, which are in accord with our aims and cordially second our endeavors. It should be our constant effort to repay this countenance and sup-

port by furnishing original contributions and intelligence to the columns of these journals, securing subscribers and advertisements for them, and in every way in our power aiding them to increase in their own country and vernacular the sway of enlightened and liberal religion.

Of our last Congress at Geneva over four hundred reports appeared in the European newspapers. Many of them were friendly notices of the stately and admirably arranged volume of Proceedings and Papers of that Congress, of which its president, Professor Edouard Montet, was the conscientious editor, and which has had quite an extensive circulation. Under the careful supervision of one of our committee, Professor G. Boros, of Kolozsvár, a translation of sixteen of these papers into Hungarian has recently been published. It suffices to say that next to our Congresses themselves there is no better agency for attaining the objects for which our Council was organized than the propaganda through the printed page. We rejoice, therefore, over the great literary activity displayed by the members of our association, the numerous and important books and articles in reviews they are constantly producing, and their effective service for religious truth and freedom as journalists, lecturers, teachers, and preachers.

In this connection we may allude to three recent literary events of characteristic importance to our cause: first the institution of a new theological and philosophical review, the *Harvard Journal of Theology*, to be edited by the theological faculty of Harvard University; second, the appearance of a new definitive American edition, in sixteen volumes, of the writings of Theodore Parker; and, third, the issue in Germany and other countries of several distinct series of popular handbooks on theological, philosophical, and religious topics, written by eminent scholars, and which enjoy already a very large circulation,—a gratifying proof that the conclusions of modern historical and critical science are no longer to be the exclusive possession of the learned classes and the university, but are to be brought increasingly to the knowledge and comprehension of the plain people of God. When this shall be successfully accomplished, a religious revolution, or rather transformation, of Christendom will not be far away. Surely, in view of all this public service we do not claim too much when we say

that no association of our day represents more scholarly, gifted, earnest, and devout minds than ours, no school of religious thought receives greater encouragement from modern science, scholarship, and criticism, is so identified with the social progress of our time, or has greater reason to recall trustfully the Master's saying, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

During the past two years interchanges of sentiment and service between the religious associations which make our Council the organ of their larger and international relations with each other have been increasingly frequent. A striking instance of this was the presence of some twenty foreign delegates, representing ten different countries, at the last annual meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. At recent sessions of the *Protestantenbond*, or Union of Dutch Liberals, the Swiss *Verein fuer freies Christentum*, the *Protestantenverein* and the *Freunde der Christlichen Welt* in Germany, the American Unitarian Association, the Brahma-Somaj of India, greetings were brought by envoys from liberal bodies in other and foreign countries. At a number of these gatherings our International Council was represented in person or by letter. We trust the day may come when this Council shall be enabled to maintain an agent constantly in the field, who shall regularly visit the more important of these meetings of religious liberals in all countries and become an intermediary between them in the interest of their common aims.

Concerning the important events in the religious world since last we met in council, and their effect on the twin causes of religious liberty and enlightenment, the various speakers from abroad who are to address this series of meetings will give well-instructed and comprehensive reports. A careful listening to their statements, supplemented by a reading of the volume of Proceedings and Papers of the Congress, which is to appear forthwith, will yield the latest and best information of the condition and prospects of religious liberty and progress throughout the world.

One of the votes of the Congress at Geneva was that its Executive Committee should collect, edit, and present to the next Congress the creeds, declarations of belief, working principles, statements of purpose, etc., in present use by the various associations and church

fellowships affiliated with this International Council. It was felt that such an exhibit of present-day faith and purpose among religious liberals the world over would be of mutual interest and helpful to our common cause. In accordance with this decision a circular asking this information was sent to a large number of associations and churches. Many replies have been received, but, as a number of the parties addressed have not yet reported and the material in hand needs careful sifting and editing, your committee advises that the matter be recommitted to them for further consideration and as early publication as possible. The one general and gratifying conclusion which we have derived from the reading of the statements of faith thus far submitted is that it is not essential to unity of action among religious liberals that there should be uniformity of belief among them; that the ideal we should keep in mind is not similarity of opinions, however advanced, but the Unity of the Spirit amidst large diversities of gifts and operations.

Each of the Congresses we have thus far held has had its own characteristics and made its peculiar contribution to our cause. At London we discovered each other and ourselves. We laid the foundation for a lasting fellowship of the spirit and learned to know the opportuneness and promise of our international movement. At Amsterdam we came into touch with the Teutonic element, represented there especially by the sturdy Dutch nation, the historic champions of civil and religious liberty. Here, too, we solved the linguistic problem of our Congress, four different tongues—Dutch, German, French, and English—being used by the delegates, but mediated to our understanding by one Pentecostal spirit of truth and fraternity.

At our Third Congress in Geneva we beheld the surprising irony of history by which this ancient stronghold of Calvinism has been transformed into a seat of freedom and enlightenment, an acknowledged centre of liberal religion. Here we came into closer relations with the Latin races, especially with those using the French idiom, while liberal Roman Catholics as well as Protestants participated in our conferences.

The Boston Congress is the heritor of the insight and experience, the brotherly spirit and moral momentum; acquired through our previous gatherings. The names of tried and honored friends and

fellow-workers appear on its programmes side by side with allies new gained for our cause.

It is a matter of disappointment to our Council that some of its most devoted members have not been able this year, for various reasons, to undertake the long journey across the ocean and participate in the proceedings of the Congress in Boston. The list of these is too long to enumerate, but we may at least express our regret that Dr. Herbert C. Smith, of London, to whose initiative is largely due the splendid action taken by which the transatlantic journey of so large a number of our British delegates to the Congress was assured, is unable, because of slender health, to be one of the cheerful company of pilgrims over sea which his zeal has made possible.

We sadly miss at this meeting also Dr. John Estlin Carpenter, of Oxford, and Dr. Henricus Oort, of Leiden, the Presidents of our First and Second Congresses, respectively; Mrs. Humphry Ward detained at home, "to her great regret," by literary engagements; Revs. Stopford Brooke, James Drummond, P. H. Wicksteed, and James Harwood, of London; Professor Chantre, of Geneva; Revs. James Hocart, of Brussels, Loenen-Martinet, of Holland, Altherr, of Basel; J. Émile Roberty, of the Oratoire, Paris, and Rev. Charles Wagner, the well-known author of "The Simple Life" and other books; Father Hyacinthe Loyson and Professor Paul Sabatier, of France,—all of whom have been deeply interested members of our previous Congresses. Until the last moment we had hoped for the presence of Professors B. D. Eerdmans, of Leiden, and George Boros, of Kolozsvár, active members of our Council, but prevented by home duties from attendance. Professors Rudolf Eucken and Heinrich Weinel, of the University of Jena, had promised to read papers at our Boston Congress, but are unable to come because of unexpected professional engagements. The former, however, sends an important paper which will be read. Many letters of regret have been received, by prominent scholars, thinkers, and divines of all branches of the Church the world over, which will be printed in the volume of the Proceedings and Papers of the Congress. To these and all friends and allies of our international movement we send greeting and good-will and our appreciation of their earnest and effective services to the cause of religious freedom and progress.

In accordance with a general desire we have given at this Congress a larger place on our programmes to the practical aspects of liberal religion, as these are expressed in the ethical aims, the social reforms, and philanthropic endeavors of our day. The very name of our association is a constant reminder to us that we are religious "workers" as well as "thinkers," and should give large and increasing attention at our meetings to those practical applications of religious truth and duty which are the best fruits of our religion and the glory of our time. The subjects of some of the addresses to which we are to listen,—addresses on personal and social ethics, industrial justice, temperance, and international peace,—as well as the acknowledged competence of those who are to speak on these themes, will, we trust, indicate our interest in these urgent questions of our day.

Our Boston Congress is held under the auspices of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, but calls itself simply a Congress of Religious Liberals. The explanation of this lies in the fact that it is one of the fundamental principles of our International Association not to interfere with the local conditions and preferences of the religious communities which invite us to be their guests. They are better judges than we of their own situation and needs, and how best to secure the co-operation of the liberal elements among them for the reception and work of our Council. Thus at Amsterdam our general gathering called itself a "Congres van Vrijzinnig-godsdienstigen,"—a "Congress of Religious Free-thinkers." At Geneva we met as a "Congrès du Christianisme Libéral et Progressif,"—a "Congress of Religious and Progressive Christians." Following this example, the committee who have had in charge the organization of the Boston session thought it advisable to call it a Congress of Religious Liberals. The best evidence that they acted wisely in this matter is the wider and more inclusive fellowship it has made possible. On our list of officers and reception committees, as well as on the programme of our meetings, are to be found the representatives of many different branches of Christendom and the Church Universal. Once again the religious world is afforded the edifying spectacle of a great body of men and women, belonging to some thirty different households of faith and distinguished by large varieties

of opinion, coming together in peace and good will to exchange ideas, and to consort and worship together in the spirit of freedom, reverence, and charity.

Even the Roman Catholic Church, of all existing fellowships surely the least likely to sympathize with the aims and methods of a body like ours, is to-day represented at our Congress by one of its most scholarly and courageous priests, while well-informed Protestant divines, laying aside all prejudice, are to treat of the higher interests of this ancient and mother Church of Christendom in a profoundly sympathetic spirit. The inter-religious and inter-racial character of our gathering is still further evidenced by the presence and participation in it of eminent representatives of other great world-religions and branches of the human family, the Brahmin, the Jew, and the Mahometan,—the sons of Asia and Africa as well as of Europe and America—while at our opening session last Sunday evening at Symphony Hall, with mighty unison of heart and voice, the great congregation sent forth to the religious world the greeting and message of our Congress, that angelic song which to-day, as ever, brings glad tidings of deliverance to mankind,—“Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, good will toward men!”

For, while we call ourselves liberals, we are religious liberals. It is in the truest sense a religious movement which we have inaugurated,—a movement which finds its chief inspiration in the positive affirmations of faith, and not in criticism and negation. Doubts and denials we are not unfrequently compelled to give free and fearless utterance to, but they are only incidental to our main purpose, which is to cherish and develop the religious life. We believe that the religious sentiment is natural to man and of surpassing importance; that, whatever may befall its accidental and transitory embodiments in dogma, sacrament, and ritual, religion itself will endure forever, the very life-blood of the soul of man, the inner power which lifts him above the solicitations of the senses and the distractions of the world into communion with God and self-sacrificing devotion to mankind.

Furthermore, we are liberals in religion, not because we maintain this or that set of opinions, however advanced; not because we deny or antagonize other people's opinions, not because we hold our

opinions loosely or have no opinions whatever. Liberalism is to us a temper, an attitude of the mind, a disposition of the heart towards truth. Liberalism is the supremacy of the spirit over the letter in religion. It is the mind in a state of growth, and is thus differentiated from orthodoxy, which is the type of a mind that has stopped growing, which accepts finalities in religion and claims that its opinions are infallible. We are liberals because we believe in freedom, in growth in evolution in religion, as in all else; because we believe in sincerity and courage and hope in our treatment of religious questions.

But, above all, we are liberals because we cherish a tolerant and sympathetic spirit towards those with whom we differ in opinion. No mind can be truly liberal which entertains a hateful, scornful temper towards another type of mind. The true liberal not only speaks the truth but he speaks it in love. He not only tolerates, he loves his fellow-men. He is charitable towards their intellectual errors and sympathetic with their endeavors after truth. He reverences their reverences. He is not impatient with error if it be error held in the spirit of truth. The only unpardonable sin in his eyes is uncharity,—a loveless heart, an intolerant mind.

This it is to be a religious liberal, and of such a spirit and purpose is the International Congress of Religious Liberals which invites you to-day to its deliberations and concerted endeavors for religious freedom, truth, and charity. It is persuaded, like the apostle, that "where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." Therefore, it would "serve the Lord in newness of spirit, and not in oldness of the letter," striving

"To build the Universal Church
Lofty as is the love of God,
And ample as the wants of man."

The PRESIDENT.—I want, my friends, in behalf of your Local Executive Committee, to express the regret, not to say the humiliation of the committee, at their inadequate power of prophecy. Your committee has not been able rightly or justly to estimate the popular interest in this gathering. The National Conference of the Unitarian Churches has not within recent years summoned more than a thou-

sand members. The International Council has never had more, I think, than a thousand members. In arranging for your meeting, your Local Committee doubled all previous records. You have doubled that record. I trust that most of our visitors from abroad have been suitably cared for, but I am sorry to have to believe that many people from our own land who have come great distances have suffered some inconvenience.

You cannot put more than a quart of water into a quart pot. We have hired the largest rooms that the city affords. That all of you could not get into the meeting on Sunday night is a matter of regret to those of you who were left outside, but it is a partial alleviation to know that there is so much popular interest in our gathering.

We are to have the pleasure of hearing this morning of the progress and outlook of this work in England, France, and Germany. I hardly need to say here that the steadfastness, the sanity, the public spirit, and the wholesome life and tendencies of the Unitarian churches of Great Britain are embodied in the mind and the person of the Secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. This Council is infinitely indebted to Mr. Bowie, for he organized its first public meeting, and his hand has been on the helm more or less ever since. I have great pleasure in presenting Mr. Bowie.

THE UNITARIAN MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

BY REV. W. COPELAND BOWIE, OF LONDON.

The Rev. Alex. Gordon, our most learned historian, observes that "the history of the Unitarian movement is the key to its meaning." He has outlined the history, making the year 1198 his first chronological landmark, and indicating three distinct historical stages: (1) sporadic anti-trinitarianism, native and exotic, dating from 1548; (2) a theological school of thought, making use of the Unitarian name, bent on promulgating the doctrine of the unipersonality of the Godhead, dating from 1682; (3) the stage of Unitarian church life, in which worship is decisively limited to God, the Father, dating from the opening of Essex Street Chapel, London, by Theophilus Lindsey, in 1774.

Professor Bonet-Maury finds the sources of English Unitarianism in the theological teachings of certain Spanish and Italian Protestants who, about the middle of the sixteenth century, found their way to the "Strangers' Church" in London. A fusion was afterwards effected between Socinianism and the more liberal and rational elements of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. The writings of John Bidle, the publication of the Unitarian tracts, aided by the broad and enlightened views of Milton, Locke, and Newton, gave a great impetus to the movement in the seventeenth century. The writings of Lardner, Lindsey, and Priestley in the eighteenth century prepared the way for a fuller and deeper expression of Unitarianism as a theology, as seen in the discourses of Channing and the works of Martineau in the nineteenth century. Mr. Gordon has shown, however, that anti-trinitarianism existed in England prior to the organization of the Foreign Congregations in London in 1550.

There are also Unitarians who leap the centuries, and claim Moses and the prophets as the real founders of their faith; while "Jesus a Unitarian" and "Paul a Unitarian" have been

the titles of not a few ably written tracts and eloquent sermons. If the stricter discipline of modern schools of history has chastened and subdued these imaginative flights, we may still say that, while there might be some sense of fitness in calling Moses and the prophets Unitarians, it would be grotesque to label them as Trinitarians; and an orthodox apologist would hardly venture to claim that Jesus or Paul would have subscribed to the Athanasian Creed.

In his introduction to Professor Bonet-Maury's valuable book, Dr. Martineau leans to the view that the Unitarian movement cannot be traced to any single teacher or specific date. It had its sources in the thoughts of many minds in many lands.

The word "Unitarian," as employed by Unitarians themselves, does not always mean the same thing. In England it is sometimes used (generally by those who dislike it and would rejoice to be rid of it) to indicate a somewhat narrow, dogmatic theology of an unorthodox type, which probably no living Unitarian would recognize as descriptive of his religious position. Sometimes it is used (especially by those who are attached to the name and who wish to retain it) to indicate a certain attitude of mind and temper in approaching religious problems, with the emphasis placed upon the idea of "unity,"—the unity of nature, the unity of mankind, the unity of religion, and the unity of all in God. I am not concerned to-day in discussing which of these interpretations is the more correct or whether both are wrong. Etymology is an interesting and instructive branch of study, but it has its obvious limitations. It can tell you what a word once upon a time meant, and what, according to its derivation, it ought to mean; but, if you wish to discover its real meaning, it is necessary to learn what it stands for in the minds of the men who use it as descriptive of their thought and feeling at the present time. In England, as in America, the tendency is to make the name "Unitarian" cover the largest and best religious faith which man has attained, with a public notice to the effect that any larger or better faith which the future may have in store for man will receive cordial welcome.

In what may be called its unorganized form the Unitarian movement in England is very much alive. It would of course be easy to quote examples of bigotry, superstition, ignorance, and intolerance. The rule of the priest and the social pressure of the Established

Church are active, potent forces throughout the land, and they make the task of the religious reformer, and especially of the outspoken heretic, arduous and heart-breaking at times. Yet, in spite of all difficulties and drawbacks, freedom of inquiry, frankness of expression, largeness of outlook, eagerness to attain a truer theology and a better religion, are receiving in England to-day fuller and wider recognition among all classes of the community than ever before. The evidences of this are more apparent in centres of active thought and life than in ancient cathedral cities or remote villages, though "voices" even from these latter are becoming more and more frequent. The publication of Dr. Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, with its mildly rationalistic evangelical Christianity, and of the Encyclopædia Biblica, with its relentless overthrow of the Scriptural citadels reared with such labor by orthodox divines,—these two great and notable works show to what lengths scholarship has travelled on the way to perfect freedom.

At various periods in the history of the Established Church in England the charge has been freely made that the theology of not a few of its clergy and many of its laity was honeycombed by Unitarianism. The late Mr. C. H. Spurgeon charged his fellow Baptist ministers in the "Down-grade" controversy with being tainted with Unitarianism. Quite recently, the "New Theology" of Mr. R. J. Campbell has been labelled (too precipitately, I think) by its friends and foes alike as "Unitarian." It may, however, be said with perfect fairness that the Unitarian movement, in larger or smaller measure, may be discovered within the borders of almost every church and sect in England, not excluding the Salvation Army. The more extreme clerical party, in fighting for the retention of denominational religious teaching in public schools, frequently declare that "unsectarianism" is only another name for Unitarianism. In this they are not so well informed, for much of the so-called "unsectarian" teaching in public schools in England consists of a very narrow and antiquated orthodoxy. They are, however, right in proclaiming that an "unsectarian" system cannot exclude Unitarianism.

Probably the majority of the people of England to-day stand outside all the churches. The bulk of them are not anti-religious. Only a small number are avowed secularists. They are mostly indifferent to the sayings and doings of churches. These men are not

without their dim visions of the eternal. They have their unspoken thoughts and feelings concerning God and life here and hereafter. When you get into conversation with the more intelligent of them and give an outline of what Unitarians believe and teach, many are ready to exclaim: "Why, that is what I think, that is how I feel. I, too, have been a Unitarian without knowing it."

Legally, Unitarians in England are non-conformists. They are outside the State Church. Theologically, they are often described as dissenters of the dissenters. But the Unitarian movement in England is not, and never has been, in organic communion with non-conformity. In its earlier days the movement found its home, to a larger extent, inside than outside the Established Church. John Bidle (1616-1662), whom Joshua Toulmin calls the "father of the English Unitarians," had no quarrel on principle either with episcopacy or a State Church. Thomas Firmin (1632-1697), Bidle's friend and benefactor, a member of the little society of Unitarian worshippers formed in 1651, was well known to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and reckoned among his personal friends several bishops and many of the leading clergy of his day. Queen Mary, who approved of Firmin's benevolence, but was shocked by his heresies, besought Tillotson to put him right in his theology, but the archbishop excused himself by saying that Socinianism had become so firmly planted in the London merchant's mind that he was not now capable of a contrary impression. If Tillotson was disposed to be friendly, there were others who took a different view. The learned and eloquent Robert South called these early Unitarians "impious blasphemers," and traced their pedigree "back in a direct line to the devil himself."

From time to time various attempts were made to obtain a foothold for Unitarianism within the Established Church, and it was with extreme reluctance that several able men severed their connection with the State Church in the latter part of the eighteenth century. William Frend (1757-1841), writing from Jesus College, Cambridge, September 10, 1788, issued "An Address to the Members of the Church of England and to Protestant Trinitarians in general, exhorting them to turn from the false worship of Three Persons to the worship of the One True God." He published a second address a few months later, and an edition was also issued to the inhabitants

of Cambridge and the neighborhood. Frennd contended that the doctrine of the Trinity was "a libel on the Scriptures, and an insult to the understanding of mankind."

Because some of the older chapels bear the designation "Presbyterian," there has been a tendency among Unitarians to credit Presbyterianism in England with a breadth and tolerance in religion which are not easy to discover. As a matter of fact, the Presbyterian system has never, in any country, been particularly favorable to free inquiry in religion. Joshua Toulmin, writing in 1789, regarded it as "a ground of devout thankfulness" that Presbyterianism had no existence amongst the English Protestant dissenters of his day, and that those of them who were improperly called by that name were genuine advocates of liberty. "To walk in all the ways which God had made known, or shall make known to them," was the fine phrase of an Independent, not of a Presbyterian. To the Baptist denomination belongs the honor of having consistently repudiated throughout its history all coercive power over the minds and consciences of men in reference to their religious beliefs. The Unitarian movement owes a deep debt of gratitude not to Presbyterianism, but to many of those to whom the name Presbyterian was given. The meeting-houses which they erected, after the passing of the Toleration Act of 1689, were not "Unitarian," for Unitarianism and Roman Catholicism were alike excluded from "toleration." Happily, the older trust deeds of dissenters rarely set out in detail schemes of doctrine. Without realizing what it would lead to, they were content to found their chapels simply for the worship of God. The love of freedom took root in their minds, and by slow degrees they passed from stage to stage of Arminianism, of Arianism, and of Unitarianism. The late Mr. Gladstone, during the debates on the Dissenters' Chapel Bill of 1844, grasped the position and the principle at issue with wonderful clearness. "Here," he said, "were certain persons, who founded these chapels, entertaining one creed; and the present possessors of these chapels profess another creed. I admit that that sounds startling. But, if you take the pains to follow the course of events from year to year, it is impossible to say that, at any given period, the transition from one doctrine to another was made. It was a gradual and an imperceptible transition. . . . The parties who effected it made a different use of the principle of

inquiry by private judgment than those who had preceded them, but they acted on a principle fundamentally the same, and, though I may lament the result, I do not see how their title is vitiated because they used it to one effect, and others to another."

About one hundred and fifty existing Unitarian chapels in England were founded by people who did not hold what would now be called Unitarian opinions. Several of them were the direct outcome of the labors of clergymen "ejected" from the Established Church in consequence of the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Few of these men were Presbyterians. They were not opposed to episcopacy, but to enforced conformity to ceremonies and doctrines concerning the value of which they were in doubt. "It is impossible to read any non-conformist clerical diary of that age," writes Mr. Gordon, "without admiring the faith of men who had to plod their way from shilling to shilling, from bag of corn to bag of peas, the wolf always at one door, the constable at the other, the brave resolution ever choking down despair and stimulating new trust in God." "If we turn," he adds, "from perceptions of truth which are variable to the formative principles of judgment and conduct which stand fast in the fidelity of conscience and the paramount obligations of religious sincerity, then I think that modern liberals, of whatever school, may gratefully own the spirit of the Ejected as a salt of our English history which hath not lost its savor."

The secession of Theophilus Lindsey from the Established Church and the opening of a chapel in London for Unitarian worship, and the powerful, vivid advocacy of Dr. Priestley, gave a fresh impetus to the Unitarian movement in England. There was considerable missionary zeal for a time. Tracts were published in 1791 by the Unitarian Society for Promoting Christian knowledge and the Practice of Virtue. The Unitarian Fund, founded in 1806, assisted missionary preachers; half-deserted chapels were filled by eager congregations, and new movements were started. The Trinity Act of 1813 made it legal publicly to profess Unitarian opinions and to worship in Unitarian chapels.

The literature in which the Unitarianism of a century ago expressed itself is seldom read nowadays. Naturally, it is out of touch with modern thought. Colenso on the date and authorship of the Pen-

tateuch, Darwin on the "Origin of Species," and many another writer, have changed the mental outlook, especially of those who were unhampered by traditional creeds or by ecclesiastical authority. The tracts published by the American Unitarian Association in 1827 are not unlike those issued in England some years earlier. The first tract bears the title, "The Faith Once Delivered to the Saints." After setting forth in an interesting and instructive way what the writer conceived to be the true Christian faith, he adds: "It is obviously a plain, simple, intelligible statement, with nothing in it to perplex the understanding, to contradict the judgment of sound reason, or to oppose the kind affections which God has planted within us." Those in our day who have felt

. . . "the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world"

press upon their souls are hardly likely to have "the burden of the mystery" lightened by anything quite so simple as "the faith once delivered to the saints."

In the second tract, "One Hundred Scriptural Arguments for the Unitarian Faith," Jesus is "exalted far above all other created intelligences, he is a being distinct from, inferior to, and dependent upon the Father Almighty." "The supremacy of the Father and the inferiority of the Son is the simple, unembarrassed, and current doctrine of the Bible." The "supremacy" of the Father and the "inferiority" of the Son,—this kind of terminology has passed out of use. It has no meaning or application to current Unitarian conceptions of God or Jesus, or of their relation to each other.

Tract number XI. bears the title "Unitarianism Vindicated against the Charge of not going far enough." The writer says, "The true and only reason why, as Christians, we do not go any further, is our solemn, firm, and deliberate conviction that the Scriptures do not go any further." The Bible is "an authority from which there is no appeal." How very remote from present-day Unitarianism such sentiments as these appear! Try to imagine the dean of the Divinity School at Harvard or the principal of Manchester College, Oxford, giving utterance to such a dictum! How admirably these references support the thesis that Unitarianism is a "movement," not a denomination, a sect, or a creed!

The Unitarian theology of a century ago, or indeed of a half or a quarter of a century ago, is no longer descriptive of the beliefs of Unitarians to-day. And yet all the way along there has been an allegiance to principles which explain and justify the divergences. The older, like the modern, writers invariably put in a plea for mental freedom, and insist on the supreme importance of the good life. The Unitarian is called upon "to evince the excellence of his faith by its influence over his own life and conversation." Theodore Parker, sixty-five years ago (1842), said: "We look around us, and all seems to change. The theology of our fathers is unreadable. The soul of man remains the same. God still speaks in reason, conscience, faith,—is still immanent in his children." James Martineau, writing a year later, gave utterance to a similar thought: "Our very progress, which is our peculiar glory, consists in at once losing and leaping the past, in gaining fresh stations from which to take a wise retrospect, and become more deeply aware of the treasures we have used."

Concerning the position, work, and outlook of the churches in Great Britain and Ireland, in which Unitarian worship is regularly held, I must confine myself to a few words. There are two hundred and ninety-one places of worship in England, thirty-five in Wales, six in Scotland, and thirty-nine in Ireland,—three hundred and seventy-one in all. The total membership of these churches at the present time probably does not exceed forty thousand. On an average, probably not more than twenty-five thousand persons assemble for worship at all the churches combined at any one Sunday service. There are said to be large numbers of Unitarians in attendance at so-called orthodox churches. There are probably still larger numbers who, if they are anything, are Unitarian rather than Trinitarian, but who do not attend, except on rare occasions, any place of worship. There are certainly not a few avowed Unitarians who are seldom seen at the Sunday services. We have to confess that our religious services often fail to interest people who are intellectually in accord with us; and our imitations of the ritual of other churches do not seem to prove very helpful, except to a few. Many of the older Unitarian families leave no descendants. Their sons and daughters often become indifferent, and allow social and other very mundane considerations to prevail. There are, of course, splendid

exceptions. I do not hesitate to say that some of the noblest and sweetest types of religious men and woman any one could find in the British Isles have been nurtured in the Unitarian faith. But we have to admit that, were it not for the incoming of people from other churches and from "outside," many of our older congregations would long since have become extinct; and it is doubtful, were it not for the missionary zeal of converts, aided by a comparatively small number of ardent Unitarians, whether any new congregations would have been founded. If the missionary spirit were to die out, if the British and Foreign Unitarian Association and the more active district societies were to cease their operations, the Unitarian movement, in its organized form in England, would probably decline rapidly and finally disappear, to the grievous detriment of freedom and progress in religion.*

Our catholic ideals are often in danger of becoming mere toys of the intellect or of the imagination, with no bearing upon character and conduct. To the listener, if not to the preacher, they become stale by vain repetition, and rapidly lose the compelling charm of their first revelation. Like the theological dogmas against which they are intended to be a protest, they are "less of a gospel than an opinion, less a faith than a creed." Dr. Jowett very truly remarked that "a church which is liberal may also be indifferent, and, having attained the form of truth, may have lost the power of it." The faith in God and immortality which we have been struggling to rid of superstition, as the late Professor Henry Sidgwick reminds us, suddenly seems to be *in the air*; and in seeking for a firm basis for this faith we find ourselves in the midst of the fight with death that "In Memoriam" so powerfully presents.

The pew and the pulpit in Unitarian churches not infrequently serve as "temporary resting-places for theological waits and anti-theological strays." But, if there are some experiences which disappoint and depress us, there are many more which inspire us with confidence and hope. The joy and peace which come to converts to Unitarianism, the eagerness with which large numbers of the common people listen to its message when spoken by men to whom

* I do not myself believe that the missionary spirit will die out. Our recent experiments with the Unitarian vans will probably revive a consciousness of need and opportunity which the work in many of our chapels is apt to hide from us.

it is a gospel of life, show clearly that there are harvest fields in abundance waiting for the Unitarian who can reap. The cure for ineffectiveness, for useless beating of the air, lies in getting close and keeping close to life as it is and to men as they are.

To help men most effectually in our day, we need not only a "Free" church but a church intelligently and enthusiastically *pledged* to the service of truth and love,—a church which will not be content with repeating a few attenuated phrases rescued from a decaying orthodoxy. How best to combine faith with freedom, to quicken the souls of men with reverence and trust, while they remain fearless in the pursuit of truth and stalwart in the warfare against sin and wrong, is a problem which confronts Unitarian and other liberal religious thinkers and workers, not only in England, but all over the world. Perhaps when we learn to lose ourselves more completely in the ministry of religion, and give ourselves more unreservedly to the redemption of mankind from whatever hinders or hurts, and to the service of whatever ennobles and sanctifies, we may be able to do more and better work in winning men over to the side of a rational and reverent faith, and linking their lives and ours with the life of God.

The PRESIDENT.—It has been the custom of the Council to appoint a Committee on Resolutions to present resolutions at a later session. I will, therefore, ask Rev. Valentine D. Davis, of London, Dr. Groenewegen, of Leiden, and Rev. N. Jozan, of Budapest, to serve as such a committee and to report at the closing session.

The roots of religious liberty run back into the land of Martin Luther. It is a great pleasure for us to-day to welcome the representative of our fellow-workers of the Protestantenverein, of Germany. We greet him not only in his representative capacity, but for himself; for here is a man who has been obliged to face danger, difficulty, persecution, for the cause in which he believes. Here is a man who has risen because he was not afraid to fall, a man who wins because he dares to lose. Dr. Fischer is going to speak to us in German, but you will be able to follow what he says in the translation which has been placed in your hands. I ask you to greet Dr. Max Fischer, of Berlin.

THE PROTESTANTENVEREIN OF GERMANY.

BY REV. MAX FISCHER, D.D., OF BERLIN, GERMANY.

I greet this meeting with a sincerely religious Protestant greeting, as a delegate of the German Protestantenverein, or Protestant Association, which is much honored and gratified by your invitation to send a representative to this great and significant Congress. It is with deep emotion that I stand before this assembly to-day, in the consciousness of a sacred fellowship with it. The more complete religious communion we may enjoy within a narrower or denominational circle does not incapacitate us from believing that all the religious utterances which come from humanity are supported and dominated by a great fundamental unity.

For what is the value of our religion, if it be not to make us quick to respond to every symptom of religious life, to every thought born of the Holy Spirit, and if it be not an impelling force in our religious culture? And this I take to be the meaning of the community of feeling we enjoy here to-day, that, however deeply any religious type may have differentiated itself from other religious types in the process of growth, yet it is rooted deep in the common ground of man's religious nature, in which the Divine Spirit is ever manifesting itself. Each one of us, therefore, should strive to realize, under special national conditions, the universal religious idea.

In this spirit I greet you all. I offer a truly Protestant greeting to all the Christians who may be in sympathy with us, since we all profess the gospel originating in Jesus, which is the source of our belief in the salvation of mankind, through the "love of God shed abroad in our hearts," so that out of our overflowing peace with God the all-perfecting joy of a child of God may fill our hearts.

And thus I greet you in the name of German Protestantism, our common father.

Now permit me to say a few words about the German Protestant Association.

When, in the syllabus accompanying the circular of 1864 Pius IX. anathematized modern culture, German Protestantism was horrified to see that the pope had many sympathizers within the Protestant Church, however much this sympathy was veiled. It almost seemed as if there was an envious desire in certain circles to be able to do likewise, to be able to brush aside the modern demand for increased opportunities of instruction,—demands made without reference to the Church, rather in opposition to it. At about the same time Daniel Schenkel's book on Jesus appeared. It was violently attacked by the orthodox party, anathemas were pronounced against a science which dared to make the most sacred mysteries of the Church an object of investigation, not resting satisfied with the reasonable explanation of the creeds, but daring to put historical investigation in the place of a devout interpretation of the fundamental facts of Christianity. No wonder indignation was aroused. A hierarchy has ever strangled science, even within the Protestant Church, which in its beginnings had worked hand in hand with the highest thought of the age.

But a theology conformed to a hierarchy is not compatible with theological science, obeying its own laws and applying its own methods to the investigation of historical and philosophical data. A hierarchy and its theology in Protestantism are "the leaven of the Pharisees and scribes," and must be rejected from the Reformed Church.

Symptoms of this evil spirit manifested themselves in the introduction of ancient liturgies, ancient books for religious instruction, in North and South Germany. Protestantism awoke in the nation of the Reformation. Those who felt themselves cramped and threatened in the Protestant Church had their eyes opened to the Romish danger. They now saw what losses the Church had sustained, how she was surrounded with enmity and contempt; they became aware how rudely shaken had been the religious foundation upon which a higher culture had once rested. Indeed, a higher culture now existed independently of the Church. She had doggedly closed her doors to the modern spirit, had met it with suspicion instead of enriching herself and enlarging her boundaries and permeating it with her own deep piety.

It was in this hour that the German Protestant Association was

founded, its object being to keep Protestantism alive in the Protestant Church, and thus to preserve the national Church for the nation.

"The German Protestant Association is founded by those German Protestants who, on the basis of the Christian gospel, desire a renewal of the Protestant Church in the spirit of freedom and in harmony with the general culture of our modern time."

With this declaration the German Protestant Association unfurled its banner when it met for its first Congress (Protestantentag) on the 7th and 8th of June, 1865, at Eisenach, at the foot of the Wartburg. The very names of the men who had the leadership during the proceedings of those days are symbols of Christian piety and love of freedom to the German nation at large. Bluntschli, the well-known statesman, occupied the presidential chair. Richard Rothe and Carl Schwartz, liberal theologians, along with Holtzendorf, professor of jurisprudence, were amongst the speakers. They represented the towns of Heidelberg, Gotha, and Berlin. The future of the Protestant Church in the modern world, the freedom of Protestant pulpit teaching, the defences against an ever-encroaching Romanism—these were the subjects of deliberation. In fact, Protestant Christianity, by virtue of its spirit of freedom and as opposed to every form of clerical domination, was the motive power that founded the association, and to this day it remains at once our binding duty and the ideal we serve.

The Protestant Association has a new development of Protestantism in view, when faith will no longer bring forth churchly works, but will do God's work in the world, when the affairs of life will no longer be regulated from the standpoint of a supernatural and superhistorical revelation, but be permeated by the spirit of truth and love. Such a faith cannot be tied down to supernatural dogmas, but pledges itself in immediate, unreserved abandonment to God, according to the dictates of conscience and reason. This is the "freedom of the children of God." The essential mission of the Protestant Association is to foster this free religious spirit in the Church of our country, and this source of creative energy will yet lift Protestantism to a higher realization of its own inherent principles.

At the time of its formation the German Protestant Association spread quickly all over Germany, and took root everywhere.

Certain already existing societies in Germany, formed about the middle of the nineteenth century with a view to protecting and completing the fusion between two branches of the Reformed Church (the Lutheran and the Swiss Reformed), joined the Protestant Association as branches and worked under its name. Congresses held every two or three years in different parts of Germany bore witness to the character of its service, to its constant forward movement, and the ever-developing nature of its ideas. The clearest testimony to its efficiency, however, was borne by the increasing enmity of the orthodox clergy and church governments. This enmity took the form of persecution and the deposition of liberal clergymen who were members of the Protestant Association.

There ensued a time of retrogression, both in its propaganda and the public interest in its work. When the new synodal constitution (more especially within the Prussian National Church in 1873) had secured a measure of freedom for the congregation, it was thought that the mission of the Protestant Association was fulfilled. It was supposed that the fostering of congregational life by means of presbyteries and synods must admit of a greater freedom of movement. This in its turn would, it was thought, bring about new forms of religious life. If these church corporations took over the so-called "Domestic Mission," they would pay special attention to social questions, above everything to the relations between the Church and the depressed and wage-earning classes already so largely estranged from the fold.

About the same time there arose a new school of theological compromise which spread very rapidly. Its aim was to put an end to the strife concerning cosmic philosophy, the rationalistic and speculative alike. This new school of theological compromise was to rise above the wrangling of schools of philosophy by what it deemed a truly Lutheran method. It appealed to the fundamental need of religion for the human heart. This basic demand for human nature was to be the sole, all-sufficient foundation from which they would derive all motor power for the will. This new school of theology would dispense with the necessity for metaphysical speculation, and thus avoid all the embarrassment arising from the problems raised by natural and historical science. Faith in God does not depend on ratiocinative processes, but upon the practical

postulate of a Divine Providence. The specifically Christian faith depends upon an inward experience of salvation through the medium of the historical Jesus. This immediate inward experience presupposes in Jesus Christ a unique and mystic power. The origin of early Christianity, the formation of the gospel traditions, and kindred questions do not disturb them. If pressed to decide on an important matter, they will not shrink from subscribing *non liquet*.

I do not, of course, pretend to have given an exhaustive presentation of this new school of theological compromise, which would be a very difficult task to accomplish, considering how many-sided it is and what mobility of standpoint the school displays. I am equally far from denying that there is a justification for its position, neither do I deny its importance in church life. Notwithstanding the opposition of orthodoxy, it has succeeded in influencing wide circles of church members in the direction of liberal thought, without challenging the extremes of either the old or the new school. But I doubt whether we can make much progress by their method, although I admit that a mediating mode of procedure is much more popular than ours. I do not see any prospect of disentangling true piety from the trammels of the Old World supernaturalism in which it is held bound by ancient ecclesiastical teaching. Without such a liberation, mankind at large will never listen to or conform to the gospel of Jesus.

To the school of theological compromise in all its ramifications our German Protestant Association must seem barren; for the latter lays its emphasis on the intellectual life and its correlative, freedom of research. It demands an open avowal of the difference between the orthodox and philosophical views of the universe, not only in professors, but also for the rank and file of the clergy and for the laity. The school of theological compromise considers the Protestant Association incapable of religious fervor, hence to be a disturbing element in the life of the Church. But Carl Holsten's words still apply to the present situation. He says: "The cardinal question for the Protestant Association to answer in its mission of renewing Protestantism in harmony with modern culture is this: What is the relation of the 'church' to the body of teaching inculcated by her own agencies? For the agonizing dualism must cease, in which every Protestant member finds himself who lives in

a world seen with modern eyes, but who views the *same* world in distorted relations toward God. Thus in the religious domain he upholds an ante-Copernican cosmogony and in the domain of everyday experience a post-Copernican theory." "The Protestant conscience cannot be founded on the individual experiences of the Divine Spirit in each soul alone, but in addition each intelligence must be freed to *think the thoughts* of God after Him." It is the unalienable right of our intelligence to do this, and only so can our "testimony to the Divine Word" be said to be in any sense "our own." It was this demand which brought about the Reformation of the sixteenth century, but the course of development taken by the church life of Protestantism forced it into the background, if it did not annihilate it altogether. This state of things remains to the present day, and necessitates a continual struggle for freedom of thought.

The German Protestant Association must carry on this struggle. It will continue to work out the idea of congregational self-government within the larger organizations of presbytery and synod. The association has been zealous in dealing with all practical questions affecting the religious and social welfare of the nation as a whole as well as of individuals. It has stirred interest in those basic questions of public morality upon which society and the State rest. It has also displayed great energy during the past ten years, especially at its Congresses in Berlin, Hamburg, Wiesbaden, etc., in defending the Church's freedom of teaching in relation to scientific theology, with its correlatives of perfect veracity and frankness in the pulpit and school-room. For we are convinced that in these days the important matter is to enlighten and reassure the mind of our time concerning the truth of religion and the sincerity of those who as preachers and teachers have it in their especial keeping.

Allow me to enlarge upon these remarks, but with this reservation, that for what I shall say I alone am responsible, and that our society is not to be committed by the affirmations of one of its individual members. Fifty years ago your countryman, Theodore Parker, said of Germany, with respect to the sovereignty it accorded to ideas: "Freedom of thought is allowed; more than that, it is encouraged by the State; not so freedom of speech, still less freedom

of action resulting therefrom. The State expects, and in a measure endows, research, but forbids the resultant reform of old worn-out traditions."

This is not the place in which to show you how far this state of things has improved amongst us in the political and social spheres. On the other hand, I must confess that with respect to ecclesiastical institutions, more especially in Prussia, Parker's criticism is but too true at the present time. Freedom of teaching and of belief is upheld in theory, but any attempt to translate them into action meets with active opposition. The faculties of theology at all the German State-supported universities practise unhindered freedom of investigation and the evolution of thought, but the pulpit is muzzled. There the ancient creeds must be upheld. Everywhere the nation reads and knows that the old traditions have broken down before historical science, but the worshipping congregations must be kept in the dark. Anything like a joyous, trustful reconstruction of Christian Protestant teaching in the light of the modern results of natural and historical science is frowned upon by church authorities. Hence the German Protestant Association is bending all its energies to the attainment of this freedom and veracity of mind within the National Church, in accordance with the general culture and insight of our time. It is a vital question for the highly instructed German nation to answer: if it succeeds, we shall witness a new religious birth of Protestantism, which will leaven our congregational life and permeate and assure to the whole nation its highest thought, the highest products of its culture.

Christianity I believe to be the highest product of an evolutionary process taking place in mankind under a divine impulsion. Protestantism is the form of Christianity capable of leavening a modern nation with purest Christianity.

The books of our Bible are the records of a mighty religious life which culminated in the gospel of Jesus, shedding its light over all the human family. We know from experience how the religion of Jesus touches and awakens a divine faculty within us, and how the latter is illumined and assured and becomes conscious of the spiritual unity of mankind. We appreciate the world-historic significance of the entrance of the religion of Galilee into the Greek world, where it was to be wedded with the philosophical genius of Athens,

thus becoming fitted for its complete world-mission. Thus do we conceive the glorious content of the message, Salvation from God.

But we likewise see that this religion, in its primitive form, is associated with metaphysical and cosmic notions, with ethical conclusions we can no longer share. Nor was it to be wondered at that the central idea of primitive Christianity—the indwelling of God in man—failed, at first, to overcome the conception, dominant in the ancient world, of God as a being essentially separate from and even antagonistic to the world. On the assumption that there were two distinct worlds, a heavenly and an earthly, sinful one, Christianity received the dogmatic stamp of supernaturalism, which was enforced during centuries in dogma and discipline, until the church was petrified into a supernatural institution for the attainment of salvation. Thus Rome triumphed over Galilee and Athens alike.

These conceptions of a supernatural revelation passed from the hierarchy of Rome into the Church of the Reformation, at least in its official forms. The religious life of the individual, despite his Protestant conviction of the inwardness and freedom of all true religion, is riveted to these supernatural dogmas. As an indispensable preliminary to faith, he is required to believe that certain supernatural events have taken place: these events, not having anything religious about them, are made to appear so. More than this, the belief that these events occurred partakes of the Romish faith, inasmuch as it is considered specially meritorious when it is opposed to the dictates of reason. Are we, then, to sacrifice the intellect in the name of God who endowed us with the power of thought and who guides its development? Or are we to exclude those who cannot make the sacrifice from participation in our religious communion? Or are we simply to ignore all questionings as to an ultimate cause and leave religion hovering in the air?

Professor Pfleiderer characterizes Protestantism as deep religious inwardness of the devout personality and entire independence of any mediatory agency. Is that not the exact expression of our understanding of Jesus (so far as our imperfect knowledge of his personality reaches), and has not the Christian world seized upon these very characteristics with all the certainty of religious intuition, as the essential spirit of his gospel, as the germ of the religious spirit in Christianity? And if, on the other hand, through the progress of

knowledge the dualism between heaven and earth is overcome, and supernaturalism becomes impossible in scientific theology, can such a change endanger the inward personal religion which is the Protestant faith? Quite the contrary. The *oneness* of God and man is the postulate upon which the immanency of God in man can rest. It makes the relation thinkable. The divine sonship of mankind, according to the religious teaching of the gospel, is only realized in the light of our modern conception of the immanence of the Divine Being.

Nothing of the work Jesus did for mankind, no part of our religious inheritance of any permanent value, has been lost by our progress in knowledge. This enlargement of our horizon should not merely be received with sufferance, it should be welcomed, and we should do all in our power to further it.

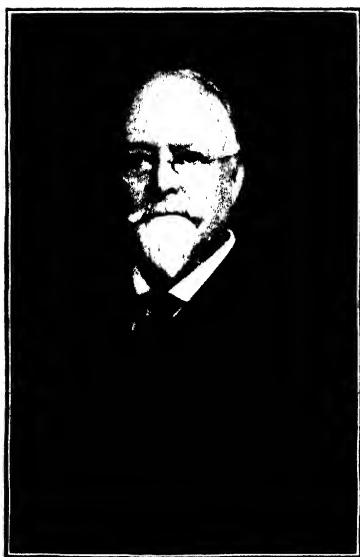
True, Jesus' teaching was not a complete, compact system, capable of being transplanted bodily into any or every zone, any more than he himself can be transplanted and fitted into any subsequent time. His personality, his teaching, and his fate, together with his disciples, his listeners, his enemies, the company of followers who worshipped him,—all these taken together form a concrete, historical picture, with Galilee and Jerusalem as its background. Such a picture cannot be simply reproduced, it cannot be an unquestioned authority in all its unique details for after-times. Yet it will always be historically accessible to us: we return to it as to an inexhaustible spring at which to quench our thirst, where we listen to what "the Spirit saith unto the churches." Returning to our labors with new inspiration, we try to embody it freely in forms suited to our country and our time. We acknowledge and hold fast the bond which links our people to those wonderful workings of God's spirit in Galilee, culminating in the ideal of humanity. We recognize these events as having been pregnant with meaning for all mankind, but we also know that Teutonic Christianity has an individuality distinct from the Semitic-Greek or Roman, hitherto the primary factors in shaping Christianity. The task before us now is to work out the Christian idea into forms suited to our time and people. In this sense must the scribe, who is a disciple of the heavenly kingdom, as Jesus was, and who, "like a householder from his store, bringeth forth things old and new," speak from the



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pulpit with the full consciousness that he is uttering things that are new.

This must not, of course, be done by straining to bring it into accord with dogmatic teaching: it must be based upon a liberal theology. We must not "reinterpret," but must simply try to clothe the *idea* of Christianity in forms our modern congregations can assimilate. Above all, we must get rid of the conceptions of the old Christology; of Jesus of Nazareth as very God, whose deity dominates his historical career. These figures can mean nothing to us. Let us only become possessed by the splendor of the *Idea* originated by Jesus, which upheld him and his work, which has been a mighty impelling force through centuries of human history. Let it become a living energy within us, to create fresh ideals. Then shall we no longer be as strangers to our own time in the religious sphere. We shall proclaim the faith that is in us, in our *own tongue*, and our listeners will hear "the great things that God has done" in familiar speech.

The immense difficulty of this task does not absolve us from the duty of striving to fulfil it, remembering that we only "know in part." But let us take comfort in the thought that truth thus gained in the evolutionary process of religious thought can no more perish than the falsehood of our present religious expression can be saved. Let us only be sure not to retard the progress of truth by clinging to antiquated forms instead of serving the good cause by unwearied research and endeavor.

Shortly, to sum up what seems to me the most urgent reform of the moment: We must liberate the religious consciousness of the present generation from the outworn Christology of the Church, and clear the way for a return to the primitive belief in God, as held by Jesus himself. Salvation will then no longer be attained through the mediation of a God-man or a human being with divine functions and powers. Salvation will come through the consciousness of the indwelling Presence of God in the human soul, whose ethical realization in thought and life is in itself salvation.

Frequent use has been made of this freedom in pulpit teaching in the National Protestant Church of Prussia, more particularly in recent times. This has frequently led to conflicts between individual preachers and church authorities. The old and orthodox school

looks upon itself as the only legitimate representative of the Church because it stands for the dogmas of the Church. It denies the right of a liberal clergyman to preach, and of a liberal congregation to choose a man of their own way of thinking. The judgments of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Courts, even when they did not go the length of depriving a clergyman of his charge, and where they sought other legal grounds for vetoing an appointment, nevertheless plainly showed that they were on the side of orthodoxy.

The question has often enough been raised by the enemies of liberal theology and some of its friends: Why remain in a church with which you do not agree and which does not recognize your right as a member? Why not step out of the Church, and found a new and free church for yourselves? This question of church independence is one which will always be conditioned and decided by the peculiar circumstances and history of the country in which the question arises, and it cannot be answered either way, apart from the concrete circumstances under which it arose. But the general question may be asked: Do secession and the growth of sects promote the truly Protestant ideal of the freedom of the religious personality? Does such a state of things insure progress in religious culture? Freedom for the church is no guarantee of freedom in the Church. Separatist groups that have originated—not in the wide inspiration of the Christian idea, but from the longing to satisfy some need not met in the larger Church,—run great danger of developing a more rigid despotism over individual religious personality. Of course, individuals may always escape from such a tyranny; but what about the majority that suffers the pressure unconsciously? More than this, they may fanatically put pressure on themselves and others, to the great injury of all religious personality. And what about religious progress? I cannot see that it lies in the direction of a multiplication of separatist groups in religion. As a matter of fact, most of the existing sects are founded upon orthodox dogmas or they practise a species of church discipline and require a certain measure of conformity on the part of their members. On the other hand, a national church does not *necessarily* imply uniformity in every particular of religious and ethical belief. The Episcopal Church of England is a case in point, in which opposites are held together by a common bond. In my opinion the very

friction caused in the Church is a means of progress in religious truth. Moreover, a national church is the best organization possible for bringing religious ideas before the masses of the population. The German Protestant Association is, at any rate, quite assured of its right and its duty to prosecute its work of religious liberalization within the pale of the National Church of Germany, and it has no motive for relinquishing this position.

Our German Protestant population consciously and unconsciously adheres to the National Church of the Reformation, whilst by instinct it remains faithful to Christianity, as part and parcel of its national existence. But notice here a distinction. The German Protestant Church is the Church of the nation, not the Church of the State. To those at a distance these terms might seem identical, and victims of state encroachments on religious life might be tempted to consider them as such. But the Protestant Church of Germany has means and powers within it which are capable of overcoming and defying hierarchical and Byzantic pretensions. The recognition of the Church by the State is not the essential feature on which it founds, nor are the ecclesiastical functions exercised by the sovereign of the land an appendage of his political power. The National Church has an undoubted legal right to resist any encroachments upon its religious life which its bond with the civil power may bring about. It is here that the German Protestant Association begins its work. Callous to the reproaches of orthodoxy as to the illegitimacy of our position within a national church, we cling to our inheritance on historical, legal, and Protestant grounds. Here we know ourselves within a sphere of national religious life which has grown historically, and it is our sacred duty to labor for the future of this Church in the direction of our ideal of religious freedom. Our German national churches can and must become the nurseries and strongholds of a new Protestant piety; the spirit of our Reformers will revive and ally itself with the humanitarian ideal of our greatest poets and philosophers. On the other hand, this soaring tendency of the German mind will be balanced by the newly awakened and disciplined capacity to realize ideals in the various spheres of social and ethical life of our nation. Then we may realize the Divine Presence within us, and be able to say, "It is my meat and drink to do the will of him that sent me," and to fulfil my work.

The apostle Paul had an apocalyptic vision of the moment of entry into eternity, when even the Son shall bow down before Him who had put all things under his feet, "that God may be all in all." We do not need to await any such catastrophe: we know Christ does not govern us from the heavens, nor does he unite himself only by duly appointed sacraments with the believing soul. We know that the Christ of God is generated within the religious spirit of man, and it is in the conviction that in him is realized the true ideal of humanity that we joyfully declare, "God, all in all."

The PRESIDENT.—Professor Jean Réville has been identified with this Council from the beginning. He has been at every session of the Council. He has served on the Executive Committee from the start. He has always been our well-beloved, genial, and patient friend and teacher and inspirer. He is going to speak to you this morning of the dramatic situation in his own land, "The Religious Crisis in France." Professor Jean Réville.

THE SITUATION OF THE CHURCHES IN FRANCE AFTER THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

BY JEAN RÉVILLE, PROFESSOR AT THE COLLÈGE DE FRANCE (PARIS).

The paper which I have the honor of presenting to this Congress does not refer to the new organization which the Protestant churches of all denominations have elaborated in France since the law on the separation of Church and State began to have force. My honorable colleague, Professor Bonet-Maury, has undertaken to speak on that subject before the Congress. He will also explain to you the endeavors that were made to unite the different Protestant denominations.

My task is an attempt to describe in a general way the consequences of the separation law on the religious and ecclesiastical situation of France, and, as the great majority of French people belong to the Roman Catholic Church (at least by name), it is of that Church that I shall speak mostly. The experience that has just been had in France is of such importance to the Old World that it is worth while for men of all lands to interest themselves in it.

In the paper I read to the Geneva Congress in 1905, before the definitive vote of the law, I said: "Its worth will above all depend on the manner in which it is applied. With a liberal and tolerant government it can strongly assure the freedom of conscience, but with a clerical or with an unreligious government it may become a terrible power of oppression."

Now my first statement, after nearly two years' trial, is that the law has really been applied in a thoroughly liberal manner.

My second statement is that in general it has not throughout the whole country raised such disturbances as its antagonists had prophesied and as I myself, at Geneva, feared. There have been

local agitations, partial disturbances, attempts at resistance made in certain small groups of society. But, on the whole, the great bulk of the nation remained perfectly calm in spite of all endeavors to arouse them against the law.

We can each day observe that the mass of the people is far more agitated by ideas of *social* reform than by the separation of Church and State. The coolness towards the Catholic faith in the French people, especially amongst men, may account for this in a large degree, but also and chiefly the broad and liberal manner in which this important ecclesiastical reform has been carried into execution. Freedom of conscience has throughout been respected, and public worship nearly everywhere celebrated as before.

These affirmations may perhaps astonish many people in this country. I know things have been presented otherwise, and that the French Republic has been accused of the spoliation and persecution of the Churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church. Such a verdict is utterly inaccurate. In France those who complain to-day that they do not possess religious freedom are only those for whom liberty consists in being able to do themselves all they like without taking any heed of the equal rights of others. Never was there in France so much religious freedom as now. True, there are men, and even political groups, who would gladly avail themselves of the situation to ruin Catholicism and even any kind of religion. But it is false to say that this tendency has prevailed and that there has been any persecution.

To prove this, it is sufficient to recall the facts. The main point, which commands the whole situation, is that the Roman Catholic Church refused to submit to the law voted in Parliament by a very large majority and ratified afterwards by a still larger majority in the general elections.

Whilst all other Churches—Lutheran, Calvinist, Protestant of every denomination, Jewish, etc.—submitted without any recrimination, and immediately set to work at reorganizing themselves according to the prescriptions of the new law, the Roman Catholic Church refused to do so, and—still worse—her refusal was according to the pope's command, although a large majority of the French bishops had given an opposite advice. These, having met, on the pope's invitation, in secret council, were in favor of accepting the

law, but the pope, though he declared publicly that he was acting in conformity with their wish, decided that the French Catholics must refuse submission to the law. This is certainly one of the most curious things in modern religious history. And what is still more characteristic is that all the bishops yielded without any protest.

This is the essential cause of all the difficulties amidst which the Roman Catholic Church struggles in France. It should be well understood, indeed, that the situation cannot be the same in an old country like France, where during fourteen centuries the Roman Catholic Church has been united to the State, as it is in the United States of America, where the Churches and the States have from the beginning been entirely separate and distinct the one from the other. Legally, the Church in France, until the day of the separation, fulfilled a public and official function. The churches and temples were state or "commune" properties, wherever they had not been built by a private association consistent with the French law, and which had expressly reserved its right of property. The bishop did not possess church properties as a private citizen: he ruled them only as head of the bishopric; his diocese was an official subdivision of the country of which he was the governor during his life, and after his death the State appointed a successor after agreement with the pope. A non-authorized monastic order, such as that of the Jesuits or Dominicans, could not legally possess, since it did not even legally exist.

The aim of the law of separation was not only to suppress the religious budget of the State,—that is, to ordain that clergymen should no more be remunerated by the State but by their flock (that was a very simple matter),—but its chief aim (and a much more difficult one) was to determine under which legal form there could be constituted private societies qualified to enter upon the goods and properties of the parishes, and to use the church buildings which belong to the State or the "communes"; also with what resources these private societies should be allowed to provide regularly for the maintenance of worship. Anybody whatever could not be authorized to enter into possession of these goods and properties, and it was not possible to allow the ecclesiastics actually in charge to dispose of them according to their own personal convenience.

Hence the law determined they should be delivered to cultural associations (*associations culturelles*) of a special type. There were to be private societies, consisting of at least seven, fifteen, or twenty-five members, according to the importance of the parish, on condition that they conform themselves to the general conditions of the cult or worship whose exercises they proposed to assume. This was to prevent a cultural association from transferring to another worship the goods it claimed.

The members of the Catholic party in Parliament had greatly insisted on this clause, and declared that if it were passed all Catholics would accept the new organization. Thereupon this condition was granted to them, though it would have been in better conformity with democratic principles to permit the members of each parish to decide for themselves what sort of worship they intended to celebrate in their own church. But the Catholics feared that, if this were done, in many parishes the Roman Catholic Church would be forsaken.

The only other obligation imposed on each of these *associations culturelles* was that they present every year their budget to the general assembly of its members, as is usual in all private societies. Note here that the association might remain limited to the small number of its founders, a small group renewed by its own choice, and which the bishops could have formed in every parish from among their own supporters, whilst the rest of the flock might yet be admitted as outside members without the right of voting in the assembly. The prescriptions were really not tyrannical. Nevertheless the pope declared them unacceptable.

Besides, to prepare the transfer of goods, the law decreed an inventory to be drawn up previously in each parish, so as to establish the nature and origin of the properties. Nothing could have been more just and nothing better done to protect churches against spoliation or misappropriation. In all Protestant churches these inventories were drawn up readily. On the contrary, in many places the Catholics assaulted the government's officers who came for the inventory, or barricaded themselves in the churches, throwing insults and even filth on the police, and shouting, "We want God," as if God was to be stolen! True, these violences were not provoked by the dignitaries of the churches, but by the leaders of the reaction-

ist political party. But the priests did nothing to prevent these acts of violence, and in the mind of the people they bear the responsibility for them.

The refusal to constitute cultural associations was a still more serious matter. Because of it no legal body could receive the properties of the parishes or even make use of the church buildings. This was the most critical moment in the application of the law. Was the government to close the churches, urging that they were escheated properties? This would have greatly satisfied all unreligious fanatics. M. Briand, the minister who had the responsibility of all this business, and who had made the report of the law of separation in Parliament, thought, with high wisdom, that he must, above all, assure the freedom of conscience and secure liberty of worship. A new law was passed on January 2, 1907, by which church buildings were left for use to the flocks and to the ministers of worship without any conditions, wheresoever a cultural association had not been formed to claim their use according to the law of separation in 1905. Worship could henceforth be celebrated as previously. But all the churches' properties, the archiepiscopal or bishops' palaces, parsonages, seminaries, remained the property of the State or "communes," since no regular society had been constituted to claim them. And the salaries or allowances which, according to the law, the State was to pay to all priests for four years more, were suppressed, since the priests had refused to apply the law. It was but strict justice. By his obstinacy in opposing himself to the judgment of the French bishops the pope caused the Catholic Church of France to lose all its goods and properties, estimated at about four hundred millions of francs, and deprived the French priests of the allowances the State had bestowed upon them. So this was not a spoliation by the State. It was the Roman Catholic Church itself, which refused to arrange matters, as all other Churches did, so as to enter upon the enjoyment of its properties.

Why did the pope act thus? Solely in Rome's and the Roman see's interest. He declared the cultural associations to be adverse to the canon law, according to which the churches ought to be governed by the bishops, and not by the congregations. But we have already seen that the share of influence left to the parishioners by the separation law was very small, as so few persons were required

to form the cultural associations (seven, fifteen, or twenty-five), and as in most places the bishops could have formed it exclusively out of members of the clergy and people entirely devoted to them. Even that, however, seemed to the pope a dangerous concession to the democratic spirit. Besides, the priest would have had a certain independence in each parish, and the pope desired the priests to depend absolutely on the bishop. As he now alone appoints the bishops, these in their turn depend absolutely on him. The result is that the pope is now the absolute and unique master of the Catholic Church in France. He probably thought this power was worth the four hundred millions, especially as it was not out of his own money that they were paid.

Such is, in fact, for the Roman Catholics the most evident result of the separation. Never was the Catholic Church of France so free in its attitude towards the State as it is now, but also never was it so completely dependent on the pope. Previously the government appointed the bishops after agreement with the pope: now the pope alone appoints them directly, and he chooses the most ultra-montane and reactionary ones. Previously the curates were appointed permanently: now they are appointed and removed by the bishops. Previously the financial management of the parish was controlled by the public authorities: now the bishops appointed by the pope are not accountable to any one for their management, excepting to the pope.

The financial organization is not yet definitely settled. Different measures have been taken for the time in the dioceses. Nevertheless, one point is fixed everywhere. In each diocese all the resources are centralized in the hands of the bishop, henceforth as powerful in temporal as in spiritual concerns. For the present the organization of an inter-diocesan fund is under consideration, which is to divide among the poor parishes the surplus returns of the rich parishes, and this general fund will certainly be placed under the direction of an apostolic legate; that is, a delegate of the pope.

What the opponents of the separation in France foresaw is about to be realized. The separation will, above all, be profitable to the Roman power. The last remnants of the Gallican liberties (that is, to say the particular rights belonging to the Churches of France) are vanishing away. To the more and more democratic organization

of the State the Roman Catholic Church opposes a more and more centralized and tyrannical organization.

We must add that the actual pope strives with the greatest energy against the liberal spirit which had begun to diffuse itself over the younger clergy in France. A scientific and theological renovation was actually developing in the Catholic publications and Catholic schools under the influence of the Abbé Loisy, Laberthiennière, and the Abbé Houtin, whom we have the privilege of seeing amongst us at this Congress, and of many others. Their books are now under interdict, their periodical publications forbidden to the clergy, and all possible measures are taken to keep away from the seminaries their dangerous influence.

The pope's last Syllabus, recently promulgated, discloses to the whole world the spirit of ignorance and obscurantism prevailing in Rome. The pope carries to the utmost his intellectual absolutism as well as his ecclesiastical absolutism. The schism between the public mind and the Roman Catholic mind, between Church and School, thus grows worse every day. And it is a serious and sad question how such a situation may be solved.

The masses in France are indifferent to all these matters, but they forsake more and more the Catholic faith. All that the people desire is to attend mass, to be christened, married, and buried at church. They no longer believe the doctrines, but they love the ceremonies. And in proportion as the new generations, educated in the secular lay schools, grow up, this state of mind augments.

Some men of great sense, and amongst them my friend Paul Sabatier, with whose greetings for the Congress I am intrusted, think that a reaction will ensue from the exaggeration of this papal absolutism. They hope to see men, better instructed as to the true welfare of the Church, take in hand a reform of Catholicism. They hope for a real Catholic regeneration, both democratic and scientific, wherein old dogmas shall be left to sleep in peace and all energies shall be consecrated to the social and moral work.

Would to God it were so! I must say, I do not believe much in their prophecies. They are generous delusions. In this neo-Catholic movement there are high-minded individuals, men of great talent and remarkable knowledge. But they are officers without soldiers. And, above all, there is in this new movement a funda-

mental contradiction which in the end must paralyze it. They intend to remain *Roman* Catholics (that is to say, submitted to the pope), and they stand up for a cause condemned by the pope. You will say, A pope does not live forever: after this one, who is certainly a very narrow-minded man, there may come others with a more open mind, and amongst them one who may take in hand the cause of Catholic reform. There, in my opinion, they are at fault. No pope, even if he were as liberal and well-informed as we may suppose, will ever be willing to work out such a reform, and, even if he were willing, he would not be able to do it. Such a reform would be the beheading of the papacy itself, for the papacy is itself the real impediment for any Catholic reform. The whole history of the Church shows us that ever since the thirteenth century all reforms of the Church proceeded from the people or lower clergy, and that the popes, even when they attempted to be reformers, made the reform turn to the increase of their power. Catholicism may perhaps reform itself, but it can only be from the root, against Rome and not with Rome. The Roman organism may burst asunder from an excess of centralization, but it is not possible to change it in a secular direction.

The true Catholic ideal is very high, very great, very Christian. In our modern world it can no longer be dogmatic or authoritative. It can be solely moral and religious,—a unity of hearts according to the principles of the gospel amid all the varieties of life. But this ideal is not and cannot be the Roman one. To-day, as formerly, the first condition of spiritual liberty and religious reform is, “No Popery!”

Will the Catholic Church in our Latin countries reform itself from the root? I do not know, and I think nobody can know. At present I foresee no issue to the ecclesiastical and religious situation in France, unless it be great commotions.

France has no inclination for Protestantism. There is no probability that the majority will ever become Protestants. Only a small number of cultivated and deliberate minds adopt that solution. Besides, there is actually not enough real faith in the masses of the people for them to uphold a reform.

Two alternatives seem to me possible. Either the existing reactionist movement of the Catholic Church will go on, and public life

in France will for a long time be dominated by the strife between clericals and more or less socialist radicals, or else the Catholic Church of France, conscious of its error, will seek to regain on the social ground the situation it is losing every day more on the religious ground. A Catholic Socialism will grow up, and public life will be dominated by the strife between Catholic Socialism and anti-Catholic Socialism, which in a country like France will necessarily be an unreligious socialism. In either case the situation will not be favorable to liberalism and liberal religion.

But it is useless to pretend foretelling the times to come. They depend on too many circumstances unknown to us. We must keep faith in the future, and never be weary of enlightening and exalting the minds of our fellows. To-day as well as yesterday, as well as to-morrow, we must be the leaven in the lump. In the French character are admirable reserves of idealism. It cannot find its definitive satisfaction in irreligion and atheism. A renovation of religious idealism appears already in the most gifted of the nation. I do not believe either that France can ever fall a victim to clericalism. It has suffered too much from it in the past to bear its yoke again.

Let us, then, go on forewarning men against this double danger,—atheism and clericalism. And the future will disclose ways and means for the religious associations best suited to the spiritual need.

At the conclusion of Professor Réville's address the Congress adjourned until two in the afternoon.

SECOND GENERAL SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

In Tremont Temple, Tuesday afternoon, September 24, 2 o'clock. Rev. Charles E. St. John, Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, conducted religious services.

President ELIOT.—One of the Vice-Presidents of the Council has been kind enough to consent to relieve me of the duty of presiding this afternoon, and I am very glad to intrust the conduct of this meeting to the just and genial guidance of President Hamilton, of Tufts College, who will be your Chairman for this session.

Vice-President F. W. HAMILTON, D.D.—It is a very pleasant duty which falls to me, and a very delightful privilege, I am sure, which falls to you. Those of us who are interested in what is happening in the world cannot have failed to notice one of the distinguishing features of the great war between Russia and Japan, and that was the highly scientific way in which the war was carried on. And you will remember that, in place of the dramatic battlefield scenes surrounding the headquarters of the military commanders of old days, we had reported to us scenes which were more like the interior of a business office. The great general who commanded the immense armies of Japan in the heat of those desperate engagements sat quietly in his headquarters miles away from the front, and was kept instantly in touch with every phase of the swiftly changing conflict by the telephone and the field telegraph, which were nerves connecting his brain with every one of the movements of that great body. We are privileged to sit here to-day and hear through these living telephones of the progress of the great struggle between the friends of liberty in religion and those who would shackle the religious movements of the human mind. As I look over this program, I cannot but feel how closely we are united in these

days with our brethren from across the seas, and how great our privilege to have them come and tell us directly what is going on in those parts of the world which they represent. Without further preface I take great pleasure in presenting to you the first speaker of the afternoon, Dr. Martin Rade, professor in the University of Marburg, in Germany.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN GERMANY AND THE FRIENDS OF THE *CHRISTLICHE WELT*.

BY PROFESSOR MARTIN RADE, D.D., OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF MARBURG.

You have invited me to speak to you about present conditions in the German Church and about the *Freunde der Christlichen Welt* (Friends of the Christian World). You will allow me, I am sure, to tell you how I felt about the matter when I accepted this invitation. I would like to thank you by using the greatest frankness in addressing you.

It will not be irrelevant to the subject in hand if I confess to you at the outset that, in general, I am no friend of such congresses as this,—that I do not consider the time ripe for this sort of international association, formed to discuss questions of church and religion. Perhaps in America and in Great Britain you are more advanced and better prepared than we in Germany. I will gladly let myself be convinced of this by the work of this Congress. I would like to learn from you. In Germany we are still too inclined to go our own way in matters of church and religion. We are not yet in position to attempt seriously to carry on practical work in common with Christians of other nations. I believe that this is also true of Switzerland; for even between the Protestants of Switzerland and those of the German Empire practical association is only in its beginnings, finding expression principally in aid of foreign missions. And what I have said is true not only of the liberal, but also of the conservative parties in German Protestantism. It is only a small part of the so-called “old orthodox” Germans who seek international fellowship and who keep in touch with sympathetic circles in Great Britain and America. The Evangelical Alliance has made no progress in Germany during the last few decades. Even the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung*, a lay movement strongly influenced by Methodism, has in its midst a current which seeks to escape the influence of English piety.

I.

This inability of German Protestantism to ally itself with Protestantism in other lands is simply due to its history. This history finds tangible expression, first, in the constitution of the German churches.

Since 1870 we have had a unified German Empire. That it is a confederation, and not a single state, is no hindrance to the unity of our political life, any more than the political vigor and power of the American Union are hindered by the fact that it is composed of individual states. Domestic politics, the regulation of local matters, constitutes the jurisdiction, as may be easily understood, of the individual states. To their rights belongs especially that of the administration of church and school. The German Empire consists of twenty-six single states. As a result, simply counting the number of supervising states, there are twenty-six different church bodies.

Not every German state, however, is limited to one established church. The kingdom of Prussia, for example, includes, in addition to the Prussian Established Church (that is, the Evangelical Church of the old provinces, in which the Union is in force), also the established churches of the lands annexed in 1866, which remain independent church bodies. These are the churches of Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Hesse (the Electorate), Nassau, and Frankfort. Many of the new Prussian provinces have also, like many of the other German states, both Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinistic) churches. So there are fifty more or less independent church bodies in Germany, with the constitution of an established church. Each of these fifty established churches has its special constitution and its own confessional position. And the most remarkable feature of all is that though all of these churches assert themselves to be either Lutheran or Reformed or profess to be in the Union, the legal authority of the confessions which have come down from the past, the formulation and significance of the requirements in regard to teaching on the part of the clergy, and other matters of this sort are by no means uniformly understood either within the Lutheran or the Reformed or the Union Church. The fact is that every one of these churches, large or small, has its own special history.

So it comes that the life conditions of religious freedom in these

churches are widely different. In some churches, like those of Baden and of Alsace-Lorraine, liberal thought stands upon the same footing as orthodox, or at least remains absolutely free from attack in its pastoral activities. On the other hand, in other churches a liberal tendency is barely tolerated, is persecuted or completely excluded by law. In part the states have shown a desire to leave the regulation of these internal and local affairs to the churches themselves by giving them a synodal constitution. (In 1873 was issued the *Kirchengemeinde- und Synodalordnung* of the Prussian State Church. The first general synod was held in Berlin in 1875.) In every case, however, the fact that the particular church is subject to its particular state is the fundamental and legal condition which gives that church its right of existence. Over the synods are the church authorities, appointed by the state government. The state appoints the instructors and professors on the theological faculties of our universities; but the churches do not give, nor have they the right to give, a position as pastor to any one who has not completed a theological course of at least three years at one of these universities.*

The attempts which have been made to form non-conformist church bodies are not important enough to call for consideration over against the established church system. For the most part they are the result of obstinacy in regard to doctrine, and in lack of ability to conform to new conditions they exceed anything within the established churches.

Secondly, to understand our German Protestantism one must study the Lutheran Reformation. To be sure, a broad stream of the Reformed (that is, Calvinistic) type of religion also flowed over Germany. It brought, too, strong forces with it, which have exerted

* Comp. Mulert, "Die Lehrverpflichtung in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands." Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1904. Löber, "Die im evangelischen Deutschland geltenden Ordinationsverpflichtungen geschichtlich geordnet." Leipzig, Georg Wigand, 1905. The most recent survey of the existing church bodies in Germany, including the non-conformist churches, is offered by Schneider, "Kirchliches Jahrbuch auf das Jahr 1907" (34 years). Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann. A detailed account of the structure of a German *Landeskirche* (Established Church) is given in the three volumes of the series "Evangelische Kirchenkunde": Vol. I., "Das kirchliche Leben der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Landeskirche des Königreichs Sachsen." By Professor Drews in Giessen. Vol. II., "Das kirchliche Leben der evangelischen Kirche der Provinz Schlesien." By Lic. Dr. Martin Schian. Vol. III., "Das kirchliche Leben in der evangelisch-protestantischen Kirche in Grossherzogtum Baden." By Rev. A. Ludwig. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1902, 1903, 1907. In regard to the church constitutions in force the best information is supplied by the comprehensive work, Friedberg, "Die geltenden Verfassungsgesetze der deutschen Landeskirchen, mit Nachträgen." Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1885. 2 vols.

great influence on the present organization of the churches and upon theological thought. The Brandenburg Prussian rulers have allied themselves with the Reformed Church since 1613. Schleiermacher, the greatest German theologian of the nineteenth century, belonged also to the Reformed Church. Nevertheless, the heart-beat of the Protestants of Germany is Lutheran. Luther's religious nature and faith have determined the German type of religion, penetrating far into reformed circles, and even exerting an influence upon German Catholics. The hymns of Paul Gerhardt, the strict Lutheran, are treasured and sung by the Catholics. Luther's faith carried the German people safely through the miseries of the Thirty Years' War. The story of Luther's life, his words at the Diet of Worms, his translation of the Bible, still nourish all those in Germany to-day who live a religious life. Therefore, he must study Luther who wishes to know the religion of the Germans.*

This Luther, however, was at all times a good Trinitarian. All rationalism, intellectualism, scepticism, was foreign to him. In religious matters his was a thoroughly conservative nature. Yet this same Luther discovered the freedom of the conscience, the freedom of personal conviction from every human authority. "God wants no one to serve him under compulsion!" he cried. "I say it again, God wants no one to serve him under compulsion! I say it for the third time, I say it a hundred thousand times, God wants no one to serve him under compulsion!" †

This religious "liberalism" of Luther's led to the break with that Roman creation, the One Holy and Catholic Church, with the tyranny of its canon law, and of its visible head the pope. Both features of Luther's piety, his conservatism, with its faithful allegiance to that which came down from the ancient past, and his liberalism, with its rejection of every tyranny in matters of personal faith, still constitute to-day the religion of our Protestant people.

Especially does Protestant Germany maintain the opposition to Rome as it would cherish a sacred inheritance. On no point are we

* Comp. "Doctor Martin Luthers Leben, Taten und Meinungen auf Grund reichlicher Mitteilungen aus seinen Briefen und Schriften erzählt." By Martin Rade. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr. 3 vols. This much-read book is in favor with educated readers as well as the common people.

† "Ein Geschicht, wie Gott einer ehrbarn Kloster-Jungfrauen ausgeholfen hat." 1524. Weimar edition, xv. p. 87.

German Protestants more united. And it is significant that the first step toward a unification of the established churches on a church basis, which was made recently by the formation of a German Evangelical Church Commission, has done its best work, so far, in behalf of Protestants living in Roman Catholic districts and in the campaign against the Jesuits. A comprehensive survey of the different parties in all the established churches reveals, too, that the single point upon which they are absolutely united is their antipathy to the Roman Catholic Church. Yes, even further, the unchurched elements in Protestant Germany are set in motion as soon as the cry is raised against Rome. That was shown again in the last Reichstag election.

In reality, one cannot say that the Protestant Church and modern progress are now endangered by Rome. All which must be done in districts where the two confessions exist side by side, as a protection against the natural dangers attendant upon the constant migration from east to west and from the country to the city, which has been legalized since the beginning of the last century, and against the dangers attendant upon church propaganda, is accomplished by two splendid organizations,—the Gustave Adolph Society (at work since 1832) and the Evangelical Federation (at work since 1886). Above all, at the present moment in our national politics, the predominance of the Catholic party, the *Centre*, which has depressed the domestic situation for a number of years, has been brought to an end in the Reichstag, and thereby throughout the whole German Empire. There is naturally no reliance to be placed upon this political combination, but the imperial government is now resolute in its determination to govern without the Centre. Of all the German states, only Bavaria and Alsace-Lorraine remain more or less completely under the parliamentary domination of the Centre. In these two, only, does the Protestant Church occasionally feel itself to be laboring under difficulties as a confession. There is an insufficiency of money and of constitutional freedom of action, but these are misfortunes which come almost necessarily to a Protestant established church in a state inhabited for the most part by Catholics.

But is there no tendency in the Protestant churches to seek out the common Christian element in Catholicism, and to foster it? To this we answer that everything which has been done in this regard, as the work of an organization or in accordance with the principles

of some society, was either done from suspicious motives or was premature. To bring about a more sympathetic understanding of the Catholic type of religion, however, is an end that the *Christliche Welt*, which I represent, continually has in view, without thereby relinquishing in the slightest its Protestant standpoint.*

II.

The religious situation in Germany would, indeed, be most favorable for Protestantism, were it not for the internal difficulties.

To be sure, throughout the established churches the governing authorities give conscientious attention to providing a good administration. Churches are built and new congregations formed, the clergy are well provided for, synods are called to give counsel on the affairs of a district, of a province, or of a whole state, as the case may be. Christian societies of every kind foster works of charity, care for the protection of the young, and provide representative literature. Most of these societies are entirely independent, some receive support from the churches and their authorities. Theological faculties with scholarly and spiritually-minded professors provide for the education of the ministry. The attendance at the churches varies greatly, but in many localities, in the cities as well as in the country, it is good. It cannot be said that the people in general have fallen away from the Church. To be sure the Social Democrats, who on January 25 of this year again cast over three million votes for their candidates in the Reichstag election, are hostile to the Church. But not all Social Democrats are hostile to religion, and some of them even maintain their allegiance to the Church. The agitation for a general repudiation of membership in the established churches, which has recently been revived from various motives, has not yet carried any considerable number with it. Since 1875 the so-called *Civilstandsgesetz* has been in force in the German Empire. By this law German citizens were freed from the necessity of having their marriages performed by the Church and of having their children baptized. Still from 1900 to 1904, of the children born

* Even the *Kreuzzeitung*, and that branch of the (politically) Conservative Party whose views it represents, no longer keep in touch with the Roman Catholics as they did forty or fifty years ago, although the old tradition exerts still some influence in these circles. On the other hand, the duty to understand and respect Catholicism is rightly felt in these circles to be as important as the *Christliche Welt* holds it to be.

within the jurisdiction of the Prussian State Church, only 4.12 per cent. remained unbaptized; in 1901, 5.18 per cent.; in 1902, 4.87 per cent.; in 1903, 3.30 per cent.; in 1904, 4.7 per cent. It must be remembered that many of these children could not be presented for baptism, as death occurred shortly after birth. The wilful rejection of baptism is principally in the large cities and their environs. In the country the custom of infant baptism prevails almost undisturbed. In addition to Prussia, only Saxony and a few of the very small states have over 3 per cent. unbaptized children. Still rarer, indeed almost unheard of, is the refusal of Protestant parents to present their children for confirmation, as is usual in Germany when a boy or girl reaches fourteen years of age. On the other hand, marriage by a clergyman is not so regularly sought. In the Prussian State Church in 1903, of the marriages in which both contracting parties were Protestants, 91.85 per cent. were performed by a clergyman; in 1904, 91.05 per cent.; of the mixed marriages, in 1903, 89.20 per cent.; in 1904, 91.69 per cent. The attendance at communion also differs very much in different regions. In the Protestant Church of Bavaria, in 1904, 67.29 per cent. communicated; in the church of Hamburg, only 9.47 per cent.

Externally the situation is such that the German established churches could carry on the battle against the weakness of human nature and against the dangers of modern culture with good confidence if they were filled with the spirit of healthy progress and of genuine Christian fellowship.

To be sure, strife about opinions within the churches would in itself be no fault. "Strife is the father of all things." There is nothing healthier or that gives a better temper to our steel than the battle for the truth. But, in the church which is to receive a blessing from such a strife, conditions must prevail which make it possible for the strife to run the right course. It must be actually possible to carry on with openness and in the spirit of brotherhood an exchange of opinion in which only the subject in hand is at issue, and in which that side prevails which is intellectually and spiritually the stronger. In our churches, however, established legal rights hinder freedom of thought.

This situation is brought to consciousness by the chronic appearance of the so-called "cases." Just as you in America have your

"Briggs," "Smith," and "Crapsey" cases, so we in Germany have our "Fischer Case," "Römer Case," "César Case," and others. With us, as here in America, the point at issue is formally that of the recognition of particular dogmas, as the birth of Jesus without a human father, his bodily resurrection, etc. But these cases with us arise under other conditions and run a different course.

Externally, they take the form of legal proceedings between a pastor holding a position in an established church or desirous of holding one, and the governing authorities of that church. The pastor is found by the authorities to be in error in regard to doctrine, and is therefore either excluded from the ministry or permitted to officiate after remonstrance and warning. In all such cases the different parties take an active part, especially through their periodicals, but also through open meetings and resolutions and through debates and motions in the synods. The political press, too, takes part in such cases, and occasionally even in the legislatures the echoes of the strife are heard.

At the bottom of all these cases lies the antithesis between the conservative character of the church membership and the modern, advanced character of present-day theology, or, stated with reference to the persons actually concerned, the antithesis between the church authorities and the theological faculties. To be sure, there are some few among the church authorities who are liberal at heart, and there are also faculties which are very conservative. But liberal church officials are continually put under constraint by the conservative element which rules in the larger churches, and by the logic of the position they occupy, to carry on their administration conservatively. On the other hand, the conservative faculties are continually constrained by the modern atmosphere in which they live in the universities, and by the inner logic of scholarly work, to make concessions to the spirit of freedom. At the present day, among these "positive" or "old orthodox" professors a not inconsiderable number have confessed to the necessity of a modern theology. They would like to deprive the liberal theologians of the predicate "modern," in order to name themselves "modern positivists." None of our conservative professors still holds to the old dogma of verbal inspiration. It is now only in certain lay circles, as those, for instance, which group themselves together in the *Gemeinschaftsbewegung* (Christian Fellow-

ship Movement) that the literal inspiration of the sacred Book is still strictly held. In short, in all the "Cases" which we have had we see plainly the strained relations and the incompatibility which exist between orthodoxy, on the one hand, intrenched in the established churches by right of law and long usage, and the advanced scholarship of the theological faculties on the other. These faculties educate pastors for the churches; but the churches (that is, the authorities who carry on their administration under the old Canon Laws) do not want such pastors as these faculties train. The congregations differ in different provinces and regions. A large proportion of the laity are strictly orthodox; but in the cities especially, there are large groups who are indignant at the legalistic attitude of the church authorities, and who regard it as a serious wrong when these officials stand in the way of their having liberal pastors. The two powers which carry on the conflict are really the church authorities and the faculties, but the victims of the war are always in the first instance the clergy and candidates for the ministry, and in the second the congregations.

This struggle, carried on unceasingly, robs many capable and religiously-minded young men of the joy of the ministry. To be sure, in this war as in others, there are truces and compromises. When a "case" does occur, it is not usual for it to be settled decisively. The governing authorities of the largest German established church, the Prussian, are experienced and wise enough to find continually new ways out of the difficulty. They either sacrifice the man and give a liberal decision about the point at issue, as in the César Case, or else they spare the man, and give a rigorously conservative decision about the point at issue, as in the Fischer Case. Such decisions do not usually satisfy any one; but it must be admitted that, *temporum ratione habita*, no other course lies open to wise and considerate officials. On that account even these public "cases" are by no means the worst we have to experience. Still more deplorable is the quiet and secret activity of the minor church authorities, who, because of the theology which young theologians desiring to enter the ministry bring with them from the universities, act towards them as if, with such opinions, they could not possibly obtain a pastorate and crush their budding convictions. The examinations, which are held for the most part by these church authorities, afford

an opportunity for this, and so do the official visitations which are made from time to time on every pastor. Lectures and other public utterances of the clergy also give an opportunity for attack, and an especially favorable one is that afforded by the application of a pastor for a new office. When this happens, factional, conservative members of the congregation come to the rescue by regular petition or even anonymous denunciation.

III.

Under these circumstances, in spite of the splendid condition of theological scholarship in our Universities, the situation for religious liberalism in our churches is not an easy one. For its own protection, therefore, this religious liberalism has also organized itself according to the party plan. This was done first in an organization in existence since 1863, which is also represented at this honored Congress, the *Deutsche Protestanten Verein* (German Protestant Association). Theoretically, this organization includes all of Germany. Actually, however, it has taken root only in Berlin, Brandenburg, Hamburg, Bremen, Thuringia, Baden, Nassau, and the Bavarian Palatinate. After a serious retrograde period this organization has within the last few years made visible progress, both outwardly and inwardly. Its organs are the *Protestantenblatt* and the *Protestantische Monatshefte*. Another liberal movement in Prussia which must be mentioned here is the so-called "Middle Party," or *Evangelische Vereinigung*. Periodicals which represent it are the *Preussische Kirchenzeitung*, a weekly, and the *Deutsch-evangelische Blätter*, a monthly. The difference between these two parties is this: The Middle Party expects an improvement in church conditions to come from an intelligent attitude on the part of the church governing authorities and other officers, the superintendents, and all the clergy. They take their stand on the ground of the present synodal constitution, and hope by means of it to attain greater freedom, although the Middle Party, even with the support of the Left,—that is, the liberals,—has nowhere in the Prussian synods more than a minority. The *Protestanten Verein* seeks to create an inclusive organization of laymen, which by voting together, first in the congregational elections and then in the synodal elections, will effect a change in the numerical

strength of the parties in the synods in favor of the liberals. By these means they hope to obtain a more liberal constitution for the whole church. This road is a long and difficult one. For, while it is true that in certain large cities an active and open agitation can secure liberal majorities in the congregational organizations, in the country districts there is very little prospect that this will be achieved. Indeed, it cannot be foreseen when the results of this method will be traceable in the provincial and general synods. So the awakening of the masses in the cities out of their indifference to the conditions in the churches is really the work which lies closest at hand; and this the *Protestanten Verein* is actually doing,—with what success must be learned from the future. A very active movement has recently appeared in the arena,—to be sure, only in the Rhine districts and Westphalia, but there with great success,—*Freunde der evangelischen Freiheit*. These western provinces of Prussia have been for many years the seat of an active life in church and religious matters. Under the impression made by the “cases” which have occurred in these districts, the lay elements, under the leadership of pastors of the right temperament, have become very active, and have banded themselves together. Their organ is the *Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt für Rheinland und Westphalen*. Another representative monthly periodical of the same character, published by Professor Baumgarten, under the name *Evangelische Freiheit*, should also be mentioned in this connection.

But nothing has been said yet of the *Freunde der Christlichen Welt* (Friends of the Christian World).

First, let us remember that there was a *Christliche Welt* long before there were Friends of the *Christliche Welt*. The *Christliche Welt* is a weekly periodical, which has been published since 1887. (In the first year it appeared under the name *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeindeblatt*.) Of all the periodicals of the same character in Germany it has reached by far the largest circulation.

Since 1892 leading spirits among the contributors and friends of this journal have met together every year to discuss questions of common interest. The theological faculties have been especially well represented at these meetings by the presence of many of their members. The proceedings have taken the form of discussions about the latest questions at issue in theology. Gradually arose

also an interest in church politics and in practical work. The precarious situation of the pastors educated by our professors was the chief reason which finally led to the organization in 1903 of the society called the *Vereinigung der Freunde der Christlichen Welt*. It numbers now only twelve hundred members. These are scattered over all Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. Indeed, it includes also single members not of the German tongue. The Association is not strong in the forces which lead to political activity, organization, and agitation. The interest of the members returns continually to inner questions and to unifying work within their own circle. Indeed, this is no small task,—to overcome more and more, at least for the members of this Association, the isolation of the different established churches which was described at the beginning of this address. More important than this Association is the *Christliche Welt* itself and its unenrolled following of like-minded friends and readers. Characteristic of the paper, as well as of its friends, is a disposition at root conservative, yet at the same time most thorough-going in its liberalism. We are conservative in that we hold resolutely to our churches and to their history. We know that we can only pay our debts to the present and the future by guarding the religious inheritance we have received from our fathers. The men who founded the *Christliche Welt* and who brought it up to its present position, came, for the most part, from Lutheran homes of strong denominational feeling, where they had breathed in deeply the air of pious tradition. As theologians most of them were students of Albrecht Ritschl (d. 1889), professor in Göttingen, who was a man with a most developed feeling for the Church and its history. But we are liberal as well as conservative. We stand, before everything else, for the unconditional freedom of theological scholarship, and especially that of historical criticism. We know very well that no church and no religion can live on criticism and the negations which inevitably go with it. But we know also that the search for the truth must be completely unrestricted if it is to have any meaning at all, that the truth is a fact which reveals itself, and of itself compels recognition, while much in accepted tradition becomes untenable on careful examination. Whenever, therefore, a church or state government shows a desire to lay hand upon the freedom of the theological faculties we will always be there to defend it to the

very last. In this we could only presuppose that no one would desire the office of a professor of theology who did not personally, for all his freedom of investigation and opinion, feel himself to belong to his beloved church. Should this in some individual cases prove to be a mistaken assumption, we should be dealing with hypocrisy, with an anomaly from which no law and no policy could protect us. That this position of the *Christliche Welt* corresponds to that of the theological professors themselves is without question. Indeed, it can be said that fully half of the theologians holding Protestant professorships in Germany—that is, the whole company of liberally inclined theological instructors, with few exceptions—belong to the *Freunde der Christlichen Welt*.

We extend, moreover, our demand for personal freedom to include the clergy. It must suffice here, too, if a clergyman personally and actually feels that he belongs to the church which he desires to serve. If he bears witness to this by word and deed he should be allowed to proclaim the gospel and perform the duties of his office according to his own best knowledge and conscience. It is certain that we can look into no one's heart. Here, too, there is no protection against hypocrisy. The protection of the law is directed only against gross scandal; but this can never be occasioned by theological views, no matter how modern, when an express desire to belong to our church is present. It is scarcely possible to think more liberally about the relationship of theology and the Church than this; for, if one were to go a step further, and characterize this desire to belong to the Church as also an unnecessary element, one would thereby do away with the Church itself. On the part of our laity, to be sure, such a desire has never been manifested from any quarter,—at least not in the form of an express declaration of intention. This is to be explained by the character of our established churches. They are churches of the people, which one joins by birth and from which one is separated, as a rule, only by death.

Again, if the question of the separation of Church and State should arise in Germany also, there is nothing in our principles which would hinder us from agreeing to the separation. But the necessary conditions for such an act do not at present prevail. Neither is there any necessity laid upon us to work for separation in order to secure religious freedom. For, no matter how partial the State may be at times

in using its influence in the Church to assist reactionary elements, still officially it is constantly giving proof of its purpose not to intrude in matters which concern the Church alone, but to grant freedom to live and grow to all parties in the Church without distinction.

It is possible, therefore, for us to fight the battle for the emancipation of a liberal theology and religion through to the end on the battle-ground of the old established Churches,—that is, on ground where the old Canon Laws are still in force: the *Freunde der Christlichen Welt*, under the force of existing conditions, gladly stand in this struggle shoulder to shoulder with the other liberal parties. They would much rather be engaged in constructive work, but they do not refuse to take up arms.*

* A single sentence from the constitution of the Association is all that I need quote:—

SECTION 1. The "Association of the Friends of the Christian World" has, as its purpose, the mutual furtherance of its members' interests in matters of church and religion.

A detailed and complete statement of our plans and purposes does not exist. On Sept. 28, 1904, however, the following theses were agreed upon:—

A. 1. We stand for the absolute freedom of theological scholarship, and the right to announce the results of its investigation openly, as an indispensable condition for the healthy development of the Protestant religion among our people.

2. We demand for the pastors and teachers preparing for their office freedom to form their own convictions, and for those in office protection against a narrow-minded interpretation and application of the regulations in regard to religious instruction, and against an arbitrary censorship over the exercise of their civil rights, in order thereby to secure a foundation for the necessary confidence of the congregations in the ministrations of their pastors and teachers.

3. With full recognition of the necessity of external ecclesiastical order, we oppose the desire to give uniformity to congregational church life, and especially to the ordering of divine service, in accordance with fixed rules, as the varied character of the forms can only further a richer development of life.

4. We regard as an urgent task the necessity of satisfying honestly the need which has arisen among all classes for clearness and depth in religious conceptions, for by this means alone can the alienation of great numbers from Protestant Christianity be prevented.

B. The General Assembly desires of the members of the Association:—

1. That they be active and zealous in arranging lectures and courses of lectures on religious and church topics, with discussions, for the purpose of winning laymen of all classes for the gospel; and that they foster this as a most important task of the local association to which they belong.

2. That they give their assistance in the collection of funds for relief in cases of special need.

3. That in their synodal activity, without impairing their individual allegiance to the different groups and parties within the established churches, they work especially to secure the following reforms:—

a. Revision of the ordination vows and confessional requirements.

b. Limitation of the right to discipline on account of teaching to cases of notorious offence.

c. Transference of jurisdiction over the clergy to a separate court, independent and competent in such cases.

d. Greater freedom in matters of liturgy.

e. Protection for the congregations, the clergy, and teachers against an arbitrary extension of the powers and privileges of church authorities and synods.

f. Defence against the subjugation of minorities.

In regard to B 1, it is to be remarked that informal meetings of clergy and laity—not only

IV.

What help do we expect from you, the religious liberals of America and Great Britain, in this battle for freedom? I remarked at the beginning of this address that I do not consider the time has come yet for international associations. The battle for right, for the right of existence, each of us must carry on in his own land. At least we in Germany must do so; and we are able to. If you are seeking some special work outside your own lands, send your help to the little groups of genuine Protestants in the Slavic, Roman, and Eastern lands. Thereby you can do great service in the cause of freedom of belief and conscience. I would remind you especially of the difficult situation of the Protestants in Austria. Between us, however, between the religious liberals of the English and of the German tongues, there seems to me to be nothing necessary but a more active interchange of theological thought, a more exact knowledge of the very different conditions which prevail, and a better understanding of the nature of each other's religion. If this is accomplished, then the result will surely be that each will have from the other some new gain for the inner life. And thereby, too, our right of existence and the propagation of a truly religious Liberalism will have been furthered in the best possible manner.

I sincerely hope that this International Congress will be a mighty weapon and a blessed instrument in bringing about this end, and I should be happy if my report should prove to be helpful to the high purposes which animate it.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am going to take the liberty, which I suppose the Chairman has, of departing a little from the printed order, and calling next upon Mr. Theodore Berg, of Copenhagen, who comes to tell us about the outlook in Denmark and Norway.

the members of the Association—for the discussion of religious questions is, in many cities, a special work of our society. The attendance of women at these meetings is large. Work with the young also takes the interest of many.

Finally, mention of the fact should not be omitted, that the *Evangelisch-soziale Kongress*, a respected and growing organization, of which Professor Harnack is now president, has for a number of years been promoted and supported for the most part by *Freunden der Christlichen Welt*.

THE LIBERAL RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN NORWAY AND DENMARK.

READ BY THEO. BERG, COPENHAGEN.

My Danish brethren have enjoined me to bring you their loving brotherly greeting and heartfelt thanks for all you have been and are to us. I have been asked to tell you something about the liberal religious movement in our country, and its neighbor and near and dear relative, Norway, which country, unfortunately, is not represented at this Congress. I shall, as we say, "use the broad brush," trying to give you a general impression of the situation, avoiding details, which, worked at haphazard into a sketch like this, tend to misconceptions.

I am sorry that Mr. Haugerud, the Unitarian minister at Christiania, has been prevented from coming. Having lived fourteen years in the United States and being at this moment the moving force amongst the Norwegian Unitarians, he, more than any other man, would have made intelligible to you the circumstances under which our Norwegian brethren are living and working.

Great literary names are woven into the history of the liberal religious movement in Norway. At the beginning of the last century one of the greatest poets of Norway,—I doubt if I may not say of Scandinavia,—Wergeland, held and professed in all his writings Unitarian views. He was fearless, downright, and reckless, and, accordingly, in his time met with more resistance and condemnation than sympathy and appreciation; but his influence on his people was great and abiding.

Close upon Wergeland followed Björnson, at the present day Norway's greatest poet, the thorough-going idealist, the undaunted vindicator of liberty, religious as well as political. He is an old man now, but still in full vigor, as warm-hearted and as liberal-minded as a youth of twenty. Any form of orthodoxy is hateful to him,

and any attempt at spiritual subjugation will make him rise in wrathful, chivalrous opposition. The spiritual as well as political life of Norway bears the mark of these two great and faithful servants to the cause of liberty.

Their names have, however, never been associated directly with that of Unitarianism. When the history of Unitarianism in Norway shall be written, it is two other names that will be mentioned first, Tambs Lyche and Kristofer Janson. Of the two, that of Kristofer Janson is the best known. His education for the Established Church, his position as a minister, and, primarily, his great literary and oratorical gifts secured for him a notoriety which never fell to the lot of Tambs Lyche, though both were equally devoted to the cause of religious liberty and the Unitarian faith, and its fearless pioneers in their country.

Both men first came in contact with Unitarianism in the United States. Kristofer Janson worked there for years, founding and serving Unitarian congregations, their highly appreciated minister. Both embraced this form of Christianity with strong and deep-rooted devotion and enthusiasm. Tambs Lyche was the first to return to his native country, and with all the strength, the skill, the unselfishness of a fine character and a bright intellect he strove by word and pen to spread the views and ideas so precious to himself amongst his countrymen. He never spared himself, but, full of hope and cheer, it may be said that he worked himself to death in a few years. His work bore fruit, and was carried on by Kristofer Janson, who in 1893 founded the first Norwegian—in fact, the first Scandinavian—Unitarian congregation at Christiania. Regular Sunday services were held, attended at times by four or five hundred men and women. Lectures were delivered by him throughout all Norway, and even in Sweden and Denmark he became a well-known and appreciated lecturer and preacher. Through his many publications—novels and poems as well as religious and social treatises—his views have been spread all over Scandinavia. Many are those in Denmark, as well as in Norway, who mourn that his failing health and advanced age have compelled his partial retirement from public life.

His successor as minister to the Christiania congregation is Herman Haugerud, a young man who got his theological education at the



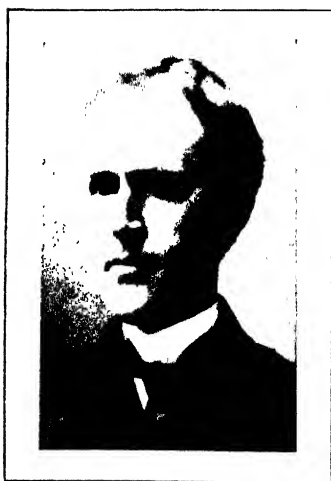
CURTIS GUILD, JR.
GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS



HON. JOHN D. LONG
BOSTON, MASS.



PRES. CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D.
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.



REV. SAMUEL M. CROTHERS, D.D.
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Meadville Theological School, and for more than ten years served as minister to Unitarian congregations in different places in the United States. From his experience amongst them he brought with him to Christiania fresh, invigorating ideas, and, thanks to his energy, his eloquence and zeal, the work there begun by the two other men has greatly prospered under his guidance. All kinds of associations and institutions, such as young people's clubs, Sunday-schools, singing classes, etc., have sprung up in his congregation, and his audience is rapidly and steadily increasing.

Concerning the professed Unitarians in Norway—those who have left the National, the Established Church—it may be said that they form a thriving, zealous community, bravely taking their part in the spreading of what to them seems the true Christianity, faithfully working for the realization of that kingdom of God of which Jesus spoke. But, besides this, in Norway, as everywhere else, the Established Church—in this case the Lutheran—is, so to speak, saturated with Unitarianism. Opponents as well as adherents of this form of Christianity acknowledge this, no one trying to cover up the fact. To-day the name of a young minister of the Established Church, Carl Konow, is on the lips of every man in the Scandinavian countries. He seems to hold Unitarian views on all the essential points of Christianity. His conception of the birth and resurrection of Jesus, his ideas about the atonement and sacraments, are purely Unitarian, and in some lectures delivered by him at Bergen last year he has openly and clearly stated them. Seven members of his congregation complained about this to his bishop, and, though more than three hundred men and women protested against this complaint, the bishop and church authorities have done what was in their power to make him give up his pulpit. In Norway a minister of the Church can be deprived of his pulpit only by a decision of the law courts. Pastor Konow flatly refused to comply with the wishes of the church authorities, stating it as his firm conviction that he would thereby injure the Church and the cause of truth. It is at this moment uncertain whether the authorities will appeal to the law courts, the liberal party in the Church being strong, and even a great part of its orthodox clergy and laity being adverse to go to law about questions so purely spiritual. The case in all its details, especially Pastor Konow's views and standpoint, is full of interest; but time to-day

will not allow me to enter more fully upon it. I must now pass from Norway to my own country, Denmark.

Let me begin by saying that you cannot speak of Danish Unitarians in the same sense as you can speak of Norwegian, English, American, or Hungarian Unitarians. In these countries the Unitarians form a separate body. They are men and women who have left the Established Church to form free and independent churches of their own. Nothing of the kind has yet been done in Denmark. It is true that some hundreds of men and women holding Unitarian views, about eight years ago, founded an association called by the somewhat misguiding name *Det fri Kirkesamfund*,—the free church association. It is true that this association holds regular Sunday services, and has chosen for a preacher a man, Uffe Birkedal, whose views conform as closely as possible with those of the leading Unitarians in Great Britain and United States of the present day. It is true that its committee consists of professed Unitarians. It is true that at this moment it is looked upon by the general public, and looks upon itself, as an organization of Unitarians. But, according to its statutes, the sole aim of the association is “to spread free religious knowledge, and to work for the continuation of the Protestant movement inaugurated by Martin Luther,” and at this present moment almost all its members are members of the Established Church,—“the People’s Church,” as it is called in Denmark.

I may perhaps try to make the situation comprehensible to you by telling you that all which is required of one as a member of this Established or People’s Church is that one should be baptized according to the orthodox Lutheran baptismal formula. No subscription to, no verbal confession whatever of any creed is required of any lay member of the Church. If a certificate can be produced, stating that you have been baptized by a minister in the Church, you are compelled to pay church rates, and are entitled to the use of the church buildings and the administrations of its ministers until you shall either have sent in to your parish clergyman notice that you desire to leave the Church or have formally entered another religious body—Roman Catholic, Methodist, Jewish—legally acknowledged by the State as an independent church. In consequence of this leniency on the part of the Church the people as a whole—according

to the last census 97 per cent. of the population—belongs to the Established Church.

Now those Unitarian men and women who eight years ago united in an association were then, as I have said, with one or two exceptions, members of the Established Church, and after some very brief vacillation they made up their mind to remain so, and, rather than leave the People's Church and form a separate religious body, to remain in it, openly professing their faith, and laboring with all their might for a reformation of this Church, so that its Unitarian members might in future be enabled to range themselves within its pale in free congregations in full accordance with their religious convictions.

This surely must seem natural and, I hope and trust, right to you. To remain part of the Church into which it has been born is, and ought surely to be, the heart's desire of any religious movement. The disadvantages of forming denominations and sects, the advantage of living under the old roof as part of the whole flock, are so self-evident that I should only waste your time by pointing them out. Better strive to unite on the points whereon you agree than to separate on the points of disagreement. The great question in this case is this: Is it possible, is there any chance whatever, that the Danish Church be so reformed that Unitarians can honestly and openly live inside its walls? We believe so, or we would not stay in or labor for it.

In the ranks of orthodoxy there is a great, vigorous, liberal party, consisting of men who are at least as anxious as we are that this reformation should be accomplished. They argue in this way: All that the *Grundlov* (the constitution) says about the Established Church—the Church supported and governed by the people and the king—is that it is Evangelical-Lutheran. No definition of these words is given. Now, whatever they mean on paper, it is a recognized fact that in reality this Church has always contained, and at times almost consisted of men who held Unitarian views. Badly disguised Unitarianism has been preached, and is to-day preached, from many of its pulpits. At the present time, more than ever before, Unitarian views are being propagated throughout the whole country by translations of the modern German theological works and by men, lay and ecclesiastical, who have been influenced by these. We could not, even if we would,—the liberal orthodox party argues,—

expel these heretics from the People's Church. All we could accomplish if we tried would be the exclusion of a handful of honest, sincere, religious men and women, while we should keep amongst us all the hypocritical and indifferent infidels. But, even if we could by main force cleanse the Church of Unitarians, hidden as well as professed, we would not try. We could not conscientiously use the arm of the civil power against purely spiritual opponents. Believing it, as we do, to be well and beneficial for the people that it should uphold and support a common national institution for religious education and edification, we want the Established Church preserved, but at the same time we maintain that an Established, a State Church is mainly a civic institution, which must not be mistaken for a missionary station. The State must scrupulously avoid all spiritual guardianship over its citizens. Its Church must at all times be made wide enough for the bulk of the people to live inside its pale in freedom and honesty.

According to the present constitution, which we believe the people unwilling to alter, the Church is Evangelical-Lutheran. Roman Catholics are excluded. Men with Methodist, Adventist, and Quaker views have left it to form legally recognized religious associations of their own, but these Unitarians have stuck, and still stick to it. They have formed part and parcel of it as long as it has existed, and cannot now be expelled. Would it not be best for us as for them, for the Church itself and the people at large, that this should be officially acknowledged, that we should give these words "Evangelical-Lutheran" a spiritual, not a literal, interpretation? Would not the Church be more in accordance with the spirit of Martin Luther, more honest, stronger, and purer, if it allowed, yea, encouraged them to range themselves within its walls in accordance with their convictions? Let us make of this national institution which we call our People's Church a real Protestant church, where each man has a right and a duty to read and honestly interpret the Bible by his own light, a national church of which any Danish man, woman, or child professing him or herself a disciple of Christ and a Protestant, may be a member,—a temple with open doors and warm welcome for the sons of the land.

Now this party, this programme for a church organization, dates more than seventy years back. I cannot here mention the great

liberal men who have fought for it. Grundtvig, the great, towering religious genius of the last century in our country, was—himself a convinced Trinitarian—the originator of it; and foremost amongst its dauntless champions stands the father of our minister, Pastor Birkedal, an orthodox minister in the Established Church but a fearless vindicator of spiritual freedom. Slowly, step by step, this party has led the National Church towards this glorious goal, always having the bishops and bulk of the clergy against them, generally supported by the people. Though the conservative of to-day acknowledges that the steps taken in former days towards greater liberty, greater tolerance inside the Church, have been beneficial for the orthodox party as well as for the Church as a whole, he still looks at proposed liberal measures with fear and distrust, and every concession has to be wrested from him.

Now when our *Det fri Kirkesamfund* made its demand that the Unitarian members of the Church be entitled to unite in free congregations, free so far as control of creeds and dogmas, rituals and preaching are concerned, but still members of the main body, gathering strength and succor from it, infusing new blood into its veins, a new combatant entered upon the arena. Hitherto the "heretic," the "infidel," had held his peace, remained in the background, quietly profiting by any liberal measures adopted by the clergy and orthodox laity. The question whether the State could dispense with creeds and confessions in its Church—make it through and through Protestant—had mainly been a theoretical question, a question of principles. Now at a stroke it became a dire wrestling about facts. What shall be done with these men and women, legally members of the Church, openly professed Unitarians, demanding a reformation of their country's Church—the Church supported in part by themselves—which will enable them to live honestly inside it? This question rapidly rose to the surface, and in a few years became the pivot on which the whole church policy turned. Men and women who had never concerned themselves about church affairs, hearing about the Unitarian question are now seeking information about it, and in their minds are weighing the old creed and dogmas, the old interpretation of the Bible and its teachings with the views and conceptions held by Christian Unitarians to-day, and are trying to form an opinion for themselves.

Two great advantages have then been attained by our decision to remain in the Church:—

First, the knowledge of the Unitarian faith and views is spreading in ways far broader and all-embracing than would have been the case if we, instead of standing up for a reformation of the Church, had quietly left it in order to form a new and small denomination.

Secondly,—and this is by far the greatest gain,—the new proposal that the Unitarian members of the Church should be allowed to form congregations of their own, that Unitarianism should be openly and legally preached alongside with Trinitarianism in the Established Church, has undoubtedly greatly augmented religious interest, zeal, and sincerity in the Church. Hitherto many devout men and women have dozed away, comfortably convinced that creeds and dogmas were the concern of the authorities. You might conform to them or differ from them, but the State through its officials would see to it that the gospel was interpreted uniformly all through its churches according to the laws of the country. Now they hear of a new proposal, that the State should lay the Bible on the table, open to the interpretation of every man and woman according to their own light and conscience. They hear that it might come to this, that the State should say through its own Church, “Read and choose for yourself.” Men and women are awakening to the feeling of more personal responsibility in spiritual matters, they are rising, they are uniting to make a manly, faithful stand for their religious conviction, whatever it may be.

Surely, this is a great gain. So, even if we do not win our point, even if we be at last compelled in the interest of truth and honesty to leave the old Church, we shall feel that we have not labored in vain.

Of the missionary work done by us I can speak quite briefly. It is carried on by very much the same means and in the same way as in England, Norway, and other countries. We hold regular Sunday services in Copenhagen and in Aarhus in Jutland, fairly well attended in both places. Through our postal mission and our two periodicals, and through tracts and books, translations and original works, by meetings held at different times and places, by words written and spoken wherever a hearing may be had, we strive to propagate our views. Much zeal is here exhibited, and in this work we are

indebted to our English brethren for invaluable help and assistance, material as well as spiritual. Compared to our brethren in other lands, we fall sadly short and feel very humble and insignificant in this respect; but we are doing our work cheerfully and hopefully, sustained by the blessed conviction that, placed where we are, under the given circumstances, we have been intrusted with a special mission,—that of standing up bravely for the realization of the ideal Christian community, the Catholic Protestant Church.

At the conclusion of Mr. Berg's address it was voted to postpone the two other papers on the program until to-morrow, after which the meeting adjourned at 3.30 o'clock to attend the various department meetings arranged for the remainder of the afternoon.

NOTE.—The paper by Professor O. E. Lindberg, of Gotheburg, on "The Religious Situation in Sweden," crowded out of its order by the exceeding length of preceding papers, was read by him at an overflow meeting in the South Congregational Church on the evening of September 25, presided over by Rev. Dr. T. R. Slicer, of New York. It is printed here in full, together with a report on "Liberal Religion in New Zealand," made at the banquet on Thursday evening, September 26, by the delegate from that country, Miss Mary E. Richmond, and a communication on "Religious Conditions in Australia," forwarded by Rev. Charles Strong, of Melbourne, and read by title only because of lack of time. Prof. Goldwin Smith's paper was kindly forwarded to the Committee.

THE CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY IN SWEDEN.

BY PROFESSOR F. O. LINDBERG, OF GOTHENBURG.

Before entering upon my theme I beg to express to your Executive Committee my warmest thanks for the opportunity it has given me to attend this magnificent congress, in the country where Emerson published to the world his grand, suggestive thoughts and the town where Parker gave eloquent utterance to his spiritually awakening and radical opinions.

In dealing with the subject, "The Condition of Liberal Christianity in Sweden," three points of view are chiefly, I think, to be considered: first, the churchly one; then the one concerning dissenters, or free religious fellowships in general; finally, the one respecting the more philosophical phase of free Christian thought among us. There is in Sweden a National or Established Lutheran Church and also various dissenting sects, independent of the ecclesiastical authority of the State. It is true of the National Church, as for the most part of all religious institutions which have lived through ages, that she clings to traditions. This has most recently found particular expression—to cite but one example—in a petition which our bishops, supported by some of the independent sects, presented to the government, in order to retain their influence over the colleges; for this influence is, in consequence of a lately established superior board of managers for the aforesaid schools, about to slip out of their hands.

We may, however, acknowledge that our Established Church has gradually learned to be comparatively tolerant. An undeniable exception from this rule is a faction which regards itself as super-orthodox, but which, in fact, is only a sect within the Swedish National Church. It is called *Schartauanism*. It seems to me as if this religious species wished that all liberal religious thought had

but a single throat, in order that with one stroke it might be cut off. This church party has ministers still characterized by quite a mediæval cast of mind, hostile not only to religious evolution, but to progress in general, which it looks upon as leading to a weakened morality. Yet it cannot be denied all merit. There is something of steel in its constitution. Characters, though old-fashioned and strongly opposed to the spirit of the time, it has certainly produced. But much beyond the negative merit of a certain tolerance our National Church has not reached. Modifications for the better effected by it are few and trifling. She does not, as a rule, want to hear a word about a more thorough alteration of her dogmatic notions and antiquated ceremonies and institutions.

Notwithstanding this general state of the National Church, many individual religious thinkers within it—it is a pleasure to say—cherish enlightened opinions, often far-reaching. At the universities we meet such liberal-minded theologians as the professors Per Eklund, Nat. Söderblom, and G. M. Pfannenstill, the university lecturer T. Segerstedt, and others. In this connection I may mention as a cheering symptom the increasing interest in foreign religious reports and doctrines, to which, among other things, a work edited by the above-named Söderblom, containing translated extracts from foreign religious writers, gives testimony. But even clergymen, and they not a few, *outside* the universities harbor free religious views. Among these, Rector S. A. Frees in Stockholm, our most distinguished authority on Biblical criticism, known even abroad, ought to be mentioned in the first place; but there are also many others, whom I cannot, for want of time, here enumerate. A liberal church periodical, entitled *Christianity and our Time*, lately started, counts among its collaborators some twenty clergymen more or less liberal-minded. There exists also in Gothenburg a lately formed society for research into religious history, whose leader is a theological teacher at one of the public colleges in that town. This society has edited a series of writings, entitled "Popular Books on Religious History," being translations from the best that modern religious thought and research present to us.

As for dissenting or independent congregations in general, within or outside the Church, we are gratefully indebted to them for a good deal of sound blood in our social body. The moral discipline which

they exercise over their individual members is in some respects a salt against the putrefaction which social vices are inclined to produce in all times and in every nation. A noticeable merit is also that with few exceptions they take their religion in earnest and have repudiated almost all outworn religious ceremonies, desiring to "worship the Father in spirit and in truth." I am sorry, however, to say that in our country they are not so advanced in point of doctrine. They are indeed in this respect more conservative than the Church herself. They tolerate very unwillingly members who hold a little broader views than they themselves.

But what is still more to be regretted is the course of action taken by such men as the famous P. Waldenström. At first he put forth a few sound and reformatory opinions bearing on the dogma of vicarious satisfaction, and thereby called into existence a large and important party within the National Church. Afterwards, however, he not only cut short his reformatory activity, but also stiffened the other dogmas much more than that Church herself, being more anxious than she ever was to condemn all religious research, above everything Biblical criticism, which proved a considerable check to the rise and growth of free thought.

Yet even within non-conformist religious circles men of enlightened mind are not wanting, though like the mentally more advanced spirits of the Middle Ages they often have their opinions enveloped in a chrysalis of dogmatic phrases. Yet a couple of them have openly spoken out their mind, among these the noted Dr. J. Ekman in Stockholm. He is the most significant and most worthy representative of modern theology within the non-conformist religious bodies in Sweden, for which he also has been very sharply taken to task by his former fellow-worshippers.

In the third category I comprehend all those who outwardly belong to no established creed but the Church, but who are influenced by philosophy, so that by its means, in a certain way, they have formed or modified their Christian belief. Philosophy—this beneficial purgatory of religions—is to some extent inherent in the blood of our people. We have in later times had several important thinkers, such as Erik Gustaf Geijer, Højjer, P. Wikner, Victor Rydberg, Nyblæus, and, above all, Christopher Boström, as well as at the present moment the prominent professor Vit. Norström

at the university to which I myself belong. Three of these especially (to wit, Boström, Wikner, and Victor Rydberg) have enormously influenced our moral and spiritual ways of thought. They have widened, deepened, and elevated it even where it has retained the letter of orthodoxy. Still better, this religious-philosophical movement has not only brought much truth into view, but it has also been able to create characters really religious. It has gradually dawned upon the ordinary religious mind that there may exist such a thing as a Christian life based throughout on liberal Christian thought. This seems to me highly important, since because of this assurance timid, pious-minded souls venture to think. The men and women who in this semi-philosophical religious manner are framing their spiritual life are not a few, and they are increasing in number day by day. Many of them are wealthy and independent persons, who sacrifice comparatively much on the altar of a healthy religious enlightenment. In Stockholm, for instance, there is living a very rich, highly cultured man, whose name I am not allowed to mention, who spends several hundred pounds a year for this purpose. Among men who preach the Bible word in the light of free thought and, let me add, with genuine prophetic ardor, Nat. Beskow should be named. Even women are working with us along this line, though for the most part by writing, such as Anna Roos.

It should here also be noticed that theosophy and spiritualism have in some measure acted upon our religious minds. There exists in Sweden, though sporadically, a theosophical Christianity.

If we now, for a moment, touch upon the question which dogmas have been obliged to yield to the progressive march of the new spirit in my country, this must, for want of time, be treated of in a few words. I am glad to say that the preaching of the devil and hell, with all their horrors, at length begins to fade away into the past. Both the Established Church and the non-conformist bodies in their public teaching lay more stress on the love of God and life everlasting than on eternal death. People obviously begin to look upon evil from somewhat different points of view than heretofore. It is as if there were passing through our common religious consciousness a touch of the meaning of those lines in Longfellow's "Golden Legend":—

"It is Lucifer,
 The son of mystery,
 And since God suffers him to be,
 He, too, is God's minister,
 And labors for some good
 By us not understood."

In reality, it is the spirit of the time which forces the preachers to humanize their teaching rather than the demand of the church people, whose bigotry too often prevents this. With greater difficulty certain other dogmas give way, such as that of the Trinity, of the vicarious atonement, of justification only by the grace of God, and so forth. And no wonder, for the central idea of "the Sermon on the Mount," the idea which identifies inner, everlasting bliss with spiritual and moral perfection, has not yet largely dawned upon our religious world in Sweden. To it spiritual life is still more a mechanical procedure from without than any organic process within the mind.

Finally, in casting the horoscope of the religious future of my fatherland, I feel the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of playing the prophet, all the more so as the religious movements in my own country are very intimately connected with the spiritual evolution of Europe at large,—nay, with that of the whole world, as nowadays, more perhaps than ever in the days of Neo-Platonism, Orient and Occident are influencing each other. I can indicate but my own opinion and hopes. These are to the effect that we are slowly, but surely, advancing towards the hour when those of our nation who are more seriously interested in spiritual and moral things will be penetrated at least intuitively with somewhat the following ideas: First, that the Sermon of the Mount is the kernel of Christianity and the flower of all religion. Further, that the regeneration which the Fourth Gospel rightly, though not for the first time in history, puts into spiritual thought and life, is certainly a wonderful mental process, initiated and in every way forwarded by forces divine and eternal, but that it has by no means anything to do with the dogmatical, artificial, and juridical procedure which the Christian churches and sects have made of it; in a word, that spiritual life is of such a profoundly ethical nature that all real inner harmony is brought about by moral and mental perfection. I think also, and hope, that the time is not far off when dogmas totally at

variance with all humane, ethical thought, such as the dogma of eternal damnation, that of vicarious expiatory sacrifice, that of three personalities within the Godhead equally divine and perfect, that of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Holy One, shall be cherished only by a few bigoted souls, whereas the greater part of our people will have thrown them over. They will understand them to be based not on the Gospels, but on quite heathen habits of thought; not very elevated, either, as comparative religious history has fully shown. And a respectable minority will, I hope, devote themselves very earnestly to a religion which shall have, as its confession of faith, only the writings of the New Testament, especially the Gospels; but according to their spirit, not in bondage to their letter. And this minority will have its dogmas, in case we are to speak of such, modified by the parliament of psychical and religious research, as well as of spiritual and philosophical thought. Much in my dear native country seems to point in this direction.

We have, however, to make a fight also against materialism in Sweden. This is making its appearance not so much within the middle classes as within the upper ten and among the organized laborers, being the issue of the irrational and sterile dogmatism of the church bodies. The religious nihilism of the socialistic party, too, has been fostered to a great extent by the Church herself, which has omitted to take serious interest in the needs of the working classes. In defeating materialistic agencies I am convinced that true scientific psychical research and natural science will both be of excellent service. For the time is, I believe, not far off when the strongly convergent lines of these two will meet at a point where they will demonstrate, jointly, the truth of the immortality of the soul, as well as of the opinion that this earth-life is but a stepping-stone in a mighty series of progressions towards the fully developed and perfected kingdom of God. Thus the idea will have dawned upon our mind,—the grand idea which the Fourth Gospel puts forth in its sixteenth chapter, that of *evolutionary Christianity*. In this sign we shall be victorious in Sweden and all over the world, and along this line we shall come to understand the familiar word in the same Fourth Gospel: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

THE PROSPECTS OF LIBERAL RELIGION IN AUSTRALIA.

BY CHARLES STRONG, D.D., OF THE AUSTRALIAN CHURCH, MELBOURNE.

I thank your Executive Council for the honor of an invitation to your International Congress of Liberal Thinkers and Workers.

I greatly regret my inability to avail myself of the privilege of being present as a humble representative of the cause of Free Religion in Australia, and of enjoying the fellowship of leaders in the realm of Religion whose names have long been to some of us in this distant land household words.

But I am glad to be able to fall in with the suggestion of your Honorary Secretary, and to contribute a short paper on "The Prospects of Liberal Religion in Australia," so that Victoria may not be altogether unrepresented.

It may be well to begin by defining what I, at least, mean by "Liberal Religion."

By Religion I mean an attitude or self-relation of the human spirit towards God as the informing spirit of all.

By Liberal Religion I mean, first, Religion that has outgrown all Dogma—miraculously conveyed and attested communication, unalterable, to be received on authority, by all true believers—just as a winged creature has outgrown its chrysalis form. I mean Religion whose windows alike of heart and mind are thrown open to the East, to receive any larger light and any fresh inspiration of Love, which regards no theological creed as other than a cup in which a draught from the ever-flowing stream has been temporarily imprisoned, and which recognizes evolution as a universal law of human thought and experience, even in the sphere of things divine.

By Liberal Religion I mean, secondly, that ethical and spiritual attitude, as of free sons and daughters towards the spirit of all,

flowering and fruiting in a corresponding attitude of fraternal good will to man, of which Jesus of Nazareth may be taken as the primitive type, and which has in all ages been the differentiating mark of his followers.

Liberal Religion, as I understand it, rejects the whole dogmatic conception of Religion as irrational, unhistorical, and unspiritual. It dethrones historical and theological beliefs as idols, when exalted into the chief seat, to put in their place, as the very centre of the picture, the underlying theme to the whole symphony, the key to life here and hereafter,—Love,—spiritual, self-sacrificing, and yet self-fulfilling Love of the Whole, of the Highest, and of all in Him.

Liberal Religion is thus no mere negation (though it necessarily contains a negative "moment"), but is a very clear and distinct positive. It is the positive reaffirmation of Ethical Faith (as distinguished from Intellectual Belief, as being the distinguishing mark and test of the "Christian," as it is further the reaffirmation that "the churches' one foundation" and the one bond of fellowship in the historic, apostolic, and catholic Church of God—*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*—is Love. "He that abides in love abides in God, and God abides in him," as the Scriptures say.

As Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, we are not, I take it, seeking to destroy, but to fulfil, by restoring the ethical and religious to that place which they held of old in the teaching of Jesus, but from which they have so long been banished by the traditions and commandments of men. What, in short, we are seeking, is a revival of Religion pure and undefiled, and through this a Revival of the Ideal of the Catholic Church throughout all the world, as the family and the army of the God who is "Spirit, Light, and Love."

Now, if I am asked what are the prospects in Australia of Liberal Religion, in the sense I have indicated, I cannot say that at present they are altogether encouraging. The old dogmatic conception of Religion still prevails in our churches.

We have lately had much talk of reunion of churches. Committees have discussed possible bases of reunion, between Presbyterian and Anglican, on the one hand, and between Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists, on the other, but as yet without any very definite result. The dominant idea in all these negotiations still is that religion is, more or less, *Dogma*, even though the

Dogma may be attenuated and reduced to a rag, and that it is also, more or less, essentially an *Historical Belief*.

The old conception of the Bible as "infallible," miraculously written and miraculously preserved through the ages, and from which a dogmatic creed, necessary to "salvation" from a miraculous "hell," must be extracted and formulated, still prevails; and any union proposed is always based on *uniformity of belief*, not on *unity of Faith*, spirit, purpose, and active endeavor for the "Kingdom of God" on earth. Our Anglican brethren still harp on the old string of the "historic episcopate" as being of the very essence of the Faith!

As an illustration of the whereabouts of a section at least of our people, a "monster meeting" was lately called by advertisement in Melbourne Town Hall. A bishop occupied the chair, and different churches were represented by the speakers. The object for which this great meeting of three thousand people was held was declared to be "to reaffirm the old Theology."

At a large Anglican Congress held some time ago in Melbourne many important questions were discussed, and some liberal sentiments were uttered by individual speakers; but the great problem of Religion and the Church was not faced, and is not yet faced, I think, by any of the churches.

Our people, moreover, are immersed in the pursuit of business, politics, and pleasure. A very large proportion of them never darken a church door, and show no interest in anything distinctly religious. Sunday is to many a mere day of pleasure, and young people drift outside of churches and religious influences. Our prevailing ideas, if not theoretically, are practically somewhat materialistic, and consequently religion is at a discount, church life is not progressive or inspiring, and the home life loses its sacredness and piety. Our churches are often said to be out of touch with modern thought and out of sympathy with the democratic aspirations of the people. Some of the more cultured and many of the working classes are thus alienated from the Church, which no longer takes its legitimate place as the Soul and Spiritual Centre of the national life.

There is, consequently, not that interest in churches and Religion favorable to the reform of Religion, and the demands of Liberal Religion not for new ritual or new dogma, but for a new fellowship

and a new life, private and social, based on Faith and Love, do not meet with general response. Even reformers who are bravely battling for a more righteous Social System, and who might be expected to hail a Liberal Religion as their natural ally, hold aloof from churches, either because they distrust them or because they imagine that all humanity needs is a readjustment of material conditions and environment.

Notwithstanding, however, much that is unfavorable to the growth of Liberal Religion in Australia, there is a leaven of better things at work among us. We have earnest and thoughtful men and women among us who long for a more living and liberal Church as the Light of the Commonwealth, and the guide of the young men and women who consciously or unconsciously have broken with the old Dogmatic Ideal of Religion and the Church, and have risen above the old barriers of contending creeds and sectarianisms, whether "orthodox" or "unorthodox."

There is reason to believe that many, even in our "orthodox" churches, are far broader in their sympathies than their official creeds and trust-deeds would lead us to believe, although they are not prepared to make any sacrifice for their Faith. They are held back, perhaps by old associations, by fear of revolution, or by dread of the sociological change which it is more and more coming to be felt is involved in the substitution of Religion for Dogma.

Here and there voices are raised in the pulpit in support of what is called "The New Theology," and liberal utterances are heard on "The Higher Criticism." The fundamental dogma of "God's Decree" seems to have melted away in the Calvinistic reforming pot, and it is not long since a leading Presbyterian minister in Victoria published a pamphlet urging that belief in the Virgin-birth, although held by himself, should not be made obligatory on ministers or other office-bearers. The Presbyterians, to relieve their consciousness, have passed "Declaratory Acts" which are supposed to modify the stringency of the ordination vow, though the legality of this may be doubted, and the effect of such Acts is to make the unaccepted dogmas still more binding.

The foundation dogma of an everlasting Hell on which the dogmatic "Scheme of Salvation" hinges no longer occupies the place it did, and the old "hell-fire" theology is at a discount, al-

though the logical consequences of this radical change do not seem to be discerned.

There is good practical work being done by some of our churches, and there is a growing feeling that a living church means a practical church, interesting itself in the social welfare of the people. The social problem is discussed in some of our pulpits, and always appears now on the programme of our church assemblies or congresses, while, in our many societies for advancing the public good, men and women of every creed and of no creed work harmoniously together.

The difficulty is to unite and organize the Liberal Religious Life of Australia, and so to make it more a power for good than it is.

Much, I think, might be done by the dissemination of healthy religious literature of a popular but educational character, discussing the religious problems of to-day, not in a sectarian or controversial, but in a liberal and catholic spirit. There might thus be put within the reach of all the best and most assured results of modern religious thought and activity. The people need to be instructed. Even those liberally disposed do not know what is being said and done in the name of Liberal Religion all over the world. Liberal Religion is thought to be a little sectarian affair, having no higher aim than to make proselytes for a sect.

Liberal thinkers and workers need to be drawn together and to know what their brethren throughout the world are doing and thinking.

Could there not be a recognized journal of Liberal Religion for the world, contributed to by Liberal Thinkers and Workers in many lands, published in different languages, and containing news of every liberal church organization? It would need, however, to be a journal popularly and simply written, suitable for distribution among congregations as well as clergy.

I think, further, that the establishment of a Permanent Centre of Liberal Religion may be necessary, on the lines of the "Institute of Social Service" established in New York and London by my friend, Dr. Josiah Strong, in touch with all the churches and able to furnish counsel and information to any seeking aid.

Missionaries of Liberal Religion are sorely wanted,—men, and women, also, full of faith and wisdom and knowledge, bearing no name but that of "Liberal Religion," from whatever section of the

Church they may come, lecturing and preaching perhaps, by preference, in halls outside of the churches, on neutral ground.

A visit from such apostles of the "Larger Faith" and the true Evangel might do much to stir us up here in Australia, and to unite the many scattered religious "Liberals" to be found within and without the Commonwealth.

Surely, it might be possible to raise a fund to defray the travelling expenses of such missionaries. It is the living voice we want to inspire us, and not merely the written word.

LIBERAL RELIGION IN NEW ZEALAND.

BY MISS MARY E. RICHMOND, OF WELLINGTON.

I am greatly obliged to you for the very kind way in which you have responded to the mention of the name of New Zealand. I am a New Zealander born and bred. I represent here the youngest church, I believe, in the community of liberal churches. We are only nine months old. We have in New Zealand two churches now, the one in my city has been going for about nine months, the one in Auckland has been going five or six years. We are a little flock, a very small band, but all beginnings are small, and it is the innate vigor of the seed rather than the size of it that matters. The "Mayflower" was not a very large ship, but since I have come to this country I have reason to believe that that frail hull bore across the stormy Atlantic the better part of the people of New England.

The message that was chosen to be delivered to this Congress by your three great speakers on the opening night of this conference at Symphony Hall is a message the power of which grows upon our hearts and minds as we advance in our efforts towards its practical realization. And the first practical step to that is, I believe, that we should know each other. The press, admirable as it is, and stupendous as are its achievements, does not always present nations to each other under their most favorable aspects. Politicians and diplomats are generally concerned with the difficulties that beset international relations. Scientific men, absorbed in the observation and revelation of the great laws of nature, are concerned with something vaster and calmer than the struggling life of nations. But the men and women of liberal religion, who have faith in freedom and freedom in their faith, as M. Jean Réville has said, when they meet together, strengthen the old bonds of human fellowship and discover and develop new ones. On the great fundamental principles that underlie all spiritual life they think alike and feel alike. It is a

happiness and a privilege to read a wise and a friendly book. It is a much greater happiness, a much greater privilege, to look into friendly faces and to hold a friendly hand. It is through, I believe, the intimate religious fellowship of members of this great free faith all the world over that the sittings of the Peace Conference are going to be rendered effective. The passions of the people are going to be restrained and calmed, and the great pugnacious forces of the nations turned toward the struggle with evil. We are a fighting company, we of the free faith. We do not need to sit still and leave all things as they are. Every speech I have heard since I came to the city of Boston has been a fighting speech. It has been a speech of a courageous and disciplined spiritual warrior. One of the first tunes I heard at the official reception the other evening was "Onward, Christian Soldiers." But this warfare is one that, when it is accomplished, brings peace and not a sword.

In New Zealand we have these two centres of liberal religion and activity, one at Auckland in the north of the North Island, one at Wellington, the capital of our country. Mr Jenney, who is in charge at the centre, has done a great deal. He has been there only five or six years but they have under his leadership a fine stone church, and he and his congregation are a centre of beneficent activity. In Wellington we have been with a minister of our own only about a year. Dr. Tudor Jones is already a power in the city. Odd Fellows Hall, where we meet, will only hold four or five hundred people, and the corporation has already been after us to say they are afraid of fire because we so overcrowd it.

We are at present a small and suspected community. They do not quite know what we are going to do. They think we are very likely anarchists, and are going to bring about a very disagreeable position of affairs presently. But I think, as soon as they grow to know us more, they will fear us less and like us better. We shall prove our quality, and they will see they have made a mistake. We possess some distinguished members among us. One is the chief justice of the colony. He is a very great supporter of ours.

I bring you over many miles of sea the affectionate greetings of this little society of free and liberal thinkers and workers. I assure you that all your proceedings will be watched by them with the warmest and keenest interest. Dr. Tudor Jones, our highly gifted

and successful minister, is himself very sorry not to be able to attend our meetings. I have no doubt he will be preaching about them.

With you the problem is the same as it is with us. We wished to learn how to develop along with the love of freedom, the desire for individual emancipation, always prominent in a new country, that still more elevated and supreme passion, the passion of personal devotion to public and social service. I thank you in the name of the Unitarians of New Zealand for your kind thought of us. I think I may carry to them a message of courage and good cheer, social, political, and also religious. When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, they were but a feeble folk. When the English colonists sent out by the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay came to New England, under the lead of John Winthrop, and founded Boston in 1630, they were not a powerful people. But now behold and see this great and enlightened city, this prosperous Commonwealth, this New World! I do not think that we shall forget, we in England's colonies, how big a place America is. Our eyes are fixed upon America. One thing I can tell them when I go back, and that is that the heart of America is fully as large as the country.

LIBERAL RELIGION.

BY PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, OF TORONTO, CANADA.

Robinson, the pastor of the English Puritans in Holland, in his parting words to members of his flock who were embarking for America, bewailed the "condition of the reformed churches that had come to a period in religion and would go no further than the instruments of their reformation." He exhorted his hearers "to be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received, and to remember that it was an article of their church covenant that they should be ready to receive whatever truth should be made known to them from the written word of God." Literary research and natural science, though not "the written Word of God," are also revelations in their way, and from them new light has broken. But the Protestant Churches still remain pent in the doctrinal formularies and tests of the seventeenth century, which in their time were perhaps necessary, at all events naturally adopted as rallying points of Protestant union and bulwarks against Rome. Thus the religious intellect, especially the religious intellect of the clergy, is paralyzed, and they are debarred from themselves receiving and from helping us to attain the truth. The mental position of some of them, especially the ablest and most learned, must, one cannot help thinking, be irksome, though they may allay misgivings on the part of doctrine in the thought of the good that they are doing by preaching high morality and leading in good works. Great, surely, would be the gain to us if, at a time when religion seems to be failing altogether, we could set the conscience and intellect of all Christian ministers free. Such I take to be one great practical object of this Congress. It apparently need involve no disturbance of church organization, a useful antidote to less kindly organizations in these contentious days.

Ultra-physicism meantime tells us confidently that since the dis-

covery of evolution by Darwin religion has been dead, and that a man is a fool who concerns himself with such questions as the immortality of the soul. The fools are numerous, for it appeared that the editor of a London journal had received in the course of a few months no less than nine thousand letters of religious inquiry. The rich man may be satisfied with the enjoyments of this life, and "jump the life to come." But even he, if he is disposed to laugh at religious inquirers, might remember that the foundations of Christian society have been religious. The many have been largely reconciled to their lot by the belief that it was a divine ordinance, and that for those who did their duty, if their lot was hard here, there would be compensation hereafter. The impression may not have been very clear, but it has been present and effective. To replace it in the minds of the masses by political and economical science would take time.

A grand discovery, like that of Darwin, is apt to carry us away. It was said that Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood set physiologists explaining everything by hydrostatics. Darwin, like Newton before him, *hypotheses non finxit*. He eschewed hypothesis and confined himself to observed facts. He does not pretend to tell us what set evolution going or towards what it is moving. It is not an intelligent power, but a force which cannot have called itself into existence. Whether it prevails throughout the universe we cannot tell. It is distinctly physical, while there are parts of human nature which at all events are not manifestly physical, and which hitherto evolution has not explained. Nor as yet in all these thousands of years has there a case been observed of natural evolution. Breeds of animals have been changed by human agency or by change of food or climate. The ape has got no nearer to man. Rudimentary similarities between the ape and man seem hardly enough to prove evolution. Nothing, in short, seems yet to forbid our believing what the spiritual part of our nature, as we have hitherto deemed it, tells us, that there is a soul as well as a force in the universe; and, if there is a soul in the universe, there is foundation for a Liberal Religion.

THIRD GENERAL SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

Held in Tremont Temple at 10 A.M., Wednesday, September 25,
President Eliot in the chair.

A religious service was conducted by Rev. Charles Peach, of London, consisting of Scripture reading, prayer, and a hymn written for the occasion by Rev. Benjamin R. Bulkeley.

From many lands, afar and near,
We come, O God, to sing Thy praise,
The Sacred Presence to revere,
The anthem of the truth to raise.

That truth in differing phrase is taught,
As, gathered under various skies,
The seekers after Thee have caught
The messages of paradise.

May myriad voices still proclaim
The word which sets Thy children free,
Uniting creeds of every name
To seek Thy glorious liberty.

Come, Pentecostal Spirit, come,
Touch prayer and utterance with Thy flame,
That every heart may feel at home,
And catch the accents of Thy name.

The PRESIDENT.—It was a great pleasure to some of us a few years ago to welcome one of the bravest soldiers of religious freedom that we know, one who has suffered more for this cause than almost any one of us here. He told us the remarkable story of the struggles for religious freedom in his native Bohemia, and I will ask you again to-day to greet Professor Masaryk, of the University of Prague.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN AUSTRIA-BOHEMIA.

BY PROFESSOR T. G. MASARYK, UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE, BOHEMIA.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Almost all the addresses you have heard here and you will hear are given by clergymen. I am a layman, perhaps I am a Philistine, so to say. Therefore do not expect from me a theological statement. Do not expect statistics on our religious life in Austria and Bohemia, figures showing the attendance in churches, and other such very valuable, but, for my purpose, not necessary information. To me the religious situation in Austria and Bohemia is the situation of our souls,—the situation not outwardly, but how it looks from within.

You must remember that Austria is a Catholic country, and you must allow me to tell you what Catholicism means. If we do not know what Catholicism means, we will not understand the religious situation of a Catholic country. Catholicism evermore means church-religion. A Catholic is apt to think that only his Church has religion, and that outside of the Church there is no religion at all. Church means an organization, it means priests, the hierarchy, the Pope, a great, grand centralization. Church means the dualism of priests and laymen: the priest is the intermediary between God and the soul. Where there are priests, priests in the real sense of the word, there are two moralities,—a morality of two different kinds. The priest has his own, the layman has his own,—it is the difference between celibacy and family life. In Catholicism, therefore, there is a wide difference between good and holy: it is one thing to be good, something quite different to consider anything as holy. The Catholic gives a great preponderance to ceremonials, and ceremonials are to him not only an expression, perhaps an æsthetic expression of religious feeling and life; not ritual only, but a miraculous transaction. And so is his prayer. To use the words of the Russian

writer and thinker, Turgeneff, who expresses the Catholic's thinking and feeling about prayer, that God might make two times two five; might work a miracle, a personal miracle, for him.

Finally, Catholicism means that religion is belief, and only belief. If you fully grasp the meaning of this explanation, you will understand what Catholic Austria means. Austria is the land of anti-reformation, Austria is the land that crushed the Reformation, and, in the first place, she crushed our Bohemian Reformation, using all her governmental power to do this. And so in Austria you find the typical instance of a truly Catholic country, and that means, in fine, that a Catholic country is a theocracy. The Church and the State are one: that means theocracy. Catholicism, theocratic Catholicism, means a religious aristocracy, and, where there are religious aristocrats,—the hierarchy,—there are religious slaves. That spells Catholicism.

As in all countries, we have a struggle, we have a conflict, between free thinking and the theocratic régime: it is the antagonism and contrast, a contradictory contrast, between ecclesiastical theology and philosophy and science. You will observe that in Catholic countries this conflict is more radical than in Protestant countries. It is because the Church imbues the Catholic with the notion that his Church is the only saving Church, and, if there is to be any religion, it can only be Catholicism, even if it is untrue. The Catholic may not believe any longer, but he cannot conceive of any other religion than Catholicism. The organization of the Church and her ceremonies take possession, so to say, of his imagination. "Catholic imagination" is a well-known expression. The Catholic may get rid of all the dogmas, he may not believe anything, yet in his heart he has not overcome Catholicism. And so you will find that such Catholics will fear their Church, and this their fear is a kind of hatred: they hate the Church. The most violent expression of this Catholic attitude of mind the greatest Bohemian poet, Mr. Makgar, has given in a much spoken of book, "The Poison of Judea." It is natural that the negation of Catholicism by a Catholic in its most radical form should come from our nation, the nation of John Huss, of Peter Kbelchitsky, the founder of *Unitas Fratrum* (the United Brethren), the nation of Comenius. I say, our people, as soon as they come to know of John Huss and of the Bohemian Reformation, needs must

come in conflict with the official Church, and then this peculiar fear and hatred develops in our souls. The warfare between the Church and a people thinking freely on Church and religion causes a kind of religious anarchy. And it is just a religious anarchy which characterizes Austria-Bohemia, and I would say all Catholic countries. This longlasting war hurts both belligerent parties. First, the continuous criticism, this polemics, this negation of the Church, produces a peculiar state of mind, a state of polemical bitterness; but, if you watch and observe these people who criticise their Church, and who in their negation often exceed all bounds, you will find that they yet live on their hated Church. There are more people who live on other men's conscience than is generally admitted. Next, it is the doubt, the scepticism, which pervades the country; and there are different forms and degrees of the disquieting scepticism. Then you find a great deal of indifferentism: it is the worst thing you can find in any soul, if a man cares no more for spiritual and religious life. Indifferentism is the real unbelief. Finally, you will find men and women and children without any religion at all. I must confess to myself that until now it has been a great puzzle how that can be; but I must acknowledge the fact,—there are people without religion, as there are people without science, without art.

If I criticise this situation, and try to show it as it really is, and if I criticise in this way the Church, I am not so opposed to the theology of the Church, to its theory: my criticism applies to the moral influence of Catholicism and the Church. Positively and negatively, (by its deficiency), the Church is unable to remove the existing religious anarchy: the Church is unable to remove the moral anarchy proceeding from the religious. This two-fold anarchy leads to very sad ends. If you look at the figures giving you the number of suicides in the different Catholic countries (of course, in Protestant countries as well), you will find that in the civilized countries of Europe, to give a round number, every year, year by year, at least 70,000 persons kill themselves; and know further that there are at least 2,000 children who commit suicide. This suicidal mania directly and indirectly proceeds from religious and moral anarchy. The horrible data of suicide impugn the state of religious life in Austria, in Bohemia, and in all Europe. These are poisoned souls,

as we say, broken souls and tired, who cannot live any more and choose to die. Remember how the public in Europe was shocked by the English-Boer War, when some thousands of people fell, or in the late Japanese and Russian War,—compare with this the number of persons who leave their own life willingly. Just imagine what that means,—that one child should find life intolerable and decide to die! I am sure that the growing proclivity to commit suicide, that this modern suicidity (allow me the word), is the religious problem of Europe and of our civilized world. What is it that is going on among us that at least 60,000 people, in the civilized world, year by year, leave what we call a life of civilization and progress and culture? That is the problem, it is the religious problem of all the problems to be solved.

At the same time as the suicidal mania a strong pessimistic feeling has developed, as is seen in philosophy and literature. In the third place, we must point to the growing pathological nervousness and mental weakness of our time. No doubt, the psychical state of modern society is pathological. It can be proved that this state is in close connection with the decline, decay, and dissolution of the official, ecclesiastical religion and organization.

As in every warfare, the two parties will be apt to find a compromise. And so you can see that there are two sorts of compromises. First, the theologians, and precisely the liberal theologians, make compromises, the Catholic as well as the Protestant theologians. On the other side are the compromising men of science and philosophy. The official philosophy, to my view, is nothing else than a compromise. So a kind of scholasticism is presented on both sides, yet more, a kind of Jesuitism promulgated by theologians and philosophers. They say very often: "Yes, the historic development, evolution, is very gradual. Evolution excludes revolution." I believe in evolution, but I also believe in revolution, especially in the sphere of spiritual life. Revolution is an organic evolution. You must say "Yes" or "No," but must not say "Yes-no" at once.

I know people enjoy quiet and not to have to think much, because thinking is not agreeable: it hurts, I am sure of that. They will find some surrogate, some substitute for religion. I wish to point to the fact that different elements of religious life are kept and cher-

ished according to the different wants of individuals. Some will stick to theology. They like to know everything about the development of religion and the Church: it often is a kind of theology of theology,—a second-hand theology. There are many people who like theology, the theological intellectualism displayed in interpretation, symbolization, and in all that modern “twisting” of the true sense of unmistakable words. Of course, a second class of intellectualists are the philosophers and the scientists. They even believe religion can be replaced by philosophy and science. You often will hear that in our country. Of course, if you ask, “How can chemistry or technology or civil engineering replace religion?” you will not get an answer, simply because religion cannot be replaced,—neither by science nor by philosophy, nor, of course, by theology.

Another class of people will be given to ceremonials. They like to go to the church. They do not believe any more, but they indulge this habit; the more, as it belongs to fashion, to social welfare. The richer ones rejoice, perhaps, over their Sunday dresses. They love all that belongs to ritualism and ceremonialism. People like to get these sensuous impressions the church and the service give. They will stick to them even if they are what they call themselves,—atheists. They enjoy the art in ceremonials, the music. They like to hear a good sermon, and they will talk much about the sermon,—not what they heard, but how the man spoke. Religious literature, especially romances and novels, is now in vogue.

Nowadays you will find a good many of our people who will tell you that the Church, in order to be saved, must be socialized; you will find theologians, socialists, saying, “Jesus was a reformer, a social reformer; nay, he was a socialist.” I do not believe that. I do not believe in the socialization of the Church. I don’t see how the priest would gain by studying political economy. In a time when we have State socialism, when we have municipalism, when the State and the communities take care of social reforms, there is no need of socializing the Church. But there is a great want of religion in the Church. Other good people would try to replace religion by morality, and strive for a better life. They forget that morals are not religion, that religion is something besides morality. This is granted by many; but they seek for religion in mysticism, they see

the true religious life in mystics and mysteries. Often these mystics abide by sentimentalism and romanticism.

Finally, the majority of our people accept simply the organization of the Church. It is the ecclesiasticism of the State Church—in one word, politics, theocratic politics—which replace for them religion. From these people you will hear, "The people must have religion." I often hear it and read it in every speech from the throne of emperors and kings, that the people need religion. And I hear it as often from the clergy, from the priests. "No, sir," I am moved to say, "*you* must have religion."

Of course, I know quite well that the adherents of ecclesiasticism, that people who blindly believe the pastor, are apt and able to believe as blindly the emperor and his officials. I understand that quite well. But that is politics, and not religion.

One explicit word about the religious life in the Church, in the State Church. In this Church of aristocracy and government, of plutocracy and capitalism, to say it in one word, the greatest attention is given to the maintenance of order. You must be an orderly man, as they call it, that is all. You must be and stay matriculated in the church register, then you must manifest your formal adherence to the Church, but the Church and the State do not care for your moral and religious life. The adherence to the Church is a question of show, not of religiosity. No doubt that church-going and participation in church formalities teach a man a kind of order: it educates him in some sort. But that is not religion. The Church cares to be seen. We have magnificent churches in our country: they take care of every little church to embellish it, and to have it just as handsome as possible. The churches are erected in conspicuous places. But is that religion? If you walk some steps from that church, you will find a tenement house, and there live eighteen, twenty, even more than twenty persons, in one little room. Why, what is the good of all these churches and the whole church show, if you find that awful social negligence in the neighborhood of the church?

This official Catholicism does not care any more for souls. I was born a Catholic, and I experienced myself all these struggles of the soul. The official Catholicism looks to me like a general or public hospital where the doctor should prescribe one medicine for all the

patients. No, such a Church cannot give what the people and what we Philistines need and want. The church trustees, the government, the police, not even a night-watch, is appointed if he is not a member of the State Church. And of course you must expect that the official Church, aided by the police, by the State, will persecute free thought, even at our universities. The clericals are striving to have a Catholic university, and, above all, they would like to get the teachers and professors in the public schools and in the middle schools, as we call them, to place the youth in their hands.

I know there are good Catholic priests, theologians, nice, gentle people. I like them myself, although I do not like what they hold. These people, who call themselves liberal Catholics, strive for a kind of "Reforming Catholicism," "Neo-Catholicism," "Modernism," "Americanism," and so on. They believe in a reformation in their Church, and try to make it. I do not believe in these attempts, and I cannot believe in them, because all the reforms they propose are petty and trifling in proportion to what is going on in Catholic souls. I will give you an instance of such a Catholic reformer, Professor Scheicher. I take him as a symptomatic instance. He is professor of Christian ethics, and he was deputy in our Reichstag, in the Parliament of Vienna,—a man, therefore, who knows well his Church, and who is well acquainted with the actual relation of the Church and the State. Mr. Scheicher is not a liberal in the sense in which you would understand the word. I remember he edited a Spanish book, and he himself believes with its Spanish author that liberalism is a sin, and a mortal sin. And yet this man had finally to confess that the Church and the State of Austria are on the verge of a catastrophe. And how, with what means, would he try to save his Church? He recommends to his Church the separation of the State, the liberty of the Church and the liberty of the State. He recommends the abolition of celibacy, the replacing of the Latin in the church service by the vernacular, and hints at some forms of superstition in the Church which are intolerable. No doubt the separation of the Church and State is a valuable condition for the development of a truer life in the Church. I can appreciate the other propositions, but, on the whole, all these means are no longer sufficient. But the experience we have in our country, in France, in Germany, everywhere, with Neo-Catholicism and Neo-Catholics proves that refor-



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BOSTON, MASS.



REV. FREDERICK A. BISBEE, D.D.
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mation in the Roman Church is impossible. Just now Pius X., the pope, has published his syllabus, as you know, and some days ago a new encyclical was promulgated in which he forbids every reform.

Our situation in Austria, in Bohemia, in all the Catholic countries of Europe, tends to this, which I will express by a word not quite English,—“unchurch.” We must unchurch all our life. I mean we must separate from the Church entirely not only science, philosophy, and art,—that is already done,—but we must separate from the Church all politics, and, above all, our morals and our religion itself. Religion must be separated from the Church, and I am sure from all the churches. We must overcome Catholicism inwardly, not outwardly. I therefore do not plead for a formal separation from the Church only. I know people who have left the Church formally, but who remained Catholics in their heart. We have to overcome Catholicism in our hearts.

Part of the people of Austria leave the Catholic Church and join Protestantism. I spoke about that movement, called “Away from Rome” about five years ago. You know the fact that thousands and thousands left the Church and joined Protestantism. Unhappily, the movement is to a great extent nationalistic and political: it is restricted to the German population. We Bohemians, although we are against Rome, cannot rejoice at it.

Here I must say a word or two about our Protestantism. You remember we have only 2 per cent. of Protestants in our country. This may explain why our Protestantism is rather weak and much under the influence of Catholicism. I myself joined the Protestant Church thirty years ago, but I am a dead member of that Church, because I find in Protestantism many fundamental principles of that religion which I left in Catholicism. I do not believe that official Protestantism will liberate us and give us what we want. I am sorry that the Bohemian Protestantism does not have the religious courage to challenge the nation against Rome in the name of our Bohemian Reformation, in the name of Huss, Kheltschitsky, Comenius.

I may mention that our two Bohemian Protestant churches (the Lutheran and the Reformed) have recently inaugurated a discussion about a union.

There are many people who leave the Church without joining any

other religious body. The number of these "without confession" (the Austrian official terminology) is growing year by year.

In former days our free-thinking people and people who care for religious and moral life were not organized, except as politically free and progressive parties. Now they begin to be organized. They accept the platform of the separation of the Church from the State and of free schools. Some days ago in Prague we had the International Congress of what is called the *Libre Pensée*,—free thinkers. It is the example of France which is felt in our country. We love France for what she did, liberating religion from the influence of the State and the State from the Church. Of course, we like republican France and free-thinking France, not the Catholic France.

You will find among our freer people and liberal people some sort of materialism and atheism. At least, many of them believe that they are materialists and atheists. I do not believe it. I know atheists, but I must confess I have found very few of them. What they call materialism and atheism very often is a longing for religion. And I am sure that, if Jesus were to come now to us, he would most desire to meet these atheists and materialists, because he knew that the healthy need not a physician, but the sick. And we are sick, no doubt.

From that point of view you must consider the striking fact that the mass of our people accepts more and more the materialistic, atheistic socialism. At the last election in Austria, when the general suffrage was introduced, there were elected to the central parliament eighty-seven socialists. Austria (and Bohemia) has the most socialistic parliament in Europe.

What does that mean? I do not believe that socialism is only an economic question. Socialism gives to the bulk of our people a standard. It gives them the yes or no, a decided "No" or "Yes"; and we are sick of this "Yes-no," as I told you. And that is why socialism is spreading and will spread among our people, because it is firm: it gives a conviction to live by, and people must have a conviction. The growth of socialism will support the religious development. It was Paine who said that to get political freedom helps to get religious freedom. That is true. I am glad that socialism, working for political liberation, is spread among us, because, if we get political freedom in Austria, we will get religious freedom also. And I rejoice

at the growth of socialism, because the masses of our nations in Austria must choose between Catholicism and socialism. The same process is going on in all Catholic countries.

Concerning the materialism and atheism of socialism, I myself am known as an opponent of materialism and atheism; but the history of materialism and atheism, I think, teaches us that materialism and atheism are always the philosophical, radical weapon against the evils and abuses of ecclesiasticism, clericalism, and a church religion.

I must conclude. What I have said about the religious situation in our country applies, I dare say, to all countries in Europe. It is a state of transition which we feel. It is a state of halfness we live in. Here at our meetings much emphasis is laid on religious liberty. That is right. But we want more than liberty. We need a constructive, a creative religious liberty. We not only must have religion, we must have a higher and more ennobling religion. That is what we want, and not to go back to what we had already. It is the fault of Protestantism, for instance, with us, and I suppose all over Europe and in this country as well that it merely avoids the faults of Catholicism. That is not enough. And it is not enough if the so-called free thinker would avoid the faults of Protestantism. No, we will not be like the Pharisee, despising the publican. We want positive progress in religion, we want a religious life which will overcome all the ecclesiastical forms of religion. This new religion cannot be anything else than an unrevealed religion, but we seek for the unrevealed God. That is the religious aim we are working for. But our generation yet and ever seeks after a sign. People believe still in miracles, and so they are in their hearts Catholics, as I said. Catholicism does not mean only the Catholic Church. You will find it in Protestantism, allow me to say even in Unitarianism. The principle of this Catholicism must be overcome.

I speak perhaps too sharply for you, but I remember that the man who said, "I am meek and lowly in my heart," also said that he brought a sword. To-day the religious question is in the first place a question of sincerity: we must say yes or no, we must tell the truth, be it acceptable or not acceptable to others.

NOTE.—This, my analysis of the religious situation in Austria and Bohemia, of course is given from a personal standpoint. Soon, I hope, an abstract of my

views will be published in English in Chicago. Of late I wrote some little pamphlets in Bohemian.

On suicide I went into more details in my book, "*Der Selbstmord als soziale Massenerscheinung der modernen Civilization.*" The criticism of Marxism, especially of the Marxistic materialism to which I allude, is given in my "*Die philosophischen, und soziologischen Grundlagen des Marxismus,*" Wien, 1899. The books of Mg. Scheicher mentioned in the address are "*Erlebnisse und Errinerungen,*" Wien, 1907, "*Der oesterreichische Clerustag,*" Wien, 1903.

The PRESIDENT.—We have placed upon the walls of this room the names of Francis David and Louis Kossuth to testify to the debt which civil and religious liberty owes to Hungary. Those ideals still are cherished in Hungary, and we shall hear of them from Mr. Józán, the minister of the Unitarian church in Budapest.

THE IDEALS OF HUNGARY, CIVIC, POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS.

BY REV. NICOLAS JÓZAN, UNITARIAN PASTOR OF BUDAPEST.

It is both a pleasure and a privilege to speak on a subject so near and dear to the heart of a patriot. It is a pleasure, because in giving you this paper I may dwell on the main lines of progress as shown in the mirror of history that reflects for us the glory and the gloom of a thousand years. It is a privilege, because in the present state of transition I may, perhaps, put in a few earnest words in defense of the Magyar race. Our country is not a *terra incognita*. Hungary—as one of her story-tellers says—is “one of the fairest and most blessed spots on the face of the earth.” Her coat-of-arms is made out of the emblems of three mountains and four rivers that give a definite shape to the land and secure the peace and prosperity of the inhabitants.

The nation is composed of various nationalities; but the Magyar race is, and has always been, called upon to take the lead, and press upon the whole the imprint of its culture and character. Out of a population of twenty millions, 50 per cent. belongs to the historic race of the Magyars. Issuing from the common cradle of Asia and seeking—as the last wave of the migration of the peoples of the earth—for an ancient inheritance, the Hungarians came and took possession of the land, and founded there a kingdom that has at times played a prominent part in the life of Europe, and still ranks high in the sympathy of the civilized world.

A nation without kin in the surrounding sea of various races has survived the vicissitudes of a thousand years,—a nation whose means and ways were extravagant at first, but soon became tempered by the statesmanship of its chiefs and princes who head a dynasty of four hundred years in the House of Arpád.

Endeared and blessed, it all comes back to me on the wings of

memory, and I see in my mind's eye the joy and satisfaction of a whole nation, whose representatives assemble on one of those days in the open field in council, in order to commemorate the First National Assembly and mourn for the ideal chief, Árpád, whose burial-place now becomes a common altar of self-sacrifice and worship.

Besides the conquest of the land, there were three events of great consequence in the life and history of Hungary; namely, the conversion of the pagan tribes to Christianity in the year 1000 A.D. under the paternal sway of King Stephen I.; the spread of the Reformation, as a movement not only religious, but also political; and the Revolution of 1848. In advancing a few general remarks upon these, may I anticipate what might have been dealt with later on?

It is admitted on all hands that the adoption of the Christian faith by the warlike tribes of Hungary was a wise policy on the part of the ruler. It was, so to speak, a God-send, a providential act by which the Hungarians were brought into more intimate relations with their neighbors and acknowledged by them as on an equal footing with the rest of humanity. The sainted king and the people succeeded, because of it, in laying a safe foundation for the throne, unshaken by the storms of nine centuries.

To accomplish this was by no means an easy task, because the new faith had yet to grapple with the revival of pagan tradition, and the ancient cult made its influence felt in remote places of the land for centuries. But the faith itself was not at all foreign to the race. It was only the outward forms and the means of communication—that is, the Latin language—that aroused the ill-will and suspicion of certain groups of people who looked upon the old usages, and even the superstitions of a bygone age, as the characteristic of the nation, the mainstay of its independence.

As a result, however, of the preaching of the gospel, a great change was witnessed in the life of the people organized by the right hand of the first monarch, which is still treasured as an object of adoration by our Roman Catholic brethren. This change affected the whole outlook of the nation. And the waves of the change did not stir only on the surface, like the mild ripples of an inland sea, but went deep down to the bottom of the nation's heart, and still keep it in continual vibration, as the means and condition of a healthy and useful life.

Hungary has written her name into the annals of the world not so much by a superior prowess of the sword as by the planting of the cross upon her peaks and spires, and the fearless defence of the same against desperate odds.

A sense of unity began henceforth to pervade the scattered tribes of the land, and gave them an impulse for higher things than mere adventure and death, however nobly met on the field of battle. A sense of unity gained ground and found a majestic symbol in the crown of Saint Stephen, which is even to-day not only a relic of the past, but also a real and legal expression, and the proof of the threefold unity of the land, its people, and its king. To be a member of the sacred crown was once the highest aspiration and reward of the nobility, and through an extension of rights and abolition of privileges it has now become the glory of the masses, animated by the same spirit of social and political unity.

After centuries and centuries of the Christian spirit among us, the Reformation brought a new element into the spiritual life of the nation. The quest for truth resulted in a brooding spirit of strife and contention; and, as the country itself was divided into three parts according to their allegiance to the new dynasty of the Hapsburgs, or the national prince of Transylvania, or the follower of the Crescent, which was destined at that time to supplant the Cross and change the face of the civilized world, even so the kingdom of God ushered in by the Prince of Peace owned the sway of several high-priests in turn. Luther among the Saxons, Calvin among the Magyar population of the Lowlands, and Francis David in Transylvania were equally popular; and, had they been able to come to terms with each other on the basis of mutual understanding, they might have totally paralyzed the arts and crafts of Rome. But division and hostility among the Protestants themselves proved in the long run a favor and advantage only for the Catholic Church. And yet the Reformation as a religious movement gave rise with us to a greater love of freedom, canonized the rights of conscience with full respect for one's conviction. And it was on these principles that the legislature of 1568, at Torda,—my native town,—proclaimed liberty of faith and worship for all the branches of the Christian Church.

Above all, the Reformation came to us at a time of national calamity as a comforter, a paraclete, that turned the attention of the peo-

ple from the sad plight of our own making to a better future, for which the awakening national consciousness would always yearn. Here we see a process which is still going on in our midst,—a process in which religious and political freedom blend in perfect harmony, so that one never knows whether the struggle of four centuries has been religious or political, pure and simple. It is generally both in equal measure; and the tension on this or that side does not count, for the struggle will, in the long run, prove beneficial to both.

I think I may safely say that this animated struggle reached its climax in the Revolution of 1848. That period is able still to supply the need of our soul for hero-worship. That period is written in golden characters in the book of life, and cannot be effaced from the memory of generations yet to come. The legislation of 1848 acted on the principles of Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity that had issued victorious from among the horrors of the French Revolution and the majestic duel of the Old and the New World, and declared the equal rights of the people as the basis of the Hungarian Commonwealth. It also maintained (as it was done in 1790-91) that "Hungary was an independent country, subject to no other country, possessing her own constitution by which alone she was to be governed."

We have here a complete list of achievements due, in part, to the work of the spirit of the age as manifested in art and science and poetry. These agencies were the best means to prepare the way for a modern state in which high and low, rich and poor, would find an open field and an equality of opportunity for gradual development.

Emancipation of the peasantry from grievous burdens resting on their shoulders and from a state of subjection that was an outrage against humanity, freedom of the press, and the right of free thought and speech; a responsible ministry and a Parliament of two chambers; equal rights and equal burdens; and full justice to the various nationalities that compose the population of the country,—these were the main articles of a political creed that soon found its fulfilment in the measures and institutions called for by a universal need and sanctioned by the co-operative work of legislation and the king. And it was with a view to upholding these great achievements against internal strife and the caprice of Austria that the war of independence was fought with so much heroism. And, although it turned out

a tragedy in which the nation was destined to fail, yet truth and liberty were to emerge victorious after all.

Truth and liberty! Let us pause for a moment at these great ideas. Truth is blind without an eye to grasp and compass it. And liberty is void without a voice to waft it on the upper air. Truth is the object of prophetic vision, and liberty is the means of publishing it to the world.

At the beginning of the last century, Hungary had a number of thinkers and workers who far surpassed the ordinary type of politician, and entered the arena of public life with heart and head devoted to the holy cause. Szechényi, Deák, and Kossuth were each men of great ability, and their word and work will never be obliterated from the national consciousness. Their names are household words with us, much as Washington, Franklin, and Adams are with you. Patriots all of them,—true to themselves and true to the end. What greater virtue could be recorded in the annals of a nation? And yet the lines of action adopted by these leaders of men varied so much as to contradict each other and increase the uneasiness of public opinion in times of critical suspense.

Count Szechényi, as a magnate, assigned a leading part in the national revival to aristocracy. He wanted to secure a better future for Hungary by promoting her material and cultural interests, on which national and political well-being were sure to follow. And we see him vindicate this position in the Upper House of Parliament by the living word, and, in order to reach a wider circle, through the press; but chiefly through the practical enterprises by which he strove to transform Hungary from a mere agricultural state into an industrial and commercial country. The movement initiated by him still holds a fine prospect for the future of Hungary. And we may quote a noble utterance of his: "Do not constantly trouble yourselves with the vanished glories of the past, but rather let your determined patriotism bring about the present prosperity of the beloved fatherland. Many there are who think that Hungary has been; but, for my part, I like to think that Hungary shall be." It is, indeed, a prophetic vision of truth; it is, indeed, an angelic voice of liberty. Let us hope that it will never be darkened or die on the air.

We all look up to Szechényi as the "greatest of the sons of Hungary," as Kossuth himself characterized him in acknowledging the

immortal merit of this master-mind,—a leader of men who not only gave out the watchword, but took the first step in the long journey onward and upward still to higher places of eminence and aspiration.

There were only two men in that generation to match him; namely, Kossuth and Deák, whose word and work in the Lower House of the Diet soon made itself felt and found its echo up and down the country. Kossuth is the most popular of the three, owing to a superior readiness of speech and that indefatigable energy with which he made the country's cause his own, and shrank from no threat or peril that might endanger his life in the glorious service. This is but a poor statement of the case; but the instinct of the common people found a happier expression, calling him the "father of the land," even as Deák is called the "wise man of the land." Both Kossuth and Deák preached an evangel which could not be taken amiss. The latter was prone to contemplation and fond of the adjustment of diverging thoughts and intricate movements; while the former was full of energy, a man of rare qualities developed to the utmost efficiency, imagination transformed into action. They wished to gain for Hungary not only material welfare, but political liberty as well. And, though this view stood opposed to Count Szechenyi's conviction, yet the general state of the country, influenced by political events abroad, favored more urgent methods. And here we see the centre of gravity displaced from the aristocracy to the gentry and the middle class. And in the same way I suppose it will before long be transmitted to the laboring classes who, while clamoring for *panem et circenses*, are, perhaps, not acting on the highest principles, but have to undergo a severe schooling and discipline of life.

The plans and purposes of a noble-minded monarch, Joseph II., were thus being realized through the agency of a few select men, favored and supported by the advancing spirit of the age. And, as a consequence of this democratic policy, conscience was free from bondage; the various creeds acquired equal rights; liberty of the press kept the life-blood of the nation in healthy circulation; and, above all, the enslaved peasantry got not only protection against their arbitrary masters, but at the same time were received into the stronghold of the constitution as an integral part of the body politic.

All these treasures, and more,—nay, the very existence of the nation,—were at stake in the great war of independence and the period of absolute rule that followed in its wake. Shipwrecked and tossed on the rough sea of life, close to the valley of the shadow of death, the nation was spared the severe blow of total extinction. On the night of distress and gloom there broke a dawn full of strange forebodings, and the reorganization of the continuity of our national rights was one of the principles on which the elements of the Old Constitution were renewed, and brought to bear upon the constellations of Europe.

In this great work of reorganization we are greatly indebted to Francis Deák, whose sense of honor and powerful mastery of legal proceedings were both instrumental in bringing about the happy issue. That period is closely associated with his name, and we cannot think of 1867 and the treaty of that date as a mutual compromise of the Dual Monarchy without a sense of gratitude to the author who had excelled his contemporaries in many things, and especially in the simplicity of his life and the strength of his convictions.

"1848" and "1867" are still the war-cry of political parties that vie with each other in a doubtful contest for the upper hand. Lately they have come to terms, and have joined the coalition of three political parties for the time being. It is an expedient and a safeguard against the unconstitutional measures adopted by an absolute government that had no ground in the country and no justification in the statute books of the land.

But the place and the occasion permit me no digression into the field of present-day politics. Neither would it be a pleasant task for me at this juncture, when I have to sketch before you the "Ideals of Hungary."

A nation without an ideal is to me a contradiction in terms. It is an ideal effort and outlook that transforms the scattered families and classes of a country into a homogeneous family of men; that is, a nation. Each nation has an historical pedigree, and an historical call to fulfil; and the welfare of the whole depends in large measure on the loyalty of the individual members to the common ideal. Ideals vary with successive stages of a nation's life. Ideals realized in practical life may lose a great deal of the force and vigor that had

once animated them; but still it is much better to look forward, and hope and aspire and strive for higher things than to sink into the mire of despondency and give up all hope for the future. The latter part would, indeed, be suicidal for a nation, even as for an individual. The life of the soul of a nation is called upon to prevent such dismal results, and the life of the soul is also the "ideal."

The village or town that has a soul of its own is a good ground in which the civic ideal may strike a deep root. A sense of common interest is always sure to be voiced there in preference to self-assertion and sordid gains. The love of one's native land is nurtured by the beauty of its natural surroundings, and a local patriotism is apt to develop through traditions and reminiscences clinging to the place. One is proud of the growth and development of small colonies into large emporiums of culture and commerce. And, though we have at present hardly any country town the population of which would exceed 100,000, yet the skilled hand and disciplined mind that run the whole machinery of our fine metropolis, and, in fact, that of the whole commonwealth, are supplied from such small, out-of-the-way places as would hardly rouse the interest of a passer-by. We have, therefore, to go back to these first beginnings of civilization to be able to account for modern progress with all the blessings that attend its course. The public-spirit of a village, nurtured, perhaps, by only a few intelligent men, as the landlord, the parson, and the notary, proves a good school for the bringing up of a generation of men and women who interest themselves not only in their own advantage, but also begin to feel that they are members of a great family. It is also a vantage-ground and a preparation for a more complete administration of district and county.

None of our villages or towns shrinks from duties and obligations that are imposed by the institution of general education. And, although of late the government itself brings great sacrifices in planting new schools and supporting old ones, yet the cause of education is, as it has always been, of great moment with our parishes and town corporations.

These small dots on the map of Hungary keep the political ideal pure amid party strife and faction and colliding interests. All honor to them for the mother-tongue kept unspotted from the world; for the music and harmony of national tunes in which the simple

shepherds of the field are the greatest masters! A civic responsibility is also testified to among us by care of the poor and distressed, by the nursing of invalids in homes and hospitals, and by societies founded for the prevention of crime and cruelty.

I might just mention, in passing, that groups of various nationalities, where they are in a majority, use their own language in the deliberations and the minute books of the parish and the county, and enjoy every advantage in their schools and churches, provided the integrity of Hungary as a Magyar State be not jeopardized by their ascendancy and fanaticism. I feel sure that but for a few windy agitators we might live and thrive in complete harmony with our brethren of the Saxon, Slavonic, and Roumanian stock.

There are many things yet to be desired in this connection, but the ideal never faileth. A citizen with us is a stanch patriot, but at the same time he is also a citizen of the world.

As to the political ideal of Hungary, may I allude to what I have already said on this head, in order to avoid repeating myself? The present constitution of Hungary is one of the most liberal in Europe. Government is based on popular representation, as a prelude to universal suffrage, which is just pushing on amid the fermentation of public life. Legal power is vested in both Houses and the king. There is a responsible ministry of eighty-nine departments. And there is a delegation of sixty from each Parliament to manage the affairs we have in common with Austria; namely, army, finance, and foreign affairs. This adjustment gives the country an assurance of standing peace, and adds to the equilibrium of Europe and the fair name and fame of our king, who is at the same time Emperor of Austria. This I say without any misgiving on my own part or those of the same conviction, because we have learned through experience, and also from the legacy of Louis Kossuth, that politics is a science of exigencies. Here we may not follow the blind instinct of the blood, but have to exercise patient endurance and wise circumspection. Without these qualities of a diplomatic nature we might harangue the masses and rouse to riot the discordant spirit of the hour, but cannot build the ideal city of God in which peace and plenty and righteousness abide.

The groundwork to this high-minded policy was laid down in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723, in which Hungary and Austria were

declared inseparable and under the sway of the same ruler from the Hapsburg dynasty. And I need hardly add that this solution did not in the least touch the independence of Hungary as a separate kingdom governed by her own laws. Independence! That's the word. And that is also the political ideal of Hungary. And, though it had from time to time to be reasserted against the machinations of the Court of Vienna or the overbearing attitude of the aristocrats of the land, yet I know no other word round which the whole consensus of the people would rally in a crisis. We prize independence as the corner-stone of our constitution. Nothing shows better our appreciation of a free and democratic constitution than the fact that at the Treaty of 1867 one of the first conditions of any compromise between the nation and the king was the granting of the same constitution to the other part of the monarchy hitherto oppressed through a despotic government. Like unto like! And yet, as it is only too obvious, Hungary and Austria are only half-sisters, having a common father in the person of the monarch, but clinging with a natural predilection to the mother.

Race, temperament, surroundings, tradition, and the competitive spirit of modern times, all tell heavily upon this mutual relationship, which is, in part, subject to revision every ten years. And it takes a good deal of time and energy to bring about a common understanding then and there, where moral and material interests are so multifarious as in our so-called Dual Monarchy.

There are many things yet to be desired in this connection, but the ideal never faileth. We need not brood over the past, but turn to the future with opening vistas of hard struggle and achievement, of mutual usefulness and general welfare, and amicable relation with all the nations of the world.

It is a full programme, as you see, of life and work which, I expect, all the branches of socialistic propaganda would own and make a part of their system. It is evident that there is only one remedy against the evil effects of a far-fetched socialistic agitation, and that is a decided wish and step forward on the part of both the State and the individual to anticipate its hopes and promises.

To combat these socialistic tendencies demands a deep-seated and earnest religious life, which is gaining ground year by year among the various creeds and denominations of the land. The churches

seem to have awakened to a fresh sense of duty; and it is evident that a reiteration of creeds and articles, however sincere, will not serve the purpose. And, besides, no church is entitled to lull its adherents into a magnetic sleep by old customs and ceremonies, but a true Christian warfare is to be continued against all the enemies of the moral and religious life of the community. Fresh light begins to dawn and pour in from secret places of the earth; and the country that has always been open to influences from abroad receives the achievements of modern scientific investigation with great interest. Old boundaries of thought and fellowship are widened; and the common task invites the united effort of all the leaders and servants of church organization.

There is a widespread conviction among all the classes of society that something of great moment is sure to come to pass in the spiritual world. We witness day by day the springing up beside the historic churches of certain sects and societies that go in for a spiritistic or occult knowledge of God, or as individual dreamers create a system of their own. The whole of our religious and moral life evinces a noble discontent against antiquated forms of belief, and earnest workers lend a helping hand in the regeneration of ecclesiastical polity.

Ours is by no means a dark corner of the world. Missionary enterprise flourishes. And, if our means do not allow us to bring a sacrifice for foreign missions, we try to give heart and soul to a home mission, the blessings of which are sure to tell on the life and work of coming generations. There seems to prevail a strong and healthy earnestness at the back of all these movements, vying with each other for leadership in the spiritual world.

There is a constant agitation going on through the living word and the press; and the object of this literary exercise is to reach those elements of society that have nothing in common with their mother church except a loose membership and the columns of statistics.

Various branches of the Roman Catholic body that forms two-thirds of the population, and the Protestants with one-third of the census, make up the kingdom of God with us. Unitarians are only a younger brother in this populous family of religions, a small band of the faithful sons of the Father of Light. Weak and poor though they be in comparison with the dominant churches of the land, yet

their influence is felt in ever-widening circles, and the principles of their religious belief and their system of morals are adopted and applied as the groundwork of scientific men.*

There may be many things yet to be desired, but the ideal never faileth. And the ideal is the gospel of Christ, a living church, a life of faith and service, and rest of the immortal soul in the bosom of the Father.

The ideals of Hungary are those of the rest of the modern world. Loyalty, independence, and freedom! What else do we need?

Dynasties may come and go. One generation may give birth to another; but the life-blood of the Magyar nation is sure to flow through the veins of aspiring humanity to the end of the world.
Éljen a Haza!

The PRESIDENT.—I am bursting with desire to pay tribute to Holland and tell of the debt we in Massachusetts, in particular, owe to those who sheltered the Pilgrim Fathers, but I must practise the brevity that I commend to others. Let me, then, only say that Professor Groenewegen will now tell us of the religious situation in Holland.

* In this connection may be cited the statement made by Louis Kossuth to the late Professor John Kóvacs, and with the speaker's consent written down at the time: "Unitarianism is the only faith which has a future; the only one that can influence the intelligent and interest the indifferent."
ERROR.

CONDITIONS AND OUTLOOK OF LIBERAL RELIGIONS IN HOLLAND.

BY PROFESSOR H. Y. GROENEWEGEN, D.D., OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
LEIDEN, HOLLAND.

It is impossible to survey at a glance the present conditions of the liberal religious movement in Holland. They are rather complicated. But I will tell you something about our work and our struggle which may be of interest to you. At first sight, and seen from the outside, our circumstances do not seem very favorable. There is going on in our country a very powerful so-called "Christian Action." That action is the consequence of a monstrous political alliance which came about several years ago between Calvinists and Roman Catholics. Nobody will be ingenuous enough to think that it is the kingdom of heaven which suddenly made brethren of enemies hating and cursing each other for centuries. Only the very worldly kingdom of politics bound them together. It is a Christianity not of one common holy spirit, but of common aversion to liberal principles and aims. It is a Christianity of, for the greater part, worldly interests; for instance, some appetite for treasury-pap for the so-called Christian schools and free universities. It is a Christianity, as we call it, of the polls.

The Christian character is said by them to be found in the belief in a particular revelation of God. I need not say that this supernatural revelation is not the same, and has not the same content for these coalescing parties. So it cannot prevent many serious differences in practical policy; for instance, the questions of capital punishment, vaccination, etc. "Christian" journals, however, written by orthodox ministers and priests, become more and more authoritative interpretators of this revelation in matters of government. Every one who joins the coalition is held to be a Christian. Every one who does not is suspected of living outside the Christian sphere.

So our people have become divided into "Christians" and "paganists." Liberal religious thinkers and workers are, of course, said to be infected with paganism, and, therefore, are to be shunned like wolves in sheep's clothing. And liberal politics, because the enemy of all church supremacy in political and social life, is paganism itself. This sad mistake, not to say this offensive untruth, is bewildering about half our nation. Orthodox and conservatives of every denomination are systematically aroused to war against the supposed haters of God and religion, Christ and the Church. This "Christian" policy has been a success at the polls. We have, indeed, since a few years, a liberal government with a very small majority. But the next elections, I am afraid, will give us again the supremacy of clericalism and confessionalism. And it is not to be foreseen what effect this will have on several of our public institutions, most of all on the theological studies at the universities.

It is a striking fact that our liberal religious movement has but very little influence in this political struggle. There is a fundamental aversion among liberals to any religious political action. But very few of our ministers appear in political meetings, except the Christian Socialists. Among the liberal daily papers there are some of rather sympathetic spirit. Others show a great indifference for religious interests. But nearly all of them shrink from touching religious subjects and maintain a cold neutrality. In the House of Commons only a few liberal members are religiously inclined, and they seldom bear witness to their religious principles. So it is not very obvious what characterizes us. There is no common opinion on several questions among us. All varieties of the liberal political party can be found among our religious liberals. There are religious conservatives, radicals, and socialists among us. We are a hardly distinguishable subdivision of the general liberalism. And very many of the members of that party, alas! are rather indifferent to religion, or are even anti-religious.

But I trust that in this respect the tide is on the turn. Our nation does not like clericalism and confessionalism as much as it seems to, yet our national spirit is a religious one, and most of the people distrust movements which shock their deepest and dearest convictions. Liberalism, however, is often identified with theoretical and practical materialism. Many of the teachers in our public schools,

higher and lower, are propagators of a rather banal atheism. Antipathy and prejudice have estranged a great many well-educated people from any church connection. A great number does not obtain any religious instruction at all. The rude ignorance and, in consequence, indifference of many people about the Bible, religion, and the church, is a shame. Seen from this side, the reaction may be a favorable thing. Every defeat of liberalism is in *révenge* of its neglect of its own religious concerns. If liberalism for a long time remains powerless in political and social life, it is because it has created the mistaken impression that its spirit and principles are hostile to religion and higher morality. It will only reconquer the heart of our nation if it becomes again, as it was some fifty years ago, a party the political and social life of which is founded not only on science and elevated not only by art, but by a powerful religious belief and high moral consciousness. As long as it overlooks the depth of our inner life, where we touch the Eternal Spirit ruling over all, liberalism does not deserve to rule over our external life and practical relations. That is what the history of to-day teaches us.

It is, however, an arduous task which is given us in the present situation. Spiritual life is awake and intense enough, but the liberal religious movement has acquired neither the place nor the influence it ought to have. Among our most important artists, poets, and prose writers there are many who do not hesitate to express their religious thoughts and feelings, and most of these are far from any orthodoxy. But very few of them show sympathy with us, strive after nearer relations with our ministers and scholars, or appear in our churches, even when our best preachers, who are artists in their way, are in the pulpit. This is partly a matter of fashion, partly caused by prejudice and ignorance. Perhaps it would change if there again appeared among us a real poet who should express with striking beauty what we think, feel, and aim after. As for the scientific side of spiritual life, science was from the beginning the most powerful force of our movement. So it is still to-day. Was this an advantage or an injury? At all events it was a danger. Science can purify the seed of religious belief, but it can also abolish it, and it can never sow it or grow it. Many of our scholars seem to forget that the science of religion is not more important than religion itself. And what practical value has the science of religion,

if living piety cannot give a scientific expression to the free, developed belief of to-day? We need more and more a philosophy of religion which does not avoid the metaphysical problems. For the influence of our historical and critical researches we cannot be thankful enough. The old dogmatism is as a time-worn rock in the current of science. Pieces break off every day. Many fancy themselves established on immovable stone, and to-morrow they are caught by the floating waves, vainly trying to hold to the rock with nerveless hands. Most of the so-called orthodox are forced to make an irresolute compromise between the traditional dogmas and scientific disclosures. Lately two ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church in The Hague were brave and upright enough to give in their sermons some critical considerations of Bible words, but the discussion they roused in their own and orthodox circles was not whether such heretical opinions could be tolerated in the Church, but whether it was prudent to bring theology to the congregation from the pulpit. A great number of their followers, however, still calling themselves orthodox, attend with interest their services. No confessionism is proof against truth and liberty. Therefore, though it is likely that conservatism and so-called orthodoxy in the National Church will secure an increasing power in church government and in many congregations, the more than three hundred liberal ministers in Holland may be of good courage. The influence of our spirit and principles is diffused much more widely than we know. And the main thing is not the victory of our name and party, but the free evolution of religious thought and life.

Among the internal phenomena of our religious movement, two things seem to be very significant. First, there is growing up a better insight into the value of historical feeling for the common religious life. Thirty years ago many liberals thought that there was no longer reason for the existence of the smaller religious bodies which had become liberal, such as the Remonstrant Brotherhood, or the Mennonite Society in most of its congregations. Their ideal was to form free congregations everywhere without uniting them with the historical churches of any denomination, and to make our Dutch *Protestantenbond*, or "Protestant Union," an association which is composed of men of all sects, the new organization of all religious liberals. This proved a failure. It was short-

sighted to overlook that these historical bodies have their own character and have had an honorable past. They have their proper place in the spiritual life of our people, and fulfilled during centuries their proper task in the struggle for religious evolution. How could a brand-new organization, without a past or place in the people's history, created for the uses of to-day, take their place? Love and respect for bodies which have done so much and suffered for the sake of freedom in Christian thought and life opposed themselves to this idea. And this love was not a narrow spirit of sectarianism, it was the vivid consciousness of an historical reality which ought not to give place to the vagueness of an unpractical idealism.

There is no better means for realizing ideas and principles than a true affection for the concrete bodies that have incorporated them. An agglomeration of liberals of every denomination has neither past nor future. I think this is felt and experienced in all circles of sympathizers which are not affiliated with the old liberal religious bodies. Most of the sections of our *Protestantenbond* in Holland are really separate organizations of liberal members of the Dutch Reformed Church, trying to secure the ascendancy of their principles in their own beloved congregations. In other places, where the liberals no longer had any hopes, they went over together to another sect, forming new Remonstrant or Mennonite congregations, most of which are very flourishing. Only in Amsterdam is there a free, independent congregation alongside the other liberal organizations. It is the centre of a vigorous spiritual life, owing to its leader, Rev. P. H. Hugenholtz. But it is as clear as it is promising that love for the old National Church is increasing among its liberal members and ministers. Its old friends are joining closer together to promote their principles within their Church. They form nowadays provincial unions in order to give support to the poorer congregations.

It would, indeed, be fortunate if an intolerant orthodoxy could be bridled. For it behaves as if there were no liberal members in the Church. In Amsterdam the last liberal minister in the National, or Dutch Reformed Church has been replaced by an orthodox one. No wonder that the number of liberal members decreases every year. But, wherever they can, they ought to maintain themselves courageously. Only where the situation is quite hopeless they would do

better to found new congregations. If they lose all their love for the old powerful Church which the greater part of the people belongs to, they will also lose many opportunities to enter with their principles into the life of the people.

Concerning the smaller liberal denominations in Holland the more their members love their history, character, and peculiar mission, the more their congregations will flourish and will increase in the future. They need not be unfriendly towards nor jealous of each other. They should rather be conscious that they are working together for a common aim. Co-operation is most prosperous in free self-reliance. Our International Congresses are an eloquent proof of this. Even so it is the task of our *Protestantenbond* to increase the consciousness of a common aim and of fraternal feeling among brethren living and working each in his own house, and to unite them in works of common interest which cannot be performed by the separate churches and congregations. And there is surely something to be done in that great workshop called the world!

The other thing which characterizes our inner religious life is the striving after what, perhaps, is to be called a more religious religion. We have been long enough a theologizing and moralizing part of Christianity. Now we are, I think, sufficiently sure that the Bible is not a literally inspired revelation, that the traditional dogmas are but a very defective expression of religious truth, and that the evolution of religion is leading men away from the old opinions. The moral side of our religious consciousness has also been long enough put in the front. But we need to become assured again what we may believe as the evidence of things not seen, the substance of things hoped for, as a trust in things to strive after. Among our preachers those are the most loved who are not only the best orators, but also utter most clearly and resolutely their purely religious convictions, and whose personal piety is felt as the touch of a life which kindles life. Many people have got tired of theological, Biblical, historical, and moral questions. They want to adore, to trust, to obey, to love their God. They want the pure religion of the gospel. If we do not give it simply, clearly, and warmly, fresh from the heart to the heart, people will be seeking elsewhere, partly in the fantastic and mystic congregations of Theosophy and Spiritism, partly in the confusing speculations of Hegel's philosophy,

which gives a new interpretation to the old dogmatic terms. And the longing for a new religious-moral activity goes astray in socialism. Most of our Christian Socialists are full of warm religious feeling. But, the more stress they lay on social reform, the greater danger that they will bring more religious people to socialism than socialists to religion.

It is, however, felt in all classes that the best evolution of religion is not to be found in theologically purified opinions, but in the one thing needful,—that we at last become true religious beings, children of God. I hope and trust this requirement is not a warning, but a promise.

The Committee on Nominations recommended that the following persons serve as an Executive Committee of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers until the next Congress: Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, D.D., Boston, U.S.A., *Chairman*; Rev. Charles W. Wendte, Boston, Mass., U.S.A., *General Secretary*; Professor G. Boros, D.D., Kolozsvár, Hungary; Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, London, England; Professor J. Estlin Carpenter, D.D., Oxford, England; Professor B. D. Eerdmans, D.D., Leiden, Holland; Rev. Max Fischer, D.D., Berlin, Germany; Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., Boston, U.S.A.; Rev. P. H. Hugenholtz, Jr., Amsterdam, Holland; Professor E. Montet, D.D., Geneva, Switzerland; Professor Otto Pfeiderer, D.D., Berlin, Germany; Professor Martin Rade, D.D., Marburg, Germany; Professor Jean Réville, D.D., Paris, France; Rev. J. Émile Roberty, Paris, France; Rev. G. Schoenholzer, Zürich, Switzerland; Miss M. B. Westenholtz, Copenhagen, Denmark.

The report was accepted, and the persons nominated were elected by the meeting.

The PRESIDENT.—I am going to ask you to greet two more friends this morning, for I think we have time enough, and you will all want to hear a stirring word from the north of Scotland to wind up with. I wish I could pause to tell of the glories of Switzerland, but I can only ask you to greet Dr. Rochat, who was the secretary of the Executive Committee at the Geneva Council, and to whom we owe much. He will tell us of the condition of this cause in the French-speaking cantons of Switzerland. Rev. Dr. Rochat, of Geneva.

Dr. Rochat spoke in French. A translation of his remarks is given herewith:—

THE CONDITION OF LIBERAL PROTESTANTISM IN ROMANCE SWITZERLAND.

BY REV. ERNEST ROCHAT, D.D., OF GENEVA.

It does not seem necessary to define here what is meant by Liberal Protestantism. Every one is aware of that important movement which has taken place at the heart of Reformed Christianity. Let us then without preliminary approach the subject of which we are to treat,—the Condition of Liberal Protestantism in Romance Switzerland; that is to say, in the cantons of Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel.

These three cantons, forming to-day parts of the same whole, the Swiss Confederation, united more especially among themselves by a common vernacular, the French language, have, none the less, each a peculiar character and temperament. Their respective histories sufficiently explain these peculiarities; but because to-day they have united their interests with those of a common country, and because from a political point of view they form but a single unit, it does not necessarily follow that there exists among them a general uniformity. What is suited to one is not suited to another, and under the reign of liberty each follows the way best adapted to itself, a way dictated by its instinct or its tradition. For the same reasons, the fact that the people of these cantons in former days accepted the Reformation almost unanimously, it does not necessarily follow that they have welcomed with the same sympathy this more recent reformation which goes by the name of Liberal Protestantism.

Individualism, which is one of the characteristics of Protestantism, has had time since the Reformation to affirm itself and expand, and this perhaps explains why Liberal Protestantism, which appears to us as a logical consequence of the movement inaugurated by the great Reformers, has not been seized upon and accepted by

the mass of the Protestant population. It follows from all this that, in order to present some clear observations on the subject under consideration, we must refrain from giving a view of the whole, and are obliged to consider each of these groups by itself.

In Geneva, about a century after the death of Calvin, a need for emancipation with regard to his doctrine manifested itself. Towards the close of the seventeenth century Louis Tronchin and Chouet opposed the dogma of predestination, and this opposition was still more marked in the person of Alphonse Turretini. It was owing to the influence of this eminent man that a little more liberty was permitted to penetrate into religious ideas, and that it was declared in 1725 that the catechism of Calvin should no longer be placed on a level with the Scriptures. We may say, taking into account the circumstances and the time, that the need of doctrinal liberty asserted itself in the face of the authority of the Calvinistic régime.

The theologians of the eighteenth century allowed themselves to be influenced by the contemporary philosophical movement, and endeavored to prove that the Gospels contain nothing contrary to the principles of plain common sense. In the nineteenth century the struggle became sharper. Illustrating two opposing points of view, we find Professor Chenevière demanding that reason be granted her legitimate rights, declaring himself an enemy of confessions of faith and combating the dogmas of the Trinity and of original sin—he was a Unitarian—and Pastor Gaussen, strongly attached to orthodoxy, and known by his work, “*La Théopneustie, ou Pleine Inspiration des Saintes Écritures.*” The struggle of these two tendencies, of which we are about to speak, ended by the establishment, in opposition to the faculty of theology at the old university, of a school of theology which was to represent and maintain orthodoxy. To this school Edmond Scherer was called in 1846. He entered rigidly orthodox, and left three years later, in 1849, one of the champions of modern theology. We will not enter here into details that would lead us from our subject, simply remarking that Scherer is one of the most interesting figures of our epoch, for by his thought and influence he is still among us, and, together with Colani, Reuss, and Albert Réville, by his very valuable collaboration in the *Strasbourg Theological Review*, one of the most distinguished and zealous apostles of Liberal Protestantism.

This need of independence, this desire expressed by certain Genevan theologians, not to permit theology to fall behind the general movement of thought, maintained itself. It is therefore no cause for surprise if, thanks to the influence exercised by men holding the ideas of the school of the *Strasbourg Theological Review*, and to the progress of a more modern conception of Christianity in the neighboring cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel, a group of pastors and laymen found themselves ready to propagate and defend at Geneva the principle of what has since been called Liberal Protestantism. The year 1873 saw its official advent in the Church of Geneva. It had the majority of the Consistory on its side, and it profited by this to accomplish the triumph of its opinions and principles.

As one may easily believe, this transformation was not accomplished without struggle and strife. There was an unhappy period during which orthodoxy, sustained by the government of that day and by popular favor, declared itself deprived of its ancient rights, and charged the Church of Geneva with being responsible for their loss. Having at its head men of faith, action and intelligence, and confident in the power of the Gospel of Jesus, Protestant Liberalism took its place in the directing body of the church, the Consistory, in the pastoral body by the nomination of pastors, and in the theological faculty* of the University by the nomination of professors imbued with modern scientific principles.

Liberal Protestantism, therefore, demanded its place in the body of the National Church of Geneva, and obtained it. Not, however, without difficulty. It was reproached with being destructive, negative. This reproach was not without foundation; but since Liberal Protestantism could no longer accept Protestant tradition, since it could no longer accept the dogmatic theology, it was bound to declare what beliefs appeared to it outworn and offensive to its conscience, it was bound to criticise the accretions of the past. It could no longer accept the miracles,—it said so; original sin,—it said so; the divinity of Jesus,—it said so. No, this first period in the life of Liberal Protestantism could not be other than critical. In this there was perhaps a loss, but there was this inestimable advantage,—the taking of a definite position, of not permitting to exist, as was elsewhere the case, any equivocation, any hypocrisy, and of demonstrating to the people that there existed a tendency capable of re-

maining religious and Christian while following the movement of the general thought. Liberal pastors, it goes without saying, were treated as rationalists. It was desired to discredit them, and the efforts in this direction were successful. Moreover, Liberal Protestantism was reproached with being in league with a political party,—the radicals. It is true that Liberal Protestantism found a warm welcome among the radical leaders of that time. Demanding, as the condition of its existence, the revision of the laws governing the Church, it turned towards those who understood its point of view and desired its triumph. In a small republic, where traditions are powerful, where party strife is so keen, and where class distinction is by no means unknown, this marked affinity of Liberal Protestantism for the radical political party, though exacted by circumstances, at once alienated many sympathizers whom it otherwise would have found among the Geneva conservatives. In certain circles the claims and aspirations of Liberal Protestantism were contemptuously disowned, and it was included with radicalism in a common aversion. However, this politico-religious association is not a unique and astonishing phenomenon. Is not the history of the Reformation intimately connected with political history? And in European countries, where the political government did not aid the new-born reform, what has become of Protestantism? Witness France, Italy, and Spain. The ecclesiastical régime, resulting from the association of Liberal Protestants and Radicals, was, it must be admitted, so advantageous that very few in the present generation would wish to restore the old state of affairs. This fact is not without significance.

The struggle between liberal and orthodox, at first so intense, finally subsided. Members of a church cannot live in a continual state of war. The Liberal Protestants, children of the church of Geneva, had their recognized place in the house of their fathers; their demands had been taken into consideration; they asked no more. A period of peace and reconciliation followed, and for this the liberals were not the last to work. For about fifteen years the church of Geneva has marched calmly on its way, including among its members those who were once brothers at war, liberals and orthodox.

What did Liberal Protestantism become during this period?

That it encountered difficulties goes without saying. Orthodoxy, or, to call it by the name it prefers, the Evangelical party, has preserved the organization it formed in the days of strife. The National Evangelical Union, the centre of this organization, with its own special pastors and with the chapels it holds, really forms, as has been said, a church within a church. If the Evangelical pastors, or at least a certain number of them, show in the affairs of the National Church a true fraternal breadth, the case is different when it is a question of offices depending directly on the National Union: they are always ready to maintain the principles of orthodoxy against liberalism. The aristocratic Genevese society and all that centres around it, ignores Liberal Protestantism. In this society is wealth, the devotion facilitated by leisure, social influence, and attachment (sometimes a mere matter of fashion) to religious traditions. The more democratic liberals appear, by contrast, effaced. Although liberalism to-day numbers devoted friends in the different political parties, the memory of that time when, by force of the circumstances we have mentioned, liberalism made itself the willing synonym of radicalism, still hovers over it to its hurt, and turns from it many who will not take the trouble to study its principles at first hand. Many of the early liberals to-day prove lukewarm, some absolutely indifferent. They cherish always the memory of the combats and the brilliant passages-at-arms of thirty years ago. That was the heroic age! They sigh for it; and, though they are by nature very amiable, they have withdrawn to their tents. They have unfortunately failed to understand that an evolution is necessary to liberalism, that its hour is come, and that, after having declared in what respects it disagreed with orthodoxy, it must affirm its principles and its faith, offering to souls the sustenance of religion and the Gospels. By a strange contradiction the new position which, little by little, gained for it the sympathy of the moderate Evangelists, alienated its early friends. Born of a popular movement, encouraged and sustained by the people at its beginning, we would be justified in supposing that liberalism would have retained its favor. When from the midst of the people the Socialist party sprang into being, the tie was broken. This new body early showed itself to be anti-religious. Contrary to what is the case elsewhere in Switzerland, where Socialism is not indifferent to the religious and Protest-

ant question, at Geneva this new party, unfortunately inspired with a spirit foreign to our traditions, wished to make an anti-clerical issue at a time when the clerical question was not under debate, and included in its condemnation clericalism and religion,—a fact which did not prevent it, on a recent memorable occasion, from destroying the ancient National Protestant Church of Geneva, and allying itself with the Roman Catholics. It is not alone with us that these two extreme parties are found marching hand in hand. Will Protestantism, particularly Liberal Protestantism, be able to regain its position in the centre of Socialism? The future will tell.

This is the dark side of the picture: let us look now at the bright side. In becoming, so to speak, more positive, in affirming more than at its beginning, in showing itself less combative with respect to the traditional doctrine, Liberal Protestantism appeared to its adversaries in a more acceptable light. Thus it has penetrated into circles which it had seemed must be forever closed to it, and drew away from orthodoxy many thoughtful minds. Its influence, instead of diminishing, has, on the contrary, considerably extended. But this gain, at least up to the present time, has not been realized under the form of a numerical growth of the liberal party. Evangelical thought has modified itself, and to our advantage. The liberal method has been understood, and has prevailed. This is proved in the attitude of many Evangelicals towards liberals in religious affairs, also by the fact that a member of the orthodox party declared very recently, at a session of the Consistory, that in his estimation the existence of the left wing of our church has been advantageous to the party as a whole, and that he now admitted this, although he would not have done so formerly. Thus the old orthodoxy, little by little, has permitted itself to be influenced by liberal ideas. But, of these partisans, those whose influence would carry most weight do not acknowledge themselves as liberals. The word is feared: it is compromising. Among the laity we know more than one who, while loudly declaring themselves to be no longer able to subscribe to the traditional orthodoxy, nevertheless, by a strange contradiction, follow pastors of the orthodox cloth. Among so-called Evangelical pastors we know more than one who would like to see the word "liberal" disappear from our common speech. This would ease their consciences: they could then be liberals without

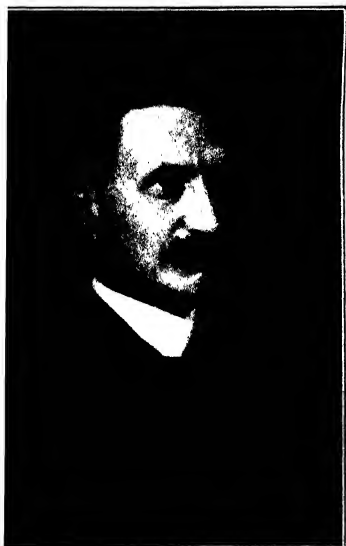
saying so and without anybody's knowing it. Thus one part of orthodoxy clings to the old ways from habit and tradition. This is particularly true of the old families. Another part, ill-instructed, in spite of our efforts, in the principles of Liberal Protestantism, is outside all organizations, and wishes to attach itself to none. This is disorder, spiritual anarchy. It even wishes to be regarded as a church. We may differ in opinion as to what constitutes a church; but we may ask ourselves, What would subsist among these people, and how would the religious flame, the enthusiasm, the faith, the prepossession in favor of the spiritual life, be sustained among them? Although each, in his own opinion, is stronger and wiser than his neighbor, few among them are sufficiently inquiring, sufficiently interested in their development, firm enough or high-minded enough, to be able to dispense with an organization, a centre of spiritual life. This may lead to sad retrogressions: the Roman Catholic Church, in particular, is ever ready to receive them into its arms when the time shall have come. Finally, many are liberals without knowing it: let us not be too much surprised if they do not join us.

Orthodoxy can no longer maintain its old positions. It has been compelled to listen, and to yield to evidence. It is vanquished by the liberal method. As a proof of this, we will simply refer to the publication of the *Introduction to the Old Testament*, by Lucien Gautier (Lausanne, 1906). Professor Gautier defended as long as possible the old views, since then he abandoned them. After having in his celebrated lectures explained the Old Testament according to the results of the historical and critical method, he has just published for the general public the popular work we have named. He writes in his preface this significant sentence: "Our contemporary society is not without knowledge that on these grave subjects new opinions have been framed, and that the views of competent men have been modified within twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty years." M. Gautier has been listened to in a world until now hostile to works emanating from the liberal school; and this world has approved and followed. On the day when a similar result shall be achieved for the New Testament, a domain as yet reserved, a long step forward will have been taken. That day will come: it will come in strength, and it will bring with it the defeat of the system of orthodox dogma, which now terribly suffers from the disorder in

which the Evangelical party finds itself. That day will also be the proclamation of the victory of the method upheld by Liberal Protestantism.

Can Liberal Protestantism exist as a party? This is a question which we do not take upon ourselves to answer. To-day, in Geneva, among those who interest themselves in religious affairs, there is much prejudice against party and party spirit. Thus our people, generally speaking, hesitate very much to declare themselves for this or that party, and young pastors entering on their ministry refuse to attach themselves to any organization whatsoever, liberal or orthodox. That we fight against party spirit, if this be proud, arrogant, or unjust, if it upholds wickedness or incites hatred, is perfectly lawful; but is it wrong for men of similar disposition, like sympathies, and having the same ideas in common, to form themselves into groups, first because they take pleasure in being together, and then because it pleases them to see the ideas which they hold in common gain ground and spread? We are persuaded to the contrary; and we even say—what were otherwise a commonplace, but necessary here to repeat—that it is in bringing people together of their own free will, and uniting their forces, that there is any chance of success. For the time being we are on unknown ground. The popular vote* of the 30th of last June, which has broken the ties that since the establishment of the Reformation at Geneva united us with the State, and suppressed by this act our National Church, leaves us in embarrassment and perplexity. Can our present Church, under

*The National Church of Geneva has succumbed to a coalition composed of anti-religious elements, Socialists, Roman Catholics, and of Protestants who are separatists by conviction. In the canton of Neuchâtel where the same question of the suppression of the budgets of religious worship was put before the people in the spring of 1907, it was decided in the negative. The people of Neuchâtel also stood by their national churches by a very large majority. The parties grouped themselves in the same manner as in Geneva, except that in Neuchâtel the Roman Catholics voted for the maintenance of the budget of the various cults. If they rejected it at Geneva, it was from various motives. Since 1873, not wishing to submit to the ecclesiastical laws imposed by the people of Geneva, they had constituted a church independent of the State, supported by voluntary contributions, and were thus no longer included in the budget of the cults. They recently voted for the separation of Church and State in the hope of annihilating the Old Catholics and in the hope of dealing a severe blow against the Protestants.



REV. PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM
BOSTON, MASS.



PRES. FRANKLIN C. SOUTHWORTH
MEADVILLE, PENN.



REV. MISS GERTRUDE VON PETZOLD
Troy, N. Y.



REV. JENKIN LLOYD JONES
CHICAGO, ILL.

existing conditions, continue to maintain itself as a free church? We would like to hope so. Under the influences of religion and patriotism, hearts are drawn together. From the Evangelical side, voices of authority have declared that the door of their common home shall not be closed against liberal Protestants. So be it. It is none the less true that for them, more than for others, the situation is grave, and that they need, besides the help of God, the aid of all their friends. Liberalism will pass, perhaps, through days of trial, but the conquests it has made are assured, and, if it continues in its efforts to place religious thought in harmony with modern science, it has, without doubt, the future before it. It will always present itself as a religious philosophy capable of responding to the spiritual needs of modern generations.

If we have entered with some detail into the circumstances surrounding Liberal Protestantism in Geneva, it is for the reason that here alone, in all Romance Switzerland, the movement is at the present time organized.

The beginning of Liberal Protestantism in Neuchâtel and in the canton of Vaud—a beginning which had given birth to bright hopes for the future—has come to nothing. It was a fire of straw. At Neuchâtel, after the events provoked by Professor Buisson,—which came to an issue in the liberal constitution of the National Church of Neuchâtel, and led to the establishment of an independent church by the other side,—liberalism, qualified by rationalism, could not maintain itself. Officially, it quickly disappeared. Nevertheless, it may be said, in a general way, that in the academical and theological faculties, and in the National Church, “the critical, historical, in short, scientific method prevails to-day in the teaching of the professors, and thus the new theology is filtered little by little into the pastoral body.” From this movement has resulted a transformation in the preaching and the attitude of the pastors.

In the canton of Vaud, after the lectures of Messrs. Buisson, A. Réville, and Pécart at Lausanne. Liberal Christianity was planted in Vaudois centres and received from the laity an eager welcome. It founded a section of the Union of Liberal Christianity. In short, a chronicler could write, in 1874, that there was a very marked liberal current: about thirty pastors manifested their sympathy for the new ideas. But we are compelled to believe that after this first ardor

the Vaudois character reasserted itself. Rather slow, respecting the traditions, with no inclination for individual initiative, desirous of guarding against change, doubtless it saw in the new movement a revolution, and did not long compromise itself with it. The word "liberal," also, was disapproved. The last pastor who dared to bear that label has lately died, at a very advanced age, after having been long since retired from the actual ministry: this was M. Audemars, who offered the opening prayer at the International Congress at Geneva. Professor Paul Chapuis, who finally openly attached himself to progressive Christianity, and who was also a member of the same Congress, died also about the same time, so that I believe one would to-day seek in vain for a liberal Protestant in our neighboring canton. But men may be found, professors of the Faculty of Theology at Lausanne, having the spirit of Liberal Protestantism, and who have recourse to methods made honorable by the men we have named. Need we mention Dandiran, Emery, Fornerod? Not that we desire to constrain these gentlemen to classify themselves under any category whatsoever: it is not for us to determine the position they have taken. We simply wish to point out that they admit, for instance, the results of historical criticism, as well for the New Testament as for the Old; that they have recourse to experimental and scientific methods; ~~that~~ they subscribe, for instance, to the ideas of Auguste Sabatier, even claiming to have anticipated him. Certain among them regard Christianity as a life, reject all authority, that of the Book with that of the Church, or of a church, not accepting as the Word of Truth, though it come from the Apostle Paul or from Jesus Christ himself, anything but that which finds an echo in the conscience of man; and rejecting the miracles, even those of the New Testament. Thanks to these influences, there exists in the Vaudois church a movement in the sense of liberalism, but not making use of the word "liberal." Also, orthodox believers, in the traditional sense of the term, are very few. The majority of the pastoral body has taken a middle position, but one which is neither very clear nor very logical. Thus, for instance, they believe in the miracles, in the bodily resurrection of Jesus, as do their followers among the religious public. After having been stimulated to form personal, independent convictions, some pastors fall back and re-enter the borders of ortho-

doxy, and here, as elsewhere, always for the same reason, because to attach themselves to this body that goes by the name of orthodoxy appears to them the easiest and simplest thing to do. It is a pillow of indolence which has for some a very strong attraction. In spite of all this we may rejoice in the progress realized. We must have patience. The ideas so dear to us will doubtless win their way, and future generations, in accepting them, will experience, perhaps, some gratitude towards the workers of the early days, by whom these ideas were defended and propagated.

The PRESIDENT.—You will welcome as our last speaker this morning a man who comes from the country where it is said that the majority of the people roll a sweet morsel of John Calvin under their tongues before breakfast. Mr. Alexander Webster will tell us of the progress of theology in Scotland.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEOLOGY IN SCOTLAND.

BY REV. ALEXANDER WEBSTER, OF ABERDEEN.

It is told of an ardent Scottish emigrant that in his inborn reverence for the thistle, the sturdy symbol of his country, he took with him plenteous seeds of the spiked plant and scattered them in the land of his adoption.

I trust that I will not be regarded as having any design of thistle-sowing while I seek to relate the story of our spiky Scottish theology. I assure you it has now more *down* than *pricks*. But even for the thorn a justification is possible. Naturalists tell us that it helps to keep the soil open, and, while asses live, it is a necessity. Even for the thistle in theology we may well have sympathy, and, turning "the weeder clips" aside, we may spare "the symbol dear" from ruthless handling.

What may be called the Authorized National Theology of Scotland is embodied in the Confession of Faith adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1647.

It was the labored product of the divines whose sittings at Westminster occupied five years. Several times in the preceding hundred years various vain attempts were made to construct and authorize a national creed. The country was fiercely divided ecclesiastically. A presumptuous prelatie party opposed the Presbyterian party, and apart from these factions there was a papistical unsubdued remnant and a considerable body of non-conformists—Quakers and others—who liked not any of the fighting sections. At length the Presbyterian party got the upper hand, and, leagued with the Puritans in ascendancy in England, they produced a Confession which by their power was carried into law.

The English circumstances favored the Presbyterian movement in

Scotland, and its leaders were delighted with the invitation to "propound, consult, trial, and conclude," with the Southern reformers "in all such things as might conduce to the utter extinction of Popery, Prelacy, Heresy, Schism, Superstition, Idolatry, and to consider as to the settlement which was so much desired of a union of the whole island under one common catechism, one directory, and one confession."

There was a great deal of sectarian finessing and political diplomacy in connection with the work of Assembly, and, though the six Scots commissioners were astute and determined Presbyterians, they had to acquiesce in a confession not altogether to their mind. Indeed, they were outwitted. Twenty thousand Scots had crossed the border to join the fight against Charles I., and in the expectation that England would become Presbyterian, but the diplomatic promise given to the Scottish ear was broken to the hope.

On its presentation to the General Assembly the confession was objected to on some points, specially with regard to its Erastian deference to the Civil Magistrate, but it was approved by the majority, and became the creed of the nation. The Assembly enacted that a copy of it, of the catechisms and the directory for family worship, should be in every house. The imposition of the confession was coercive. There were many who would not acknowledge it as representing their faith, but it was forced on those who held office.

As a matter of fact, the Confession of Faith did not become in any intelligent and deliberate sense the creed of the people. It originated as an arbitrary, official, ecclesiastical thing. It was never any more than a sectarian manifesto, and even as such it only represented the zealots. Many, in signing it for office' sake, did so with a mark of dissent.

As a dogmatic statement, it had more dignity and weight than any of its precursors. In the circumstances it was inevitable. Nothing but a new papacy could have cast out the old. The autocracy changed name and place, but did not dissolve. The presbyter was but the priest with another title and residence. It is very difficult to measure exactly the influence of the Standards on the national character.

Buckle makes the Presbytery more powerful than the Parliament. We know from Burns how keen the people were on Kirk matters.

"They lay aside their private cares
 To mind the Kirk and State affairs,
 They'll talk o' Patronage and Priests
 Wi' kindling fury in their breasts."

But withal the Kirk was not so mighty as Buckle thought.

Every Sabbath there was to be seen the listlessness described by R. L. Stevenson in his "Lowden Sabbath Morn," following the announcement of the text:—

"For noo's the time when pows are seen
 Nidnoddin' like a mandarin;
 When tenty mither's stap a preen
 In sleepin' weans,
 An' nearly half the parochine
 Forget their pains.
 There's just a waukrife twa or three;
 Thrawn Commentators swear to gree,
 Weans glowrin' at the bumlin' bee
 On windie glasses
 Or lads that tak a keek a-gee
 At sonsie lasses."

Froude credits the Standards with being the source of the "conscientious fear of doing evil" in the Scottish breast, but that is an exaggeration. Certainly, the Standards were elevated as fetiches by clerical authority, and there was much superstitious deference paid to them.

The songs of Burns have gone deeper into the Scottish soul than the Standards. The primary influence of the Standards is traceable to the Shorter Catechism. Every child within the Presbyterian fold had to learn that catechism. Burns hit off the glibness piously praised:—

"Wee Davock,
 Tho' scarcely langer than your leg,
 He'll screed ye aff Effectual Calling
 As fast as any in the dwelling."

The task defeated itself. The learning was not congenial, and produced repugnance rather than respect. Yet the language of the catechism haunted the mind with a weird authority.

The tenacious hold of Calvinistic theology for two hundred and fifty years in Scoltand, with more or less tightness, is accounted for

socially by the strength of feudalistic conceptions and customs. The Scotch are clannish, conservative of tradition, and put seriousness into their habits. Our poets have made patriotism a glory. Wallace and Bruce are great political heroes in our imagination.

The tales of the Covenanters are still a power.

The main factors of the making of the Scottish character lie apart from any body of speculative doctrine, and are mainly climatic and economic.

Partly by a rigorous climate and partly by pious direction the Scot was made a reflective person. His faculties got an inturning habit which turned to morbidness. His life was largely subjective. He brooded, and became intensely introspective.

The picture of himself which our poet drew fitted thousands of his lowly countrymen:—

“Ben i’ the spence right pensivelie
I gaed to rest. . . .
There lanely by the ingle-cheek
I sat. . . .
All in this mottie mistie clime
I backward mused.”

In such musing, self-knowledge came, and sometimes the face of the inlooker grew redder over what it saw within than the peat was in the fire. Every such reflector, even one of “the unco guid,” might say,—

“God knows, I’m no the thing I should be,
Nor am I even the thing I could be.”

Ere the Confession of Faith was framed, the Scot had his special characteristics. The struggle for independence and all that lay behind it had produced a distinctly marked species. The portraits of fifteenth and sixteenth century Scots betoken the high-cheek-boned, intellectual, perfervid, dour sort familiar now all over the world. Out of the ingrained characteristics in a state of ferment the Confession of Faith came. It was involved in the political drama in which the Scottish people were engaged. That drama represented the uprising of democratic sensibility and idealism. There were possibilities in the Scottish nature stirring to be. The Scottish soul was moving in worlds not yet realized.

The force of tribal rule and clannish autonomy had broken up, the ancient feudalism had spent itself in pride and blood, and a hardy individualism vaguely sought opportunity. The leaven of intelligence was working upon the old ignorance: mind was stirring in the masses; the idea of personal and national freedom was rising.

At the emergence of intellect the suppressive powers were abashed, Pope and priest were discarded, and the king and lords who succeeded were set up as instruments of the people's will.

A reconstruction of theology accompanied the reconstruction of politics. A new Confession of Faith in God arose along with the new oath of allegiance to the monarch. The sovereignty of God, which was the dominant note of the confession, was the theologic correlative of the supreme monarchy accomplished by the revolution.

The new king was empowered by the victorious section, and was supposed to rule and legislate in their interest. He was to maintain Protestant Presbyterianism.

Presbyterians were his favorite people. All others he reprobated and doomed to dishonor. The Confession of Faith in all its details reflected the political treaty marking the era of Presbyterian power. The confessed Deity was the projection of a monarch partial to an elect number, head of his heavenly court as the king was of his earthly court.

The reform of the State accomplished by the dominant sect was expected to issue in measureless happiness to the mass. The country purged of papacy and heresy would enter upon a new bliss.

The heaven of the confession is that imagined bliss transferred to Paradise.

Its saints and holy angels are glorified Covenanters. The theology of the reformers is an upthrown reflection of their ideal of politics, a sky-picture of the State they conceived. To the new earth they added a new heaven.

The Presbyterians regarded themselves as instruments in God's hands for purging the country of false religion. They took hold of the Hebraism of the Bible, and sought to establish it. To them the promise of God had come. They were the chosen people, and to them was committed the task of making a Christian theocracy. The men of the covenant were possessed of an enthusiasm which made them heroic. They were fanatical over their ideal, and fought

and bled for it rapturously. Their confession had in it the self-satisfied assertion expressed jauntily in the Blue Bonnet song:—

“That the haill world may see
That there's nane in the richt but we
O' the auld Scottish nation.”

Wallace had prepared the way for Knox.

The fight for physical liberty was the prelude to the fight for spiritual liberty. Freedom of conscience came after freedom of arm. Free politically, Scotland must be free ecclesiastically. The Solemn League and Covenant was a sequel to the Treaty of Independence.

But the reformers did not reckon with their own dogmatism and autocracy. They did not see that in casting off one tyranny they took on another. But so it was. The confession became a constraint. The Reformed Church produced its own restrictions. The infallible Bible involved a bondage as close and as sore as the infallible pope did.

The confession was a recrudescence of clannishness. The confessors were the supreme clansmen: the non-confessors were the rebel clans.

The movement for the liberation of the mind from bondage to autocratic authority was arrested from within. The liberators instituted a new slavery. They caused all masters of colleges and schools, all teachers therein, and all scholars at the passing of their examination for degrees to subscribe to the Covenant.

Later they made subscription to the Confession of Faith a condition of official position in universities.

The direct result of these restrictions was that the thinkers who sought proper liberty wrought outside the Church in a hostile way. Any real philosophy and science, as well as all spontaneous literature, appeared beyond Kirk bounds.

The revolt of the native spirit from Calvinism is plainly traceable in the Scottish literature of the eighteenth century, and from thence onward in growing intensity. It is evident in all departments of literature,—in philosophy, science, economics, poetry, and fiction.

The spontaneous Scottish literature is not Calvinistic, but all along

its free line presents an effective counter-action to orthodoxy. It has expressed the real live thoughts and feelings of the Scottish soul and represented the growing point in Scottish thought.

Instinctively, orthodoxy set itself against the native philosophy and poetry. To the philosophers of the school of Hume it gave special opposition. Yet the philosophers have had more to do with the development and adaptation of theology than the theologians themselves. The dogmatists tried hard to make philosophy in the universities the procuress of Calvinism, and the philosopher had to protest and struggle strenuously. The freedom for philosophy was won, and in all the universities the law of variation in philosophic thought has shown itself. In his day Francis Hutcheson, the philosopher, was an avowed opponent of Calvinism, and later in the same university the Cairds in their Hegelianism were influential modifiers of the confessional theology.

At Aberdeen the synthetic method had a brilliant representative in Alexander Bain. He was an unchurched man, and declined the ecclesiastical touch, even for his grave.

Science, economics, poetry, fiction, were all driven abroad by the confessors, and from their haunts in the "brown heath and shaggy wood" they sent forth their deviations, which the people took to as manna.

But everything has its compensation. The Scot has never been so great in physics as in metaphysics. The objective study was denied to him, and he avenged himself by being metaphysical. The repression of natural studies by the Church had certainly the effect of throwing the mind back on itself. Nature was made diabolic by orthodoxy. Every extraordinary or uncanny occurrence was regarded as Satanic. To search nature was to find Satan. He was usually

"Yont the dyke . . . bumman,
Or, rustlin thro' the bour-trees, coman."

So the people kept indoors and trembled. In these circumstances, investigation of nature was not undertaken. Later, when there was more courage and the geologists ventured forth among the rocks, discoveries were made that staggered the pious searcher. When Hugh Miller realized the age of the red sandstone and thought of

the dogma of the six days' creation and Usher's chronology, his brain reeled and madness ensued.

The current idea regarding the overnight shore-searchings of his friend Robert Dick of Thurso—that they were trysts with the devil—was fostered by the Kirk in the interest of its Standards. All that was avenged by the divine adjustment that will have things balanced. Deprived of physics, we shine in metaphysics. Still, we have Lyell and Geikie to show, while we grudge the discrepancy.

The reformers did indeed, in their exclusive way, promote learning, but it was all to be subdued to orthodox belief and practice. To what they regarded as mere secular learning they were opposed. It was a distraction and a dissipation. For philosophy they had no encouragement, for science they had naught but a ban.

The pursuit of literature was profanity of intellect. The one thing that learning was needed for was the interpretation of the Bible. In the Canon of Scripture was all knowledge, and its study was the only holy and sacred labor.

And so it came to pass that culture was separated from religion and condemned. It was driven into a kind of paganism, and we find it in the next century after the imposition of the confession in avowed revolt from Calvinism.

It stood out against the Hebraism of the Church with a Humanism which was directly inspired by French thought. It sought other ground for moral philosophy than that which the orthodox theology presented. It turned eagerly to human nature, to find in its intuitions the sanction of ethics. There was a complete breach between the philosophy and theology. The theologians regarded the philosophers as infidels. In the biography of the Haldanes we have a characteristic lamentation regarding the heretics. The infidelity of David Hume, Adam Smith, and their coadjutors, first infecting the university, had gradually insinuated its poison into the ministrations of the Church.

"Some had altogether thrown off the mask, like the eminent Professor Playfair. . . . Other ministers, with more inconsistency, exhibited the same infidelity, while they still ate the bread of orthodoxy. Dr. McGill, of Ayr, had published a Socinian work, . . . yet even he was absolved by the Assembly. Dr. Robertson, the friend of Hume and Adam Smith, was not without reason more than half

suspected, while Dr. Blair's 'Moral Sermons' had shown how in Scotland, as well as in England, the professed ministers of Christ could become (in the words of Bishop Horsey) 'little better than the apes of Epictetus.'"

But these infidels were the needed critics and correctors of orthodoxy and the representatives of rationalism, the pioneers of the Higher Criticism. From their work the evolving energies proceeded. Moderates (as they were called), they were really the mellowers and modifiers of the intense severity and fierce bigotry of the Confessionalists. It was inevitable that they should to some extent go to the other extreme, and introduce a latitudinarianism and a laxity which tended to intellectual and moral libertinism, but withal they exercised a healthy liberalizing influence.

Reproachfully it was said of them by the biographer already referred to: "They were utterly careless about the merits of any creed or confession. . . . Their sermons generally turned on honesty, good neighborhood, and kindness. They were free from hypocrisy. They had no more religion in private than in public. They were loud and obstreperous in declaiming against enthusiasm and fanaticism, faith and religious zeal. But, though frightfully impatient of everything which bore the resemblance of seriousness and sober reflection, the elevation of brow, the ~~expression~~ of features, the glistening of the eye, the fluency and warmth of speech at convivial parties, showed that their heart and soul were there, and that the pleasures of the table and hilarity of the light-hearted and the gay constituted their paradise, and furnished them with the perfection of their joy." Over against that we may set the reference of Burns to

"Shaw and Dalrymple's eloquence,
McGill's close nervous excellence,
McQuae's pathetic manly sense."

These genial and liberal men, reproached as wine-bibbers and associates of sinners, helped in a kindly way to relax the "rigid feature" and realize the tyranny of the asperity which took to itself the warrant of piety. They blessed the natural affections that were banned by the preachers of total depravity, and encouraged the poetic spirit.

From them we trace a line of intellectual and ethical revolt within

the Church itself against the theology of the confession. That line indicates the path of learning, originality, and progress.

The Church marked it as the way of disloyalty, and placed its sternest censure and severest punishment there.

In that line there is a very notable succession of prescient, cultured, and courageous men, who in various ways keenly felt the bondage of the authorized creed, and discerned that it was not according to the higher Biblical authority nor in harmony with enlightened reason. A loftier intellectuality, a finer conscience, or a subtler spirituality than common, was theirs. They were treated as unbelievers, apostates, subverters of the faith, and marked with a specially obnoxious brand, but they were actually the better believers, more loyal to truth and faithful to their function as interpreters of divine things than those who stigmatized them. They should have been specially honored for their prophesying and bravery. They were vindicators of liberty, exemplars of rational thought, illustrators of outspokenness. They gave voice to the deeper consciousness of the time, and uttered the humanism of the cultured spirit. While the poets and story-tellers expressed the revolt of the general heart from the enforced dogma, they expressed the protest of the theological intellect and the religious soul.

It is humiliating now to think of the heresy cases of the Scotch sects. All the sects took their turn at self-wounding and impoverishment by prosecuting their most prophetic men. These now appear as shameful mistakes, and expose the lack of foresight and insight, the blindness of bigotry, and the utter stupidity of the coercive method followed in defence of the Standards. The heretics were the real victors. The verdict of history is with them. Though some were cast out with a ban upon them and others were retained with the cross of censure and suspicion on their backs, the truth was with them, the credit is theirs.

In his review of the legal and other aspects of subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith the searching and candid principal of St. Andrew's University says, "I ask my readers to consider whether it is reasonable to expect that cultivated men can subscribe these articles as articles of their own faith." And he adds the grim reflection, "The men who framed the Confession of Faith, . . . if they had been alive in the present day, would no doubt have rejected

three-fourths of the special doctrines of the Minority Free Church,"—that is, of their own standard. Dr. Donaldson admits with some pride that the Presbyterian sects have all more or less "deviated" from the Standards.

The great Scotch preachers have mainly been variations, deviators from the orthodox type of thought. They broke the monotony of delivery, not only by their preaching style, but by their ideas. Chalmers, Guthrie, Macleod, Caird, Service, were remarkable variations. Any specially felt pulpit power in Scotland has been that of a non-conformist, one who rose above creedal restrictions and spoke out of his own soul.

The regenerative influence in Scottish theologic thought came from these deviators. The advanced group of preachers that presented "Scotch Sermons" as an illustration of a "style of teaching which increasingly prevails among the clergy of the Scottish Church" indicated clearly the line of departure. They declared that their work is "the work of those whose hope for the future lies, not in the alterations of ecclesiastical organization, but in the profounder apprehension of the essential ideas of Christianity, and especially in the growth within the Church of such a method of presenting them as shall show that they are equally adapted to the needs of humanity and in harmony with the results of critical and scientific research."

In other sects, variation wrought for development. The most notable recent instance of that is in the case of Professor Henry Drummond, of the United Free Church. His frank and fresh introduction of evolution into theological thought had a regenerative power, and his vivifying influence would have gone deeper if the leaders had encouraged it.

Unfortunately for such renewal by deviation, church politics have absorbed the main attention of the sects. The recent disruption in the United Free Church put back theological concern indefinitely. That Church had to fight for its property and status, and its anxiety for some time will be politic. Its plight has affected the position of the Established Church, and in that section also concern has to be directed to temporalities. Meanwhile theology in Scotland is in the background. It waits on adjustment of subscription to the confession. But, while it is stunted with us, it is in prominence in Eng-

land. There the advocates of the new theology are troubling the pool of orthodoxy. The divine spirit must needs have its spokesman. "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets!"

Perhaps the most powerful agent of development acting in the Church is the Higher Criticism. All the sects suspected and suppressed it.

The Free Church fought it blindly and bitterly in the person of Professor Robertson Smith, and deposed him from his chair. The resistance was vain, and now with bitter grace entrance and work are granted. The criticism has taken away the textual basis of the Standards and necessitated the reconstruction of faith. The churches, with the corpse of confession upon their bier, have realized that "the letter killeth." But there is no ready grave to bury the Standards in, "though they are slain and dead."

Along with the Higher Criticism as a developing force there have to be reckoned, among other things, the natural evolution of mind, the increase of science, the intensification of moral intuition, and the continuous alteration thereby of the perspectives of history and destiny.

It may appear from the outside that Scotland has always been solid in Calvinism, but the solidity is not so thorough as it seems. For its area, Scotland has an extraordinary number of sects. Its ecclesiastical history is one of continual division and animosity. Taken numerically, Presbyterianism has always bulked more largely than any other sect, but it has been split up into sections more numerous and various than would have been thought possible.

Schisms and reunions make up the perplexing tale, and even yet there are six sections of Presbyterians in existence. The old clan disputes seem to have been transformed into sectarian strife. The wrangle over territory which disturbed the straths and cargses changed into discussion over dogmas in presbyteries, synods, and assemblies.

The Papacy, which was thought to have been rooted out, grows apace. Episcopacy flourishes, Congregationalism is lively, Methodists, Baptists, and scores of other sects thrive wondrously.

It is true that most of these sects have a professed theology of a Calvinistic character, so that it appears as if Scotland were really Calvinistic. But the Confession of Faith does not show the present

faith of Scotland, nor do the traditional articles of the Congregational bodies express their actual belief.

The United Free Church has declared several explicit modifications of its standard, and there are more undeclared.

The Established Church has reviewed the formulas of subscription, and proposed a radical alteration. Neither of these churches is Calvinistic in the old sense, nor perhaps in any sense. The old position of absolute dogmatism is virtually surrendered. Prosecutions for heresy have practically ceased. They have proved to be suicidal. The most learned, earnest, and advanced men are the heretics, and no Church can afford to sacrifice them.

How to get themselves out of the dilemma of trusts legally held for Calvinism, when the ism is dissolved, is the puzzle now before the two leading bodies of Presbyterians, and it presses on the other bound sects also.

The social condition of the Scots has changed slowly and without convulsion.

There is still a large proportion of the population in villages and engaged in agriculture. The Highlands retain their peculiarities with but little change, save that Gaelic is fading out.

There have been transformations of industries in the Lowlands caused by the introduction of machinery, but they have gone on quietly. The growth of cities has been gradual, and is against concern for theology rather than for it.

Any genuine Calvinism there is now in Scotland thrives grimly around the Highland moors and along the lonely shores of the islands. The recent disruption of the old Free Church was practically a rupture between its Highland and its Lowland elements. Of the 190 congregations of the "Wee Frees" reported as organized (or being organized), no less than 144 lie within what may be called the Highland belt of religion. So are 104 of the 120 buildings actually in their possession. Subscription to the Confession of Faith in the strict sense is now a Highland peculiarity, a Celtic phenomenon.

Within the sects themselves many reasons may be found for the retention of professed belief in Calvinism. It was supposed to have under it the warrant of God's infallible word and to be permeated with the spirit of truth. The piety of the fathers stood sponsor for it, the believing experience of tried souls supported it,

and the interests of the Church required its maintenance. It was promoted and protected by all the forces of religious authority. And the sects were so much occupied with ecclesiastical politics that they had no room for doctrinal considerations. Most of the divisions have been over the administration of affairs, State relations, and diplomacies. The remoteness of Scotland from continental life, its insularity and air of independence, helped to preserve the cake of belief from breakage.

The Church erected a wall of defence around its dogmas, and made it profanity to touch them in any critical way. And so the confession stands in history as an example of hermetical sealing up of formal theology, an instance of the mummification of a creed.

The Professor of Divinity in Aberdeen University put the case accurately in his address to students at the close of the session in March last. He said, "The attempt to rear the fabric of our holy faith upon a single exclusive type of elaborated doctrine has failed, and the world is littered with the débris of ecclesiastical strife still cherished by too many with antiquarian fondness."

The Standards now are felt to be a dead weight, and all the resources of law and piety are being brought to bear upon the problem of their decent disposal. The decision of the House of Lords, in case of the Free Church of Scotland appeals, has brought the Confessional and other churches to the dread alternatives of adhering strictly to the creeds or of altering or discarding them. They cannot profess the creeds in the primitive sense, and to alter or discard them would require a remodelling of trusts.

The crisis is serious and severe, and calls for the wisdom which is from above. The reconstruction of subscription and of trusts will delay the required reformation of theology to follow the renaissance of Biblical scholarship and wide theological culture, but that higher work will have to be done. The men for it are in the making, and the necessity for it will eventuate it. The consciousness has come to the soul of Scotland, after being for two hundred and fifty years like a fountain sealed, that theology cannot have health and truth except it is in contact with spiritual energies that make for development. The thistle is stubborn, but will at last "break into glossy purples, which out-redden all voluptuous garden roses." In that day the repentant Scot, leaving his vain dogmas, will say,

with a fervor more radiant than that of our poet and altering his words a little:—

“All hail, Religion! maid divine!
I join with those
Who boldly dare thy cause maintain
In spite of foes,
In spite of creeds of olden time.
In spite of black dogmatic grime,
In spite of bigotry's long crime,
Thy worth and merit
At last will brightly, purely shine
With Freedom's spirit.”

The Congress adjourned to meet at 8 P.M. in the Old South Church.

FOURTH GENERAL SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

Held in the Old South Congregational Church, corner Boylston and Dartmouth Streets, at 8 P.M., Wednesday, September 25th, Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., presiding. Religious services were conducted by Rev. Dr. Gordon. The music was by the choir of the Old South Church.

The Chairman introduced successively the three speakers of the evening, Rev. L. E. T. André, D.D., pastor of the Evangelical Church of Florence, Italy, Professor A. Gaston Bonet-Maury, D.D., of the University of Paris, and Abbé A. Houtin, of Paris, whose papers are printed below:—

MODERNISM AND MODERNISTS IN ITALY.

A STUDY OF THE PRESENT SITUATION OF CATHOLICISM.

BY REV. L. E. TONY ANDRÉ, D.D., FLORENCE, ITALY.

I.

Italy is essentially a Catholic country. Out of the 32,475,253 inhabitants enumerated at the census of 1901, 31,539,863 declared themselves Catholics; that is, 97.12 per cent. of the population. All told, there were only 65,595 Protestants, 20,538 of whom were foreigners.

But, if the number of Catholics is so imposing, it does not follow that they are all fervent and active in religious practice. It is a significant fact that at the time of this very census 795,276 persons were unwilling to say to what religion they belonged, and 36,092 declared they were of no religion. And how many others made a profession of Catholicism merely as a matter of form!

"The Italians," says Signor G. S. Gargàno in the *Marzocco*, an important literary weekly paper published in Florence, "are not a religious people in the strict sense of the word. With us religion is, for the most part, either the outcome of habits contracted ever since childhood . . . or it springs from the conviction that we may find in it a means of defence against those forces that tend to overthrow the established order of things. . . . There are but few to whom the sense of religion is a purely personal fact. . . . Religion, in Italy, is never disassociated from what we ordinarily call clericalism, . . . and clericalism has nothing to do with faith." (No. 22, June 2, 1907.)

What are the causes of this indifference to religion that has become so marked in our time, or, should I not rather say, that has dared to declare itself so openly?

There are several, and they affect all classes of society. In all countries, as well as in all denominations, many reject religion

because it prescribes their duties. But this cause of indifference is foreign to my subject. The same may be said of others of a like kind which I shall not mention further. I would here consider only those of upright conscience. Moreover, I shall limit myself to those causes that are peculiar to Italy, or which, while passing beyond its frontiers, are more strongly felt in the peninsula.

1. *The first cause to be noted is a political one.* From 1849 to 1870 Italy fought for independence and unity with all the ardor that springs from a high sense of patriotism. This great movement was led by men of religious mind. But the Church, altogether unwilling to renounce her claim to temporal power, set herself in all her might against the national ideals. Nothing more was required to alienate from her the hearts of all those who deemed, and rightly, too, that religion should consecrate and encourage the love of one's country. On the 20th of September, 1870, the Italian armies entered Rome. The Vatican might then have yielded to the national pressure and have accepted the situation. But the Vatican never disarmed. To the present day it persists in its ancient claims. And more than this, so that there shall be no mistaking its attitude, it has forbidden Catholics to take part in the elections and administration of the country; for to do so would be to make themselves accomplices in the usurpation. And, if at times the Vatican has suspended the *non expedit*, it has not been with a view to the advantage of Italy, it has been in the hope of securing victories for the clerical party who are adversaries of the government,—a proceeding certainly not calculated to gain friends for the Church.

2. After having alienated the patriots from herself, *the Church alienated the proletariat.* She began by withdrawing her interest in social questions. But, urged forward by the socialists, these questions succeeded in commanding attention. The Church then learned to fear socialists, to fear their programme and their earlier success; and, in order to put a stop to the movement, she forbade Catholics to engage in social questions independently of her guidance. "Let no one undertake anything, either against or without the will of the bishop," wrote the Cardinal Secretary of State. The Congr gation des Affaires Extraordinaires went further: "Individuals, as well as society, before acting upon any decision whatever, owe a full and entire obedience to the authority of the bishops" (*Unit  Cattolica*,

No. 50, March 1, 1907). The proletariat saw that the Church intervened in order to paralyze their efforts, not to bring about the triumph of justice: they drew aloof, then, from the priests and allowed themselves to be borne away in the current of anti-religious doctrines. In the priest (anti-democrat) they beheld a dangerous adversary, and in religion itself they saw an enemy that must be fought.

3. *The third cause is scientific.* The Church dreads the free researches of the human mind, and disapproves of such conclusions as do not agree with the old affirmations which an impartial science has recognized as false. It is, above all, in the region of religious criticism that the Church is intolerant. Now religious criticism touches upon a crowd of problems scientific in the strict sense of the word, historical, psychological, etc. Learned men of all kinds are shocked at the pretensions of the Vatican, and cannot do otherwise than forsake a doctrine coming from a Church that will not open her eyes, and that denies the right of a free examination, lest her own system should be disturbed. It is but natural that one should mistrust those who fear the light and the inquiry of proofs.

4. In the fourth place the Church is upbraided for her *incapacity to satisfy the aspirations of modern consciences, when, tormented by doubt*, they come to her asking for light to restore their faith. The Church, faithful to the apologetic method of the Middle Ages, does not perceive that the arguments furnished by the scholastic are meaningless at this day,—not only, indeed, neither persuading nor converting, but calling forth smiles, and estranging souls more and more from a religion which justifies and defends itself so poorly.

5. A fifth cause of discredit is to be found in *the numerous and frequently gross superstitions upheld and propagated by the Church*,—the worship of relics; minor devotions to the Virgin, under numerous titles; petitions to the less authentic saints, male and female, such as Saint Expedit and Saint Philomena; three and nine days' devotions, religious festivals, centenaries, pilgrimages, etc. This superstitious formalism disgusts all those who feel within their souls the need of a close communion with God, and to whom it appears that the clergy themselves are imbued with the superstitions they uphold.

"The Church is ill," says Senator Fogazzaro in "The Saint."
 "Four evil spirits have entered into her body, there to make war

with the Holy Ghost" (p. 336). They are: the spirit of falsehood (p. 336); the spirit of domination (p. 339); the spirit of avarice (p. 341); and the spirit of immobility (p. 342). "The Catholic Church, who calls herself the source of truth, sets herself to-day against the search after truth when it affects her foundations, the sacred books, the formulæ of her dogmas, or her alleged infallibility. To us this means she no longer has faith in herself. The Catholic Church, who calls herself the channel of life, to-day restrains and stifles all the youthful life within her, to-day she props up all that is tottering and aged within her. To us this means her death, remote, but inevitable, death. The Catholic Church, which proclaims the wish to renew all things in Christ, is hostile to us because we would contend with the enemies of Christ for the guidance of social progress. To us this, with many other things, means that she has Christ upon her lips, but not within her heart" (p. 290).

This is why, day by day, Catholics become more and more estranged from their Church. Many who still bear the name of Catholic have no longer any faith in the Church, and no longer practise Catholicism.

Good and gifted men, moved at this spectacle, are endeavoring to lead their generation back to a religious life either by urging reforms or in spreading abroad a reawakening spirit in all the manifestations of modern life, that shall be in harmony with the spirit of modern times, hence the name *Modernists* which has been given them.

Reformers there have always been in the Catholic Church, although their pious desires have been quickly stifled. Some have wished to reform *with* the pope, some *without* the pope, and others *in opposition* to the pope. The Modernists come under the first category. They would have the pope adopt and decree the reforms they suggest.

Their immediate precursors, in Italy, were Rosmini and Gioberti, two great reformers of the Catholic form of worship and hierarchy.

The Modernists, however, have not all the same programme. Some are more radical, others more mystic: some have a clearly defined programme of reform, others simply desire to sow ideas in the minds of an intellectual *élite* of ecclesiastics and laymen,—that

is to say, they wish to prepare opinion and await the time when, as a result, they shall see the reforms take place naturally in the ordinary course of events. Some busy themselves with one special question,—*e.g.*, the social question, or the rights of science, or the moral and mystic aspirations of the human soul,—others would attack all questions at one and the same time. I will say, further, that a number of aspirations are marked by a certain vagueness, and, indeed, one may note in them contradictions and some want of logic. But, however that may be, Modernism is a noble movement that has a claim upon all our attention and sympathy. Men who fight for a religious life and freedom of thought cannot but win the sympathy of us liberal and non-conforming Christians who have been called upon to make our sacrifices for the triumph of the freedom of thought and free communion with our heavenly Father.

If the variety of individual opinions is great and if it is difficult to classify them, there are amongst them, however, some that are more or less common to the majority of Modernists. These opinions I will endeavor to recapitulate.

Generally speaking, the Modernists naturally wish to remedy the evils from which the Church is suffering by removing the causes of discredit that I have enumerated. In other words, the Modernists wish to have a religion conformable to present needs and contemporary thought. Such was the desire of the Church in the Middle Ages, and she acted accordingly; and the methods which to-day are old at that time constituted a veritable progress, since they brought religion into harmony with the degree of the nation's culture. It would be sufficient now, say the Modernists, to take up and continue the work of the past, following the same principle of adaptation.

I shall here note three kinds of Modernists:—

(a) First, those who have in view political and social questions, scarcely at all disturbing themselves about dogmas and religious opinions.

(b) Those especially interested in the search after truth through science and religious criticism.

(c) The mystics who desire reforms more strictly religious and pertaining to the forms of worship.

I would observe, however, that this subdivision is somewhat artificial, for the same individuals fall sometimes under two of these

heads, sometimes even under all three. The most distinct of these classes is the first.

II.

POLITICO-SOCIAL MODERNISTS.

In their attitude towards the state and society what the Modernists demand is: the abandonment of the "Roman question"; liberty to vote; the separation, if not of Church and State, at least of the interests of the Church and those of the State; and autonomy,—that is, freedom to act in society without seeking counsel of the ecclesiastical authorities.

1. I have put *the "Roman question" first*. The Modernists will no longer hear of it. A bishop who was interviewed said to the representative of the *Rassegna Nazionale* (November 16, 1904): "Temporal power is gone forever. It is buried. Do not let us disturb the tomb. It is wishing for the impossible to wish it even in a small degree, and whoever wishes for the impossible is a fool."

I do not know the name of the bishop interviewed, but Monsignor Bonomelli, bishop of Cremona, is of about the same opinion (*Unità Cattolica*, No. 62, March 15, 1907).

I will not make further quotations. Innumerable articles advise the Church to accept what is accomplished, and to recognize without restriction the royal government of United Italy.

2. *The liberty of taking part in the elections and administration of the country* is less urgently insisted upon. Not that the Modernists are less desirous of it, but since numerous electors have formed the habit of doing without the permission of the ecclesiastical authority, and act as if the *non expedit* no longer existed. Besides, the *non expedit* would disappear with the disappearance of the Roman question.

3. With regard to recent events in France the bishop of Cremona, of whom I have already spoken, has pronounced himself in favor of the *separation of Church and State*. Don Romolo Murri is of almost the same opinion, though he does not go so far. The principle of the Modernists is, in fact, "to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's"; and what the Modernists desire above all is that the Church should no longer

interfere with political questions, nor the State in ecclesiastical matters.

4. Lastly, the Modernists demand *autonomy*. Catholics, they say, depend upon ecclesiastical authority with regard to dogma and ethics; but, as regards all that which is neither dogma nor ethics, they should be their own masters, free from the interference of either priest or bishop or pope. As citizens, then, Catholics may think, speak, and work independently of ecclesiastical authority, and engage, as seems good to them, in everything that concerns the civil, political, economic, and social life of the country.

These are especially the claims of the "Christian Democrats." They are socialists: their programme and their claims are those of the proletariat, with the exception of one important point. The Italian socialists are atheists. The Christian Democrats remain Christians (Catholic) as their name indicates, and consequently, if they speak to the proletariats of their rights, if they, indeed, insist upon them, they also recall to them their duties. For Christian democracy is animated by a spirit of order and equity, in spite of the confusion and vagueness that still envelop many points.

This movement, whose great apostle is Don Murri, the Vatican endeavored to monopolize and direct at its own pleasure. But the Christian Democrats claimed to be free. Hence the conflict with the ecclesiastical authority which disputes their right either to act or to bear the name of Christian if they do not submit to the bishop of the diocese.*

But *how are these many politico-social reforms to be brought about?* The Modernists are of opinion that there must first take place a transformation and a purification in the government and administration of the Church. The Church is too monarchical. She must abandon her old system of coercion. Let her recognize episcopal autonomy, the right of laymen to religious initiative and activity. More than all, she should make better choice of her priests, not choosing priests trained to submission, but upright and moral priests, conversant with the needs and aspirations of modern society. Lastly, in order to remove causes tending to a conflict with Italy, the number of foreign cardinals must be increased, while that of Italian cardinals is as much diminished. To do away with the crushing numerical

* At present many have taken the name of "National Democrats."

preponderance of the Italian cardinals is the only means of rendering the Holy See independent of local circumstances. Not to mention that foreign cardinals are more favorable to progress than the Italian cardinals.

III.

SCIENTIFIC MODERNISTS.

Let us now pass on to the second class of Modernists, those who are theologians or learned men, who demand the recognition of the rights of science in the realm of religion as in all other realms.

They desire, firstly, to assert this right in *Biblical criticism*. "The Bible, they say, should be studied in the same manner as all other sacred and profane books of antiquity" ("A Pio X.," p. 11). Regarding the New Testament, here is a statement of the manner of criticising taken from an anonymous brochure, "Letter to Pius X.," which appeared four months ago: "The religion of Israel belongs to us but indirectly. To-day we are Christians, and our civilization is Christian; but, before becoming Christians, we belonged to the Græco-Roman civilization, and, if Christianity is the fulfilment of the religion of Israel, it had, however, in order to become our religion, to transform itself by assimilating Oriental civilization and becoming Græco-Roman. As a result of this, after we have accepted the Old Testament, there still remains a great work to be done. Not only must all the books of the New Testament be submitted to criticism, but the relation they bear to the books of the Old Testament and to the Græco-Roman civilization must be studied. Only then shall we be able to comprehend what was originally the spirit of the Christian civilization, what were its primitive and authentic elements, what those that were borrowed from the religion of Israel and those that were due to the Greek civilization." ("A Pio X.," p. 12.)

But the Modernists deem that the Bible is insufficient to reveal all the aspects of truth, and to the critical study of the texts of the Old and New Testaments they would add the study of the *history of religions*.

Lastly, the Modernists attach a great importance to the study of *psychology* and its free and sincere application in the realm of religion.

Let us enter into some details.

The following are some of the interesting conclusions the Modernists have reached:—

1. *The evolution of revelation.* Religious consciousness, which at first manifested itself in mankind under superstitious and imperfect forms, rose little by little to forms that were purer, and in Christianity revelation reached its highest point.

2. Nevertheless, *some good is to be recognized in other religions.* They, too, are revelations from God to the human soul, as was recognized long ago by the Apostle Paul.

3. Revelation is not a communication of truth directly made by God to man at one given time and by outward means. It is a *psychological revelation* that has its seat in the human soul, and which arises from an uninterrupted succession of vivid personal religious experiences.

4. We are to learn how to *distinguish between religious truth and the forms* in which it is contained. The ancients succeeded in forming for themselves a certain idea of God and man's relation to him,—a conception which corresponds to no reality in our days. Formerly, mankind loved the supernatural, and God appeared great through the miraculous. Nowadays, on the contrary, the divine majesty is felt in the contemplation of the wonderful and immutable laws of the world. Thus it is to take a step in advance (while still remaining faithful to the spirit of religious truth), to detach it from those transient forms with which it has been clothed in the past. If the recitals of the creation, the fall, and the deluge, to cite some instances, are legendary, and not historical, they none the less retain all their moral signification and their psychological character.

5. *The evolution of faith*, for this is co-ordinate with the intellectual and moral evolution of man. All that is spiritual in man is closely united; and, when one part of his spiritual being develops, all the rest does so to the same degree.

6. Then, the *evolution of dogma*, which is the expression of faith, must also be admitted. Father Semeria, a learned Barnabite, has said, "The thought of God can only become dogma by becoming incarnate—let the expression pass—in the mind of man" ("Dogma," *gerarchia*, p. 54). "No human thought, however divine may be its import, can remain immobile" (*op. cit.*, p. 96).

7. If all religions contain divine elements, the Catholic Church has *no right to shut out from heaven* those who profess other religions.

8. More than this, the Church should *not be offended at an impure or imperfect faith* within her own pale where there is a pure life and an upright conscience (*cf.* Fogazzaro, *op. cit.*, p. 465).

9. The dogma of *eternal punishment* is contrary to the idea of divine goodness and justice.

10. Lastly, *theology* can be identified neither with scholasticism nor with Christianity, nor with dogma. It is the systemizing of the various interpretations of faith throughout the centuries. It may therefore be still further changed by assimilating contemporary culture. Still more, it is necessary that it should change if it is to satisfy the needs of modern consciences. To-day, in order to convince men and reanimate their faith, the worn-out arguments of the Middle Ages must be abandoned, and a new language, simple and intelligible, found. This new language, which would be embodied in a new apologetics, cannot be otherwise than penetrated by a scientific spirit. The anonymous brochure from which I have already quoted affords two examples of this. To-day, we read (p. 16), in order to explain the nature of the Trinity, it is impossible to have recourse to the ontologic terminology of scholasticism. The words "essence," "nature," "hypostasis," mean nothing to modern minds. Let us separate, however, the religious signification from the dogma, God is Father, Love, Wisdom, and this we understand. Similarly (pp. 16, 17) we do not admit the traditional theory of transubstantiation, in order to explain the mystery of the eucharist. It is through faith that the faithful are brought into contact with the real, living Christ.

These liberties that we take, add the Modernists, are those that the Fathers of the Church have taken before us. Thus we are their true continuators. A continuator is not an imitator or a copyist. To continue is to enter into the spirit of one's predecessors, to consider their work in connection with the degree of culture belonging to their times. We have the right, therefore, to reject many of their opinions, seeing that since their day the times have changed.

Identical reasons prevent us from believing the modern legends of Saint Expedit and Saint Philomena, etc., and such assertions as that of Cardinal Cavallari, that the Apostle Saint Mark was the first

bishop of Venice (*Osservatore Romano*, No. 91, April, 1907), or that of the present pope, in his encyclical of the 27th of October, 1904, "The Hebrew patriarchs believed in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception."

IV.

MYSTIC MODERNISTS.

The Modernists of the third category are preoccupied neither with social questions nor politics, nor theology. They call for a reform in Christian life and in the forms of worship. Of such is Senator Fogazzaro in "The Saint," and many other men less well known, not to mention women, of whom there is in fact a greater number. These Modernists are reproached with being neither theologians nor historians, nor exegetes. And so much the better, if the charge is true. Their voice is that springing from the conscience and the heart, it is that of humble believers thirsting for divine communion, that of true, sincere worshippers in spirit and in truth, that of men who desire above all to realize a truly active Christian life. And these souls, it seems to me, have every right to make their wishes known. *They* do not see in the Church simply a hierarchy. It is in their eyes a universal community of the faithful, and they believe that from the depths of every Christian heart the living water of truth may spring up (*cf.* Fogazzaro, *op. cit.*, p. 291).

1. What such souls long for more than all is *an actively Christian life* in conformity with the gospel and more especially with the Sermon on the Mount.

They desire, so we read in "The Saint," a great moral task, the return of believers to the practice of evangelic teachings (p. 71, *cf.* p. 195); for Christianity consists, above all, in living and acting according to the spirit of Christ (p. 276). The Master cares little for a multitude of words. What he desires, rather, is to be served faithfully and in silence, our minds fixed always on his will (p. 220). For, indeed, the supreme purpose of human creatures is to glorify their heavenly Father. They that glorify him are they that have the spirit of charity, of peace, of wisdom, of poverty, of purity, and of fortitude, they that employ their vital energy for the welfare of their brethren (*cf.* p. 295).

"We desire," adds Don Romolo Murri, "a purer, more intense, more practical, more Christian Christianity, more in conformity with its origin and, above all, more in harmony with the gospel" ("Libertà e Cristianesimo," p. 8).

2. This is not all. The Modernists of this category, both men and women (the women perhaps still more than the men), demand *a reform in the manner of worship*. The present forms of worship do not satisfy their consciences. We desire, they explain, that Catholicism should be freed from the heavy impediment of outward forms and devotions that uphold superstition.* We want more spirituality and the practical mysticism that appeals to and feeds the soul. We want direct communion with God.

The clergy, we read in "The Saint," neglect to teach the people that inward and spiritual prayer purifies the soul, which certain superstitions cannot do other than corrupt. . . . These priests are ill-pleased when souls communicate directly and in the natural way with God, going to him for counsel and direction. . . . They themselves wish to direct these souls, in the character of mediators (p. 339). . . . But *we* desire to communicate with the living Christ (*cf.* pp. 67, 68).

But *how is a reform in the manner of worship to be brought about?* It must be begun, say the Modernists, by a reform in the discipline of the clergy. That is to say, it is necessary (a) first to make a reform in the system of recruiting the clergy for the purpose of making sure of the fitness of the young seminarists; (b) next, the seminaries, with their courses of study, must be reformed, so as to send forth well-informed priests; for it is the ignorant clergy, still more than the Vatican, that keep up superstitions; (c) more than all, there should be an aim to form priests of a real, living, and fruitful faith and perfectly moral life; (d) one of the best aids to a moral life on the part of the clergy would be the suppression of celibacy; (e) lastly, the reform must be introduced in the same way into the monastic orders; for monks and nuns, especially monks, exercise, no less than the priests, a continual influence over the minds of the faithful.

* Among the superstitions that have been most severely attacked I will mention that of the transfer of the House of the Virgin to Loreto, near Ancona.

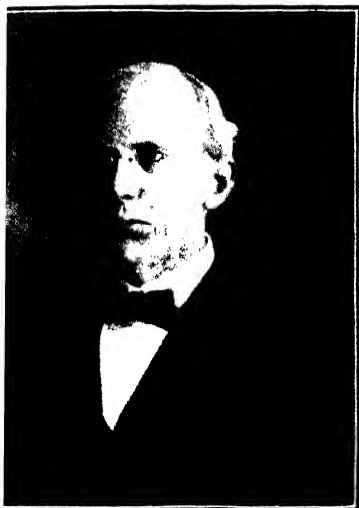
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CONCLUSION.

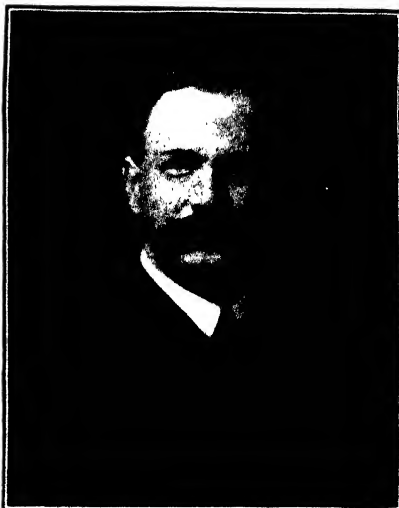
Such are the Modernists. I repeat it, they are not all of like opinion, nor do they see things from the same point of view. Some are preoccupied above all with the relations of Church and State or with social questions; others with theology and science; others with the ideal of a religious life; and, lastly, others who interest themselves in all these questions at one and the same time. And, whatever may be their purpose, they have not been able to avoid a certain amount of vagueness, and even certain contradictions, of which I have not here treated. But what is there astonishing in this, seeing that they are still feeling their way and are passing through a difficult period of transition?

I have said, too, that the Modernists do not mean to leave the Church within whose pale they were born. I reiterate this point. It is from the legitimate authority that they expect these reforms. They wish to remain, so we read again in "The Saint," "on absolutely Catholic ground, looking for the new laws from the old authorities" (p. 66). The editors of the *Rinnovamento* (a Modernist periodical of real worth published at Milan), when censured by Archbishop Ferrari, replied that, though they should not cease to publish the review, they did not any the less cherish "a profound love for the Catholic Church from which they did not wish, nor could they ever bring themselves, to separate" (May, 1907, p. 612). There is the same declaration in the anonymous pamphlet from which I have already quoted: "We have no wish to be rebellious Catholics, but sincere Catholics, desirous of saving Christianity. Our rebellion is at most the force that a loving son might use towards his sick mother to oblige her to conform with medical orders indispensable to her health" ("A Pio X.," p. 23). "Everything will be done to rank us as apostates, but we shall hold firm to our position, ready to endure all, to sacrifice all, except the truth" (*loc. cit.*).

This resolution has disconcerted the pope himself, and greatly irritated him. On the 17th of April, 1907, in bestowing the cap on the new cardinals, Pius X. complained of the Modernists in violent terms. He called them "sowers of tares, apostles of monstrous heresies, rebels." In the recent new syllabus that appeared two



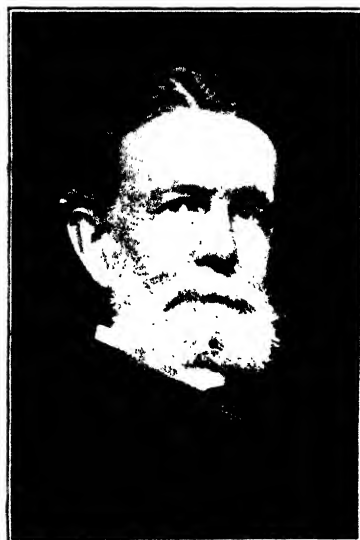
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months ago their opinions were formally condemned. As for the clerical party, they do not hide their anger and scorn. The pope only, they repeat, may suggest reforms: he only can guide the consciences and minds of men, and the Modernists who pretend to arrogate unto themselves this right, and yet remain Catholics, are inconsistent. They are dangerous rebels, wolves in sheep's clothing. Modernism is an octopus of a thousand tentacles (*Unità Cattolica*, No. 90, April 19, 1907), a serpent that hides itself, in order to be more sure of inoculating its venom (*Osservatore Romano*, No. 94, April 21, 1907). It is a great enemy of the Church, a fatal enemy, more dangerous than socialism, liberalism, and even than freemasonry (*Unità Cattolica*, No. 96, April 26, 1907).

These expressions, ladies and gentlemen, will give you a feeble idea of the numerous attacks to which the Modernists have been exposed. Censure, espionage, calumny, low and vulgar defamation,—such are the ordinary means, they say, that have been employed against us ("A Pio X.," pp. 21, 23). We are attacked in the newspapers, in the reviews, in pamphlets, and in books. Our publications have been placed on the "Index." Signor Fogazzaro has been condemned. Don Murri has been suspended from his divine offices (*a divinis*). There is no annoyance to which we have not been exposed.

But the Modernists, so far, have held out well.

If they are condemned, they submit to ecclesiastical authority. They reply: Certainly, we admit it. From your point of view we are in the wrong. It is clear that the present ecclesiastical authority does not think as we do, and we recognize this since you wish it.

Having said this, they continue, nevertheless, to think, speak, and even write, without modifying their ideas.

We can understand that there should be among the Modernists such an employment of expediency which would be inexcusable in men who are masters of their own thoughts, for they believe they can have no influence over their contemporaries except by remaining united to the Church in which they were born. And I think they are right. "So long as we are in the Church, we are listened to," several ecclesiastics have explained to me. "If we separate from the Church, it will be all over with our influence. All those who follow us to-day would then become suspicious of us."

Besides, the Modernists do not purpose doing anything abruptly. They wish to sow ideas and wait patiently until they germinate. They wish to prepare men's minds, to accustom them, little by little, to reflection and liberty, to create an opinion that shall spread and establish itself in due time. And in thirty, or perhaps fifty, years they believe the reforms will come about of themselves, seeing that the ecclesiastical authority will then no longer be able to escape from them.

It is what has taken place in the case of "Americanism." In the United States of America, the country of independence and free individual action, the Roman Catholics enjoy privileges that the old continent has never obtained. The general opinion demanded them, and the Vatican, which knows how to bow to imperious circumstances, acceded to the demands. Why should it not be the same in Italy? think the Modernists. Why should not the reforms in Catholicism be accepted also amongst us? And why should not a first series of reforms bring about others in their train until the complete programme be realized?

Will these reforms be made?

The rôle of prophet is a thankless one, and it is not for me to divine what the future holds in store for us. However, I cannot help expressing my fears. The Vatican is strong, strong indeed by reason of its inertia, and then the people at the present time, especially in the south of Italy, are not ripe for religious spirituality, and will not be for long to come. And, as long as the Vatican is able to rely upon the masses, which are capable of sudden revulsions and of jeering at their former object of superstitious worship, it will not disarm.

Moreover, is an internal reform of official Catholicism possible? at least, reform as the Modernists understand it? The papacy has woven such a close web about itself that, supposing it should one day wish to reform, it would find it impossible to set about the task without breaking away from the past, and in a way putting an end to its own existence. To touch the present system would be to shake the whole edifice built up by the authority throughout the centuries; and what pope will resolve upon such an undertaking? Is not the Catholic Church true to herself in spurning the claims of the Modernists? To satisfy their desires, it would not be sufficient,

indeed, to revise the essential dogmas, common to all confessional Christian communities,—to revise them, that is, by modifying their expression and their theological interpretation while still preserving the fundamental terms; but it would be necessary to transform and often suppress many articles of ecclesiastical doctrine that in the present state of Catholicism are considered necessary to the unity and for the safeguarding of the system.

And will not the Modernists, despite their desire of remaining united to the Church, and patiently waiting thirty or fifty years, tired at last of obtaining nothing, be compelled one day to form a separate party, and create a new form of national and liberal Catholicism?

In the sixteenth century, too, the reformers wished to remain united to the Church of their fathers, but they were compelled to separate from it.

Now the Modernist movement of to-day, as you have doubtless remarked, presents great analogies to those of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli at the beginning of their reforms.

The Modernists have already been accused of a tendency towards Protestantism. They have vigorously and earnestly protested. And, indeed, it would not be to the advantage of the scientific and critical Modernists to unite their cause with that of the Protestants in Italy, where Italian Protestantism is conservative and dogmatic. Besides, they wish to act, I repeat, in the interest of their own Church, in the hope of securing the vitality and prosperity of Catholicism in the future. But will they succeed?

These are some of the questions I put myself, but which I make no pretension to answer. But, however it may be, from this movement that I have endeavored to describe to you, and which is of thrilling interest, some good will certainly arise. Even should it be momentarily arrested, it will not be suppressed. No human power, we are firmly convinced, can arrest the march of truth. And, supposing the Modernist movement should remain a long time in an unsettled state, individual spiritual life, the liberty of conscience, religious criticism and science, the daily practice of duty, and the triumph of social justice can only gain thereby.

As for us, we can only with our wishes accompany these priests and laymen absorbed in the search of truth and the means of prog-

ress. They wish to act alone. They are men of independent soul. Let us respect their desire. Let us not compromise their cause by an unseasonable interference, but let us follow them in thought with all the interest that the conquest of the noblest and most sacred liberties arouses in our minds,—the liberty to open our hearts spontaneously to every manifestation of individual Christian activity, the liberty to worship God in spirit and in truth, in perfect accord with our conscience.

MODERNIST NEWSPAPERS AND REVIEWS.

I.

POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTIONS.

La Rassegna Nazionale (fortnightly). Florence, 46-48, via Gino Capponi. Subscription for foreign countries: 30 fr. a year; 16 fr. six months; 9 fr. three months.

It is not devoted to exegetical or dogmatical questions, but treats occasionally those concerning politics or ecclesiastical government. It is inadequate to give a complete idea of the Modernist movement, being especially a literary review.

II.

SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

Azione democratica, organo della Lega Democratica Nazionale (fortnightly). Turin, 33, via Garibaldi. Subscription, 1.50 fr. a year, not including postage.
Organ of the National-Democratic League.

Battaglie d' Oggi (fortnightly). Editor, Gennaro Avolio. Naples, S. Antonio a Tarsia (Ventaglieri), No. 2. Subscription for foreign countries, 3 fr. a year.

La Fiaccola Democratica Cristiana (weekly). Bologna, 18, via Zamboni. Subscription, 3 fr. a year, not including postage.

Gioventù Nuova (fortnightly). Città di Castello (Perugia). Subscription, 2 fr. a year, not including postage.

La Giustizia Sociale (weekly). Florence, 10, via del Corso. Subscription, 2.50 fr. a year, not including postage.

La Libertà (fortnightly). Fermo (Marche). Subscription, 2 fr. a year, not including postage.

La Montagna (fortnightly). Editor, G. Traina. Palermo, 8, via Giusino. Subscription, 1.50 fr. a year, not including postage.

- * *Rivista di Cultura* (fortnightly). Rome, Società Nazionale di Cultura, 83 piazza S. Eustachio. Subscription for foreign countries, 8 fr. a year.

Not all those newspapers are equal in importance, nor have they the same religious character. Most treat only questions of local interest. Especially good is the *Rivista di Cultura*.

III.

THEOLOGY, DOGMA, BIBLICAL CRITICISM, PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, CHRISTIAN LIFE, ETC.

- * *Il Rinnovamento*, rivista critica di idee e di fatti (monthly). Editors, Aiace Antonio Alfieri, Alessandro Casati, F. Tommaso Gallarati-Scotti. Milan, 15, via Bigli. Subscription for foreign countries: 16 fr. a year; 8 fr. six months.

A very good and important review, giving a clear knowledge of the Modernist movement.

- * *Rivista Storico-critica di Scienze Teologiche* (monthly). Editor, Rev. Ernesto Bonaiuti. Rome, Libreria editrice Francesco Ferrari, 102, piazza Capranica. Subscription for foreign countries, 10 fr. a year.

Rivista delle Riviste per il Clero (monthly). Pubblicazione mensile dell' Unione cattolica tipografica di Macerata. Macerata, 5, piazza del Duomo. Subscription for foreign countries, 7.50 fr. a year.

- * *Studi Religiosi*, rivista critica e storica promotrice della cultura religiosa in Italia (bi-monthly). Editor, Rev. Salvatore Minocchi, D. Theol. Florence, Bibliotheca Scientifico-religiosa, 21, via Ricasoli. Subscription for foreign countries, 12.50 fr. a year.

IV.

A WOMAN'S PAPER.

Pensiero e Azione, rivista femminile Italiana (fortnightly). Milan, 2, via Dogana. Subscription for foreign countries, 5 fr. a year.

V.

A DAILY NEWSPAPER.

Avvenire d' Italia. Bologna, 16, via Albioli. Subscription: 16 fr. a year; 8.50 six months; 4.50 three months, not including postage.

Political daily newspaper. Contains occasionally religious or politico-ecclesiastical articles, some of a Modernist character.

NOTE.—The topic of Religion in Italy has been treated in an illuminating manner by Dr. André at previous congresses. See "The Liberal Movement in Italy," Proceedings of the Congress at London, 1901.

THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS: THEIR PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION.

BY PROF. GASTON BONET-MAURY, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, FRANCE.

The subject of my address, "The Huguenots," brings to my memory the remarkable words of President Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg: "We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a resting-place for those who gave their lives, that the nation might live. . . . But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot hallow this ground. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated to the unfinished work they have so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause, for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

Our forefathers, like yours, the heroes of the Civil War, deserve our admiration and gratitude, since we owe the liberty of conscience, this priceless treasure, to their sacrifice of property and life. However, they were men, consequently sinners. We shall be careful not to canonize them, as Roman Catholics do their great men. To God alone be given the glory! Let us, first, recall shortly what the Huguenots were and what they did.

THE PAST.

Above all, they were genuine Frenchmen. It is simple calumny, when some Roman Catholic writers describe them as foreigners, or Frenchmen who had adopted German or English doctrines. Faber Stapulensis (1512), who five years before Luther asserted the principle of "justification by faith," was a Frenchman from Picardy. French, too, were Guillaume Farel (of Gap in Dauphiné), Gérard Roussel (of Vacquerie in Picardie), Robert Olivétan, Jean Calvin (of Noyon, Picardie), Theodore Beza (of Vezelay, Burgundy), and other founders of the Reformation in our country. Erasmus,

Luther, and Knox had only a stimulating influence on the evangelical movement in France. By others it has been asserted that the Huguenots were a party of ambitious noblemen, that the cause of the religious wars of the sixteenth century was the enmity of the Chatillon, the Condé, and the Rohan against the Guise and the Montmorency. These assertions are all untrue. No doubt there were among the Huguenots a number of illustrious lords, but also many working people, such as Jean Leclerc and the wool-carders of Meaux, Cavalier and the farmers of the Cevennes, who made the Camisards' War. Among them were not only lawyers, like Anne du Bourg and François Hotman, but also many priests, monks, and even bishops of the Roman Catholic Church. In short, the Huguenots were an intellectual and moral *élite* of Frenchmen, selected from the various social conditions. You would find, too, among them women as conspicuous by their character as by their literary ability. In the first rank, three princesses of royal blood: Renata, Louis XII.'s daughter, Duchess of Ferrara; Margaret of Orléans, the "Mæcenass" of the scholars and poets, and who was at times the guardian angel of the persecuted Calvinists; Johanna of Albret, her daughter, the incomparable mother of Henry IV. To these we can add the flower of the nobility: Louise of Montmorency, mother of the three Chatillon (Admiral Coligny, D'Andelot, and Odet); Charlotte of Laval, wife, and Louise, daughter of Coligny, who married Prince William I. of Orange; Eleanor of Roze, Princess of Condé, etc.

A steadfast trust in God Almighty, who has foreordained the elect and leads them through many tribulations to heaven; an entire faith in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer, an invincible hope in the final victory of the gospel; an acute sense and strong feeling of responsibility,—all these virtues formed the common link between these Huguenots of all conditions, and gave them great likeness with your Pilgrim Fathers.

They suffered and fought heroically during two generations in the sixteenth century, and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) during another century, in order to defend religious liberty and to vindicate the right of worshipping according to the true gospel of Christ, purified from all mediæval abuses and superstitions.

During the first period of that very long struggle the kings of France condemned to the stake hundreds of Huguenots. Then, backed by the Guise, the Montmorency, and St. André, they drew the sword and tried to exterminate them by the sword as well as by the stake. But in vain. After all these wars, Henry IV., their former defender, granted them the Edict of Nantes (1598), which gave them great liberty of worship and many financial and military privileges. These heroes who won the first victory were Louis de Berquin, Anne du Bourg, and the great martyr, Admiral Coligny, the Prince of Condé, La Noue Bras de Fer, Duplessis Mornay, etc. This edict secured them, besides religious freedom, sixty-seven years of peace, during which they became prominent through agriculture and industry, and founded a remarkable system of education.

As for the revocation of that edict by Louis XIV. (1685) and the new era of armed persecution which it opened (the *dragonnades*), the kings had no better success in the extermination of the Protestant faith. The main result was to distribute about 400,000 of our best workmen and tradesmen, sailors and soldiers, in all parts of Europe and even on the shores of America, where by their industry they enriched foreign countries.* As for the 500,000 to 600,000 men who stayed in France,—deprived of their ministers, schools, and churches,—they became outwardly “New Catholics,” but compelled by force to attend mass, which in their eyes was a kind of idolatry, they remained in their heart faithful to the Protestant doctrine, and prayed and chanted Psalms on the ruins of their destroyed churches.

Responding to the appeals of Claude Brousson, Jacques Roger, and Paul Rabaut, who risked their lives coming back to France, they resumed their worship in the “Desert.” Then, in the year of the death of Louis XIV. (1715) Antoine Court, one of these heroic preachers, restored discipline and Presbyterian government among them and preserved them from anarchy and fanaticism. At last, owing to the spirit of toleration spread by the philosophers of the eighteenth century, and especially to the energetic attempts of La Fayette (suggested by George Washington), they got from King Louis XVI. the Edict of 1787, which granted them civil rights and freedom of domestic worship. This was the second victory won by our forefathers. In short, it is through this struggle of the Hugue-

* Samuel Smiles, “The French Huguenots and their Industries.”

nots, heroic as it was tenacious, that modern France conquered religious liberty, and was set free from the tyranny of the Roman Catholic clergy. The French Revolution and Napoleon I., by the Concordat (1801), consecrated this double victory of the Huguenots, and gave them back complete liberty and self-government. Ever since, Protestants, whether Lutherans or Calvinists, have enjoyed full citizenship in France.

THE PRESENT.

Let us now glance over the present situation of French Protestantism. Here are its three characteristic features: it is most influential, energetic, self-dependent, and abounding in works. French Protestantism exerts in public affairs an influence quite disproportionate to the number of its followers (about 650,000). Availing itself of the liberties granted by the different constitutions of France since the First Republic and of the advantages granted to it by Napoleon Bonaparte (Law of 18th Germinal, An X, 1802), it has organized itself, built scores of churches, made thousands of proselytes, and acquired a great social and political influence. But for the loss of Alsace in 1871 French Protestantism would have reached again the number of one million which they had in 1685. No better proof of this can be afforded than these complaints of the Roman Catholic ultramontanes, Drumont, the author of "France Juive," and his followers. "The offspring of the Huguenots," so says a Roman Catholic clergyman* "availed themselves of the neutrality of the modern State, and, making alliance with the Jews and Free Masons, little by little, took possession of all the avenues leading to power, helping each other and excluding the Roman Catholics. A great many conspicuous politicians, who most contributed to bringing about the present persecution of the Roman Catholics, are Protestant or have married Protestant women." How untrue the last reproach is, you will understand when I tell you that Waldeck Rousseau and Émile Combes, the leaders of the last anti-Catholic movement, were not at all Protestant, but educated as Roman Catholics and became later infidels. On the contrary, many Protestants—i.e., Georges Berger, R. Waddington, members of Parliament, Auguste Sabatier,

* "De la Tolérance Protestante," by E. Camut, curé de St. Jean (Seine et Marne), January, 1906.

and myself—have come to the defence of some Roman Catholic institutions, when unjustly suppressed.

Nevertheless, it is true that Protestants have a great number of eminent representatives in the various government offices; *i.e.*, the Department of Education. But there are for this fact very good reasons: first, because they gave from the beginning their adhesion to the Republic; secondly, the Protestants displayed remarkable self-dependence, an enterprising and organizing power in critical circumstances, whereas Roman Catholics showed themselves helpless and inoperative. The Lutherans of Paris and Montbéliard after the annexation of Alsace, which deprived them of two-thirds of their congregations, reorganized their church according to the episcopal form of government, and, although adhering to the Confession of Augsburg, left it to the free interpretation of every member. In their turn the Calvinists, conforming to the Act of Separation (Dec. 9, 1905), although it restricts unjustly the rights of a Christian congregation, formed everywhere the so-called *associations cultuelles* and “societies for beneficence.” Through these means they maintained and secured for the future their divine worship, their Sunday and Thursday schools, and provided for the assistance of the poor; while the Roman Catholics, having refused to accept the said law, are still in the most precarious and ambiguous situation. Let us now return to Protestantism.

Unfortunately, owing to the dogmatic exclusiveness and fanatical egoism of the orthodox party, we have not been able to maintain one common church. The orthodox party has constituted the Evangelical Reformed Church, with about 400 congregations, and compelled all their ministers to subscribe to the unchanged Confession of Faith of 1872. On the other hand, the Liberal party, having made at Montpellier a most evangelic declaration, formed the United Reformed Church with about 120 congregations. Finally, in October, 1906, the moderate evangelicals seceded from the ultra-orthodox, and founded at Jarnac a larger platform in order to unite all Presbyterians, under the name of “Union of the Reformed Churches.” The Jarnac movement has spread widely in France, especially in large cities, like Lyons, Rouen, Lille, Nancy, Bordeaux, and held its organizing synod at Paris, June, 1907. It numbers 156 churches, of which 94 belong to the liberal party. There

are, besides, the Lutheran Church with 100 congregations, the Free Evangelical Church with 60, the Wesleyan Church with 28, the Baptist Church with 26, and, last, 28 churches independent of any denomination, which makes a total of 824 churches.

However, even more than by its social influence or organizing power, a religious body shows its vitality by the works it produces. Is it not the Lord Jesus who said, "The tree is known by its fruits"? Now French Protestantism has displayed in the nineteenth century a wonderful richness of works. The institutions founded by it may be divided into three classes: I. Religious works, or works of propaganda; II. Works of education; III. Charities, or works of social assistance.

I. WORKS OF PROPAGANDA.

The Holy Scripture is the "Magna Charta" of every Protestant church. The Bible, indeed, by showing the contradictions of the doctrines and practice of the Roman Catholic Church with the Apostolic Church, was instrumental in the victory of Reformation, and it is still to-day the most powerful means of propaganda. For that capital reason, Protestants began their social work in France by founding the Bible Society of Paris, 1818. Its business is not only to distribute scores of copies of the Holy Scriptures, it cares, too, for the quality. It constantly improves the translations of the original texts, in order to render more faithfully the thought of the sacred writers. Besides the canonical books, it is at present preparing a translation of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, unjustly for a long time excluded from the Protestant Bible. We have, too, in Paris, working for the same purpose, the Bible Society of France and a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society.*

After the Bible Society was born the Tract Society (1822). Its object is to publish and spread small booklets, expressing under various forms the most important and beautiful lessons of Christianity, such as are contained in the Gospels. Amongst its publications we ought to mention the popular "Almanach des Bons Conseils" and the *Ami de la Jeunesse et des Familles*, illustrated monthly. The emulation of the French Protestants was early stimulated by the example

* Its present secretary edits a most interesting monthly, *Le Messager de Messagers*.

of the British and German Protestants, and they founded (1823) the Society of Evangelical Mission to convert the heathen. After having begun with the Bassoutos, a branch of Betschouana, South Africa, little by little it extended its activity to all parts of the world where France has colonies, the Tahiti Islands, New Caledonia, Senegal, Congo, and Madagascar. In the latter country the task is colossal, and has incurred great expense of men and money. Two younger sisters of the Missionary Society have been born since,—the Society for the Evangelization, of French Colonies (1869), a branch of the Société Centrale, and the Society of Coligny (1888). The latter, founded by Dr. Gustave Monod and Rev. Ch. Frossard, intends to help the Protestant farmers or workingmen, miserable in their native country, who will settle in the colonies in Algeria. There it cares for their religious interests in gathering them around a chapel with a minister. However, our Protestants have been careful not to sacrifice for the sake of the conversion of the heathen the people of our villages, bound by the chain of Roman Catholic superstition or fallen into infidelity. From this need have issued several societies, vying with each other in the work of the Domestic Mission: the Evangelical Society (1833), formed by free Presbyterians; the Central Society for Evangelization, with its branches at Bordeaux and Nîmes, founded by Presbyterians of the Established Reformed Church; and the Inner Mission, founded by the Lutherans. These three associations, having the same purposes, differ only in the kind of people they approach. The first one appeals especially to Roman Catholics who are dissatisfied with their priests and have become indifferent or infidel. The second and third give help to the Presbyterian and Lutheran Protestants scattered among the Roman Catholic multitudes and running the danger of becoming Roman Catholic through intermarriage and propaganda. In addition to these societies for Inner Mission ought to be mentioned the MacAll Mission, because of its peculiar unsectarian character. It has its name from a generous Scotch clergyman who, having visited Paris after the Commune in August, 1871, moved by pity for the moral abandonment of our workmen, resolved to devote his whole energy to their moral uplifting, through the knowledge of the gospel. Therefore, he opened some lecture-rooms in the poorest districts of our capital, where he taught them Christian morals and the life of Christ, and to sing hymns.

His object was not to convert them to Protestantism, but to make them true Christians and honest men. Helped by his admirable wife, who had musical gifts, Rev. MacAll succeeded very well and did splendid work. After thirty-five years of uninterrupted work the MacAll Mission has 23 branches in the different cities of France and 10 stations in Paris, where its agents, partly lay men and women, have to deal with the wildest and most corrupt elements of our people, called the "Apaches"; that is, "ruffians." Besides, they have two missionary boats, named "Bon Messager" and "Bonne Nouvelle," which, sailing on the rivers and channels, penetrate the inland of France. The expenses in the year 1905-06 amounted to \$57,210, for which they had received only \$54,364, leaving a deficit of \$2,846.

Through these four or five societies for Home Mission, many thousands of souls have been brought from darkness to light or prevented from losing all belief. The Société Centrale d'Évangélisation at the end of 1906 founded and made self-dependent 89 congregations. From 1903 to 1907 it built 27 churches. Before the Law of Disestablishment, it maintained 1200 churches or temporary places of worship in summer resorts. Since 1906 it supports only 184. Its expenses during these fourteen years amounted to \$1,116,550.

• II. WORKS OF EDUCATION.

Protestants have always been friends of education: remember the motto of the Genevese Church,—*Post tenebras lux*. The French Presbyterians understood that the primary want of their Church was to have clever ministers and learned laymen. Therefore, they founded schools and academies; the latter, above all, for the education of Protestant ministers. The Huguenots had in the seventeenth century seven academies, besides the Genevese Academy founded by Calvin, of which Théodore de Bèze was the first president and in which taught so many eminent professors.* The most flourishing academies were at Montauban, Saumur, and Sedan. All these were abolished some years before the Revocation. After the restoration of public worship in France (1802), the French government established two academies, at Montauban (1808) and Strasbourg (1818). One ought to add the National School of Divinity at

* Borgeaud, "L'Académie de Calvin." Genève, 1900.

Geneva; for, as reward for the services rendered during two and a half centuries to the Presbyterian Church of France, the French students have been permitted to study theology there, provided they pass their examination of B.D. in a Faculty of France. After the annexation of Alsace to Germany (1871) the French Faculty of Strasbourg was transferred to Paris, at the suggestion of W. Waddington (1877), minister of public education, and annexed to the university of our capital. This Protestant School of Divinity succeeded very well, and, owing to the able exertions of Dean Fr. Lichtenberger and of Dean Auguste Sabatier, soon became an intense centre of the scientific study of religion. According to the Strasbourg tradition our Faculty, in spite of the utmost efforts of the leaders of the orthodox party in Paris, never would subscribe to any creed nor impose it upon our students, so that it became suspicious to the Evangelical party. The School of Montauban, on the contrary, submitted to the Confession of Faith of the Synod of 1872, and, as a reward, has been maintained by the rich Orthodox of Paris and Toulouse, who make exclusively subsidies to it. Both Faculties, whose professors and students, nevertheless, keep mutually in friendly intercourse, have victoriously overcome the crisis of the Disestablishment, owing to the liberality of their friends, and because they took advantage of the law of the 9th of December, 1905.

However, the dark spot on the horizon is that the precarious financial condition of many churches in remote and poor districts may discourage the candidates for the ministry. We ought, on the one hand, to secure to the ministers of small parishes a satisfactory salary, and, on the other hand, stimulate the inclination for the ministry among the well-to-do classes of the nation.*

Whereas the Schools of Divinity assure the future of our congregations, the Society of Huguenot History is a representative of our glorious past. Founded in 1853 by a committee of which Charles Read, Charles Waddington, Athanase Coquerel Jr., were the promoters, its object is "to search for, gather, and publish all manuscripts or printed documents of interest for the French Protestant Church." For this purpose the society has a library, the building

* The present number of our candidates for the ministry is as follows: Geneva, 7; Montauban, 12; Paris, 11,—some 30 in all. This sum corresponds to about 120 students in the ministry in the three Schools of Divinity.

of which is a gift of Baron F. de Schickler, with 50,000 volumes and scores of precious manuscripts and prints. It edits an illustrated monthly by Rev. N. Weiss, which reproduces rare manuscripts, thus saving them from oblivion or from nearly certain destruction.

However, it was necessary to make our working people and farmers capable of reading the Bible and the news about Missions, or the glorious annals of the Huguenots. Therefore, some noblemen, as Marquis de Jaucourt, Count Ver-Huel, Baron Delessert, etc., founded in 1829 the Society for Spreading Primary Education among the French Protestants. The latter, incorporated by ordinance of Charles X., a king who was not at all favorable to Protestantism, was the prime mover of popular education in France. In 1833 a member of the committee, François Guizot, became prime minister of King Louis Philippe. On his initiative the Parliament passed the first bill organizing schools for boys and girls in our country. Since 1835 the said society, according to Guizot's plan, tried to have the schools previously opened adopted as public schools by the town councils. Thus it created, in the midst of the ignorant and superstitious countries, centres of light and free inquiry, and, after having intrusted them to the parish, went farther to establish new schools. The advantages gained increased the financial means, so that it could found several training colleges, at Courbevoie (1846), Boissy St. Léger (1856), and gave subsidies to the standard schools at Dieulefit (Drôme), Glay (Doubs), etc.

During the 78 years of its existence the Society for Primary Education has paid 8,217,199 francs (\$1,643,439). It has opened and supported 1,300 primary schools, 6 normal and standard schools. Since 1883, deprived of the subsidies and scholarships granted by the State in consequence of the secularization of all schools, the society was obliged to limit the number of new schools. But, religious teaching having been excluded from the public schools, they considered as an urgent duty the task of providing it on Thursday, which is a school holiday in France. From 1893 to 1907 it gave grants to 3,000 existing Thursday Schools and helped to create 500 new ones.

Thirty years afterwards the Sunday School Society, formed by the Rev. Paul Cook and Montandon (1852), completed the work of the

latter society by providing for the Biblical education of children. However, the Sunday-school work of France had begun much earlier. The first Sunday-schools were established by Rev. Cadoret at Lunéray (1814) and by Rev. Martin at Bordeaux (1815). Paris owed its Sunday-school to Rev. Frederick Monod at the Oratoire Church (1822). Now we have 1,200 Sunday-schools, of which 800 are in connection with the Sunday School Society, teaching about 70,000 children by means of 6,000 teachers. Besides, since our primary schools have become secularized, it has been necessary to provide our school boys and girls with religious instruction. For that purpose we established Thursday Schools. There are now a thousand such schools, attended by about 50,000 children. The Sunday School Society publishes a Book of Hymns, a Handbook of Sacred History, and illustrated leaves. Its general agent, Rev. Charles Biéler, is the author of a "History of the People of God."

From 1884 to 1886, when the Parliament of the Third Republic, under Jules Ferry's energetic impulse, voted the bills on secular, free, and compulsory education of the people, it was only among Protestants that our great minister could find co-operation, because this need of primary education was in our tradition. Let us pay our tribute of gratitude to Ferry's eminent coworkers, Ferdinand and Benjamin Buisson, Félix Pécaut, Jules Steeg. The two last, who had been Protestant ministers, were directors of the School for Head-mistresses at Fontenay-aux-Roses, and stamped it with the Protestant mark.

III. CHARITIES AND SOCIAL WORK.

Although devoting much of their efforts and their money to the expansion of the gospel, of Christian schools, and to the theological training of their ministers, French Protestants did not neglect the works of brotherhood and mutual help, remembering Saint Paul's saying, that "love is the most excellent of virtues." The following are the foremost of these institutions, in the order of time. (1828) A Swiss watch-maker, M. Vauchez, seconded by Marquis de Ségur and M. Laffon de La-débat, founded in Paris the Société de Prévoyance de Secours Mutuel, which was incorporated (1829) and approved by an imperial decree (1857). Its by-laws were taken by

Emperor Napoleon III.'s ministers as the standard in forming the Societies of Mutual Help. Our Protestant society was the prime mover in the Mutualist movement in France, which counts now 26,000 societies. It has a branch in every one of the twenty wards of our capital, besides six branches in the suburbs, each with its physician, chemist, and clergyman. They meet each year at a familiar dinner. (1841) Rev. Frank Vermeil, aided by Mlle. Malvesin (of Bordeaux), established at Paris the first House of Deaconesses, the main object of which was to give a shelter to repentant women. It was also to serve as an institution for nurses, with an infirmary annexed. During sixty-six years it has made great extension in the Departments: it created branches at Strasbourg and Montbéliard. There are, besides, in the Lutheran Church so called "parish deaconesses." (1841) In the same year Count Agenor de Gasparin founded at Ste. Foy a reformatory school for vicious boys, on the model of Wichern's Rauhe Haus (Hamburg), and of the Mettray Colony established by Judge Demetz. (1848) Rev. John Bost, a philanthropist of the same stock as Saint Vincent de Paul and Tuckermann, established at La Force (Dordogne) an asylum for epileptic, blind, and crippled children generally considered as incurables. There he renewed the miracles of apostolic love and generosity. In the following year, the Lutherans founded at Montbéliard a Society for the Protection of Apprentices (1849) that served as standard for the manifold Protestant Patronages d'Apprentis at Paris, Lyons, Nîmes, etc.

In connection with these, ought to be mentioned with encomium the Young Men's Christian Association, which, owing to the liberality of Mr. Stokes (a New York man), was able to build a splendid home at Paris, 14 rue de Trevisé, and has now branches in nearly all churches of France. It is open also to non-Protestant youth, so that their moral influence spreads in much wider circles.

(1868) MM. Rossignol and Jacques Dubochet founded a society to find, gratuitously, employment for working men and clerks, under the name "Société du Travail," without consideration of nationality or worship. It has brought forth many other societies for help by means of work, such as the "Work of rue de Berlin" (for women) and the "Hospitable Houses" at Belleville (for men), and others at Paris, at Marseilles, Nîmes. To-day, indeed, the en-

lightened philanthropists, instead of giving alms, which often mortifies and enervates, prefer to help poor people by procuring them work, which stimulates energy and develops self-dependence.

Finally, Protestant charity has gone a step further. It has understood that the question of helping the poor is inseparable from economical conditions. Therefore, it has suggested other remedies for pauperism, such as a more equitable distribution of the products of work between the employer and the employees, the smoothing of intercourse between them, and the improving of the abodes of workmen. Hence the establishment of Cercles d'Ouvriers, the society for workmen's houses, to which M. Jules Siegfried, Cheysson, have contributed largely. The principle of profit sharing among employees has been adopted by several of our manufacturers, and the Co-operative Societies and Brotherhoods. In all these social reforms our laymen, Charles Robert, Sautter, J. Siegfried, and, also, our clergymen, Tony Fallot, Charles Wagner, Louis Comte, Wilfred Monod, bore the greatest part.

The *Revue du Christianisme Social*, edited by Rev. Chastand, who is also editor of the *Signal*, a daily paper, gathers all information about this subject, and either through articles or through congresses, which met at Nîmes, Rouen, and Geneva, has given strong impulse to the study of social reform. •

In addition, French Protestantism has held first rank in art, in literature, and in the political press. I may quote only the most celebrated names. In art we are proud to mention Baron de Triquety and Bartholdi, the sculptor, well known in your country; the painters Leopold Robert, Ary Scheffer, the Girardets; in literature, J. J. Rousseau, Mme. de Staël, B. Constant, F. Guizot, Eng. Pelletan, Édmond de Pressensé, etc.; in the press, Ad. Michel, N. Peyrat, Albert Réville, and other contributors to the *Siècle*, Nefftzer, Scherer, and Auguste Sabatier, who started the *Temps*.

After having reviewed the work of French Protestantism in these different fields, you will, no doubt, be persuaded of its undiminished vitality. Protestantism shows in France, as in other countries, its peculiar virtues of probity, self-dependence, and initiative. It is owing to their public spirit and disinterestedness that they exert so powerful an influence in all branches of activity. The end of their ambition is less to win numerous proselytes for their Church, than to

propagate in the soul of our countrymen the Christian principles of instruction and free inquiry, mutual help and self-sacrifice.

In spite of their small number, surrounded by a mass of Roman Catholics, and of ecclesiastical divisions, French Protestantism is still increasing, marching towards spiritual union. This unity is aimed at not by means of a dogmatic formula, but by means of a deeper and more intense Christian life.

There are two signs of this better future: (1) The alliance made between Rev. Édouard Soulier, general agent of our Young Men's Christian Association, and Marc Sanguier, the founder and head of the Catholic-democratic society named *Le Sillon*, to maintain Christian belief and morals against the dissolving influence of militant atheists; (2) The Union of Free Thinkers, Free Believers, for Ethical Culture, founded at Paris recently by Rev. I. H. Kaspar, a former missionary, Admiral Reveillère, Professor G. Seaillez, F. Buisson, Pierre Pécaut, and myself. The object is to preserve from gross materialism an important body of free-thinking Republicans. "The latter, so they said in their Declaration, admit that religious feeling is a powerful motive of action, acknowledge that ethical culture ought to give to it a place, and are ready to inquire about the religious forms of culture in order to see what of the principles or methods or ideals of Religion may be used to build up the conscience, without requiring any sacrifice either to Science or to Reason." (June, 1907.)

More and more people are judged from their work, rather than from their creed. Our men lay more stress on what unites than on what divides, and begin to understand their responsibility towards the multitude of indifferent or infidels, wandering astray, sheep without a shepherd.

A glorious prospect lies before us. If we acquire full consciousness of our duty, we can help to raise up our countrymen from their moral and religious depression, and lead them to the overflowing source of moral force and grandeur, which is in the freely interpreted gospel of Jesus Christ. We are, indeed, sowers of a divine seed.

NOTE.—See also articles on Protestant and Liberal Christianity in France, by Profs. Bonet-Maury, Jean Réville, E. Fontanés, and others, printed in the Proceedings of previous Congresses in London, Amsterdam, and Geneva.

THE CRISIS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY ABBÉ A. HOUTIN, OF PARIS.

When one reads a manual of history, one sees that anxieties of conscience, theological discussions, politico-theological rivalries, have always disturbed the heart of man. At times the struggle is particularly poignant and radical: then an ancient form of religion disappears before a new faith, destined to supplant it perhaps completely. The Christian world is at present, in my opinion, in one of these particularly critical periods. Among individuals the best informed, among the peoples the most civilized, who by their birth or history are those adhering to the teaching of Jesus, the religious idea, the religious sentiment, have entered into a crisis extremely grave. The Church of Rome, despite its strictly authoritative constitution, has not escaped any more than the other churches, wherever the theories of a free examination have been vigorously applied.

A priest of this Church, I desire to picture to you the particular manner in which she experiences this crisis. You are already well informed, no doubt, on this matter; but, exact as your information may be, I hope to make it more precise and complete on some points, as one on the inside should be able to do for those outside the Church. Need I add that no one loved his Church more than I; that no one experienced more sorrowfully than I its afflictions, or sought to acquaint himself more exactly with them, in order to aid in remedying them according to his ability, to the fullest degree possible?

The Catholics for whom the traditional orthodox teaching no longer suffices, those who, as a consequence of their historic and philosophical studies, desire that the ecclesiastical authority accord them more liberty of thought and religious conduct, may be separated into three classes.

The first comprises those Catholics, comparatively orthodox, who believe in the foundation of the Church by Christ, the second person in the Trinity, incarnated in a man. They agree that the pope is the head of the Church, as the successor of Peter, to whom Jesus is reported to have said (to him, and, in his person, to his successors), Thou art Peter (*Petros*), and on this rock (*Petra*) will I build my church. But, though they are convinced that the authority of the Roman Church is legitimate, they allow that this authority has been sometimes exercised by ignorant, incapable, and vicious men. They hold that there exist in the Church grievous and superannuated customs, which it is necessary to reform, and opinions wrongly founded or erroneous, which need to be modified. One point they have especially at heart. They do not like the interference of the spiritual power in temporal questions. They disavow the Inquisition. The Syllabus of Pius IX. appears to them a manifestation badly made and inopportune. If the adaptation of the old Church to the new social and political order particularly occupies them, in the domain of science they show themselves imbued with the same liberal principles. They demand more latitude for scholars and savants. They willingly recall the story of Galileo in order to impart to theologians a wise discretion. They admit the inspiration of the Bible, but would confine it to questions of faith and morals. Despite the prohibitions of the pope, they do not hesitate to declare that, as concerns other matters, the Holy Scriptures may contain errors. Finally, just as they hold that in political affairs the time for absolutism and the *coup d'état* is passed, so they desire that questions of conscience be solved by reason, by persuasion, and not by the hurling of anathemas and by excommunication.

The second group is better informed concerning the conclusions of historical science. It knows more exactly what was the teaching of Christ. Jesus believed that the coming of the Messianic Kingdom was close at hand, and consequently he did not found any church. Neither did he dream of identifying himself with the eternal God. He believed himself to be man, and it was only as the consequence of equivocations and misunderstandings that the disciples of his disciples adored him as God.

Many Catholics admit these conclusions. They have solved the

fundamental problem of the personality of Jesus and reject the mythology of Christianity. At the bottom they are Deists, whom one may call, because of their attachment for certain traditions, Christian Deists.

With other Catholics, finally,—this is our third group,—the surrender of ancient beliefs is still more extreme.

Many among the members of this Congress may not understand very well the Catholic mind, not knowing, perhaps, that one of the greatest and most frequent temptations which assail the faithful of the Roman Church is that of all or nothing. A God has established upon the earth an infallible Vicar and founded a visible Church, outside of which there is no salvation, or else the anguish and sufferings to which man is abandoned prove that no superior being exists, for a superior being would have pity on him. As God has not founded the Church, neither instituted the papacy, he does not exist. Deism is a mythological residuum. With the personality of God there disappears also the thesis of the immortality of the soul—a myth and an impossibility—and of free will—an illusion. To these ancient terms there is no corresponding ontological reality. But our fathers believed all that. Our civilization has been founded on these beliefs. We have in our blood ineffaceable traces of them, which will still, although in a less degree, affect our remote descendants. We ought not, therefore, we cannot break with this past. It is necessary for us to let fall very softly these dead ideas or to transport them with precaution into that convenient repository, the history of religions. Looking forward to a scientific era, those who form this third class call themselves Catholics,—positivist Catholics, atheistic Catholics, if you will.

These, then, are the three principal categories of those who call themselves at present indiscriminately “liberal Catholics,” “modern Catholics,” and “progressive Catholics” (*les Catholiques libéraux, les Catholiques modernistes, les Catholiques progressistes*). In reality, it is only the first group which truly merits this name. Logically and according to the historical sense of words, the two other groups are not Catholic, are not even Christian. They are such only through policy, and attach themselves to Catholicism by means of a symbolical interpretation more ingenious than well founded.

That the true liberal Catholics are consistent in remaining in the Church ought, it seems to me, to be accorded. Since they believe in the divine institution of the papacy, they ought not to separate themselves from either. According to their own theories, all reform, in order to be legitimate and efficacious, can only take place by authority and with its consent. They therefore beseech the papacy to be willing to modernize itself, and they await the issue. .

It is more difficult to understand why the Deists or the atheists should desire to continue to make an external profession of Catholicism. But it is a fact. There are many among them doubtlessly partisans of the axiom, "A man of probity does not change his religion." Others may equally think that the form of religion which no longer inspires them is still excellent for the masses of the people, and that it is not advisable to destroy it. It may also be that ecclesiastics who have lost their faith retain their livings. Others remain in order to proselyte, in order to work more conveniently in liberalizing their co-religionists. Others, finally, go so far as to cherish the idea of alienating the Church itself, of secularizing it. The Deists wish to make it a deistic church. The atheists would transform it into a society for moral culture, the guardian of duty, of the moral ideal which humanity pursues in its endeavors for what is good, and which it expresses, they tell us, under the symbols of God and Immortality.

All these Catholics work, speak, and write in order to assure the triumph of their ideas. But the one and the other, even the more moderate, are compelled to use great precautions in order not to offend the religious conservative authorities, and in order not to repel their timid coreligionists, whom they wish to gain to their cause. Such is the extraordinary variety of subtleties which characterize modern or progressive Catholicism. The unsophisticated reader is lost in it. He cannot understand these writings of which the one appears Catholic without being Christian, while the others are Christian without being Catholic: some again express pantheistic, monistic, agnostic ideas in an orthodox form of words, according to the procedure called by these innovators "the reinterpretation of formularies."

Thanks to their prudence, these tactics have much success. The spread of the conclusions of history, and the impossibility of to-day

grasping dogmas framed under the philosophical system of the Middle Ages, have given rise to a great crisis of faith in the Catholic world. Those who undergo this crisis are led into this progressist literature, which has now followers in all countries. Their most moderate prototype has for his pseudonym "Giovanni Selva," and his sponsor, the Italian Senator Fogazzaro, says that his true name is Legion. "He lives, thinks, and works in France, in England, in Germany, in America, as well as in Italy. He wears the priestly garb and the uniform of the soldier, as well as the coat of the civilian. He shows himself at the universities, he hides himself in the seminaries. He fights in the press, he prays in the inmost recesses of the monastery. He almost no more preaches sermons, but he holds conferences. He is exegete and historian, theologian and scholar, journalist and poet. He does not always write. He is at times only an impassioned reader, only a believer as also a thinker. He is a republican, he is a royalist, he is a Christian democrat, he is simply a liberal" ("Les Idées Religieuses de Giovanni Selva," dans *Demain*, no. du 8 février, 1907).

As you know, the ecclesiastic authority is vividly alarmed at the extent and depth of this crisis.

One can divide the existing hierarchy of the Church into two sorts of prelates, the sincere and the politic.

The sincere take no account of the mortal wounds which history has inflicted on their theology. They believe that an orthodox faith has been committed to them as a sacred deposit, and that the gates of hell will never prevail against them. They also refuse consent to any doctrinal change.

The politicians in the Church know how criticism has undermined the ancient beliefs and what danger confronts the Church. Certain among them—these are the minority—say: "The Church is wrong: she is dying. Let us end her with honor. Let us give our mother a becoming funeral. Let her dogmas pass away; let us keep her spirit of charity, of devotion, of sacrifice." The others say: "It must be that criticism is the truth, and that truth is assured the final victory. But to confess the truth would be our immediate death. To a suicide we prefer a slow natural death. We will close our eyes and ears to the truth."

The present pope is not only a sincere man, but also a simple-

minded one. He accepts the traditions of the Church much more than do the ordinary orthodox theologians. In order to give an idea of his mentality, it is without doubt sufficient for me to tell you that he has defended the legend of the *Santa Casa*; *i.e.*, he believes that the house in which took place the conception of Jesus was transported by angels to Italy. Also Pius X. does not comprehend why and how the Catholic faith of the Middle Ages could be changed.

After having multiplied his warnings, complaints, and threats, he has declared, in his allocution of the 17th of April, 1907, the innovators to be rebels. "Rebels are such as profess, and repeat under subtle forms, monstrous errors concerning evolution, concerning dogma, concerning a return to the pure gospel,—that is to say, to the Gospels purified, as they tell us, of the explications of theology, of the definitions of Councils, of the maxims of asceticism,—concerning the emancipation of the Church according to their new manner, without being in revolt, *to end that they be not expelled*; . . . finally, concerning the adaptation to the present time in all, in the manner of speaking, writing, and preaching, of a charity without faith; very indulgent toward unbelievers, but which opens to all the way of eternal destruction."

"All these errors, and a thousand similar ones, they make popular in treatises, in reviews, in books of devotion, and even in romances; they envelop them with certain equivocal terms, with certain nebulous formulas, in order to contrive a pretext, always on the defensive, of such a kind as not to incur open condemnation, and meanwhile to catch the unwary in their web."

The pope has also taken energetic action. By virtue of measures which he has secretly or publicly taken, Father Tyrrell, the ex-Jesuit, has not said mass for nineteen months past, Abbé Loisy for eleven months, Abbé Murri for six months. Thus have been deprived of their priestly functions in England the greatest philosophical apologist of the Church, in France its greatest historical apologist, in Italy the apostle who aims to reconcile the Church and democracy. Later, on the 4th of July last, Pius X. has hurled through the medium of the Inquisition a new Syllabus condemning nearly all the conclusions of the religious sciences.

Finally, in an encyclical issued in the present month, he has repeated the same condemnations. The outcome will be either to

excommunicate at once a great number of heretics, and thereby provoke much trouble in the Church, or to tolerate the innovators who will quietly continue their formidable propaganda.

In any case, however the pope may decide, he has before him something which he will not be able to arrest. This is the popularization of history. With this penetration of historic knowledge among the people the present crisis will become unceasingly more radical and more terrible.

The Church of Rome has surmounted great crises: that of the fifteenth century, when, as a result of the Renaissance, Reason reasserted itself against the legends of the Middle Ages; that of Deism in the eighteenth century, when, after the awakening of the sciences, Reason began to know the laws of the universe. But these crises took place among a small *élite*. Orthodox Christianity was still very powerful. It was able to dominate Reason, as yet poorly armed. At the present day the solutions of the problems of Jesus are very clear, and those Roman institutions, the Index and the Inquisition, can no longer shackle the liberty of the press. Sapped in its historical bases, the Roman Church, like other orthodoxies less marked, will be obliged to become a small sect or to adapt herself to new religious conceptions.

But can the Roman Church thus adapt herself? The Church which declares herself infallible, which imposes as dogmas so many historical errors, which utters her anathema on all attempts at a new interpretation,—the Church of Rome, is she not petrified? Can any one hope for a different line of conduct on the part of the popes of the future? There have been learned popes, tolerant popes, even sceptical popes. What attitude have they taken toward the truth? What attitude have they taken toward charity, and especially toward the important question of the reunion of Christianity? As a great historian has said, "It is not always the same pope, but it is always the same papacy."

But confronting the papacy are no longer the humble, respectful, timid men of former times. The new generation is, above all, logic and fond sincerity. In response to the refusal of the papacy we hear to-day in France the outcry of the modern spirit: "The Church does not admit that she is mistaken, she does not retreat from a false opinion. To those who demonstrate her in error she

responds with an anathema. Rather than extend a hand to Justice she embraces Fatality. For this no mercy will be shown her, and she will drink to the brim the chalice of her stupidities and her adulteries."

O sons and heritors of the Reformers of the sixteenth century! You see beginning in this Church of Rome, which condemned your fathers without listening to them,—you see beginning, I repeat, a religious struggle better informed and more radical than that of Wickliffe, of John Huss, of Luther, and of Calvin. Great is the sorrow and distress of us who see crashing down upon us the ancient and venerable dome under which we had believed we might safely remain. For you, who have never considered Rome as the whole Church and have held her action to be often only a tyrannical oppression,—for you there is nothing surprising in our destruction, our sufferings, and the struggles which we must encounter. Your fathers and you, even you, have known the same vicissitudes, and in the sweat of your brow and the tears of your heart have reconstructed for yourselves religious shelters where you live in peace and full of energy for the service of God and of humanity. In our present anguish your experience remains our encouragement and our hope.

FIFTH AND CLOSING SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, SANDERS THEATRE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, SEPTEMBER 26, 10 A.M.

President S. A. ELIOT.—The Council will come to order. We will have for our presiding officer this morning a former governor of Massachusetts, a former Secretary of the Navy, president of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University,—Hon. John D. Long. [Applause.]

Mr. Long took the chair, and spoke as follows:—

The time has come in the progress of this International Congress of Liberal Religions, in which we are all so much interested, to welcome it to this most ancient of American universities, which, by the way, recognizes liberal religion as the highest education, and especially to welcome here the members of this Congress from other lands than our own,—other, however, only in territorial boundary, not in the sympathy of thought and culture and ideal. It is of course fitting that this welcome should be given by the head of this university. It is not necessary that I should introduce him, for he is known the wide world over. I need only name him,—President Eliot of Harvard University. [Applause.]

CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—There cannot be a place in the wide world where a great body of religious liberals can be more welcome than at Harvard University. The principles which unite this Congress, these believers, are the principles on which Harvard University was founded and has ever lived,—pure religion, perfect freedom, voluntary co-operation in service to mankind.

Pure religion. You may read on the college gates declaration of the purpose for which this institution was founded: "In order

that the churches may not be left to an illiterate ministry when our present ministry shall lie in the dust." There was the fundamental motive for the establishment of this institution in 1636. Our ancestors came hither in search of religious liberty: they also met to find here political liberty. They also had in mind, and their descendants have always kept in mind, that perfect liberty is individual liberty. Not liberty for a class, not liberty for a tribe or a nation or any section of mankind, but perfect liberty is individual liberty.

I venture to think that pure religion is also individual. What is the best definition of religion that mankind has invented in 2700 years? Micah's "To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God,"—not our God, not your God, but *thy* God,—the individual God, different for every individual. Can we imagine that Moses and Aristotle and Saint Augustine, Luther, Pasteur, Darwin, worshipped the same God? Their ideas of God were their own, individual, different, and all that pure religion requires of us is that each should walk humbly with his own God.

Now Harvard is intensely individualistic, because we have always believed in individual liberty and individual religion. Therefore, we welcome here all religions, all types of the Christian religion, and, in addition, the Jewish, the Buddhist, the Confucian, every mode in which men may, each for himself, walk humbly with his God.

I listened with great admiration to the address given on Monday by Dr. George Gordon. He spoke of the very significant principle that religion and liberty going together meant considerateness, tenderness towards others, not assumption of power or pride of opinion, but liberty with religion should be humble. That is exactly what we try to teach in Harvard University concerning liberty and concerning religion. We believe with the prophet Micah that every religious man and every free man walks humbly with his God. And, then, you must have all observed that in several of the addresses made before the Congress there has been a tendency to desire for religious liberals something more than what has been mentioned as the product of "the cool reason." There has been expressed a longing for the warmth and glow of faith and belief and hope and happy expectation. Now every university must say Amen to that longing, and for a university it is more than a longing, it is a confident belief. The university stores up acquired knowledge, and maintains care-

ful methods of diffusing and perpetuating that knowledge. This knowledge is fact or truth, and precious indeed is the deposit. But the university does much more and something much greater. It knows the power of the human imagination, it knows that the human imagination has invented, discovered, created, all letters, numbers, arts, trades, societies, poetry, philosophy, governments, and religions. These are all the products of this ineffable human imagination. Can there be any place in the world where the power of the imagination is more clearly understood and more reverently cherished than in a university? At any rate, in Harvard University we know, study, honor, and almost worship this power of the human imagination. But we believe that in religion, just as in science, the processes of asserting truth and of belief, hope, expectation, faith, are different, and that for the progress of the truth and the increase of the power of the imagination this distinction should be carefully observed, in religion as well as in research and investigation. This distinction I have sometimes felt religious liberals, like many other people, were in danger of losing sight of. We know in the university that the progress of exact science is dependent on the play of the human imagination. But we know, too, that, when the imagining genius throws his searchlight out into the enveloping fogs, at every moment he must submit his glimpse of what he thinks he sees to the tests of subsequent observation, to the test of the cool reason. It is just so with liberal religion. The hope, expectation, visions, of religion should be all the time submitted to the tests of the sincere, candid, truth-loving reason.

The CHAIRMAN.—A report will now be made by the Committee on Resolutions by its Chairman, Rev. Valentine D. Davis, of London, editor of the *Inquirer*.

Mr. DAVIS.—Sir, I have the honor on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions to present for your acceptance three separate resolutions. The first is a pious aspiration in which we invite the members of this Congress all to unite,—

That the members of this International Congress of Religious Liberals, assembled in Boston September 22-27, send greetings to those who in all lands

are striving to unite pure religion and perfect liberty, and a message of special sympathy and encouragement to those who labor amid difficulty and hardship in lonely places, that they may stand fast and realize the greatness of the fellowship to which they belong. [Applause.]

The second resolution is one in which we invite the guests of this Congress, the guests of Boston, to unite. It is impossible for us to put into words what we feel as to the manner in which we have been received here by the city of Boston and our friends. But we could not be content to leave the city without some expression of our feeling, and it is put into the words of this resolution:—

That the members of this Congress, the fourth biennial gathering organized by the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, having been received in Boston with boundless hospitality, desire to express their heartfelt gratitude to all who have contributed to the signal success and happiness of these days of meeting, and especially to the Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr., Governor of Massachusetts, for his cordial reception of the Congress; to the ministers and members of the churches of Boston and the vicinity; to the President of Harvard and other members of the university for their much-appreciated welcome; and, finally, to the members of the Executive and other Local Committees under the leadership of Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, the President, and the Rev. Charles W. Wendte, the devoted Secretary of the Council. [Long applause.]

The third resolution is concerned with the future:—

That the next meeting of the International Council be held in the year 1910, the centenary of the birth of Theodore Parker and the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Francis David, the martyr bishop of the Unitarians of Hungary;

That the invitation received from the Protestantenverein and other liberal associations of Germany to hold the next meeting in Berlin be cordially accepted. [Applause.]

The resolutions submitted were adopted by a unanimous vote.

THE CHAIRMAN:—"John Calvin and the Reformation Monument in Geneva." An address under this title will now be given by Professor Montet, of Geneva, whom I have the pleasure to present to you.

JOHN CALVIN AND THE REFORMATION MONUMENT AT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.*

BY PROFESSOR EDOUARD MONTET, D.D., OF GENEVA.

In speaking of Calvin before an assembly like this,—an assembly which, owing to the fact that it is composed of the representatives of so many different churches, even of different religions, bears solemn witness to the eternal principle of freedom of religious thought,—I feel that an imperative duty is laid upon me, first of all, to condemn in the great Reformer of the sixteenth century what is deserving of condemnation. What we condemn in Calvin is that narrow dogmatism, so intolerant, which led him into the worst excesses of persecution; also the dogma of predestination which sharply divided humanity into two distinct, irreducible categories, and offered as the only justification of so terrible a decree—concerning which Calvin himself said, “I confess it must fill us all with fear and trembling”—the affirmation that it was the will of God.

What we condemn in Calvin, I say, is the intolerance inseparable from his theology, which has been one of the bitterest fruits of the propagation of Calvinism wherever it has spread.

Just as in Geneva we felt the need, for conscience' sake, of erecting in 1903 a monument in honor of Servetus before dreaming of erecting one in 1909 in honor of Calvin and the Reformation, so for me it is a command of conscience openly to break with the intolerance of the Reformer before proceeding to make an apology in his favor.

How can a Liberal Protestant, a Unitarian, a disciple of Christ, free from all dogmatic bonds and from all narrowness of mind, undertake an apology of Calvin? If I ask this question at the outset of my address, it is because, in Europe at least, it has been more than once put to me. Various liberal religious thinkers in Switzerland, France, Holland, and elsewhere, have not concealed their sur-

* All quotations from Calvin are taken from the “Corpus Reformatorum,” edition Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss.

prise at the news that the idea of a monument to Calvin and the Calvinistic Reformation took its rise (for such was the case) amongst the liberal religious section of the Church. And, more, it must be admitted that not a few Liberal Protestants gave it a cool reception, manifesting an evident lukewarmness in the enterprise, especially when it became a question of contributing to its realization.

As for me, Liberal Protestant as I am, I yet feel perfectly free to speak in praise of Calvin, and it is for the express purpose of showing the perfect freedom with which I do so that I desired to condemn at the outset what in Calvin and his doctrine ought to be condemned.

Yes, through the centuries which separate us men of the twentieth century from our religious ancestors of the sixteenth, through the lapse of time which has toned down differences and righted all things, the Unitarians and Independent Religious Thinkers of to-day, forgetting the intolerance from which they have suffered, and judging doctrines with the impartiality of the historian of dogmas, can reach out a hand of fellowship to Calvin and his followers, and call to them across the ages: "You and we both belong to the same spiritual lineage: you and we are, in fact, children of the Reformation. It is, in truth, the same religious work which you started and undertook which we are carrying on and which we shall accomplish. It is the eternal gospel, of which we are, after you and with you, the apostles and preachers."

I.

The first bond between Calvinism and Unitarianism is the master conception of the theology of the great Reformer; namely, the *Sovereignty of God*.

Doubtless the Deity of Calvin's theology is Trinitarian, and implies the absolute divinity of Jesus.

To us, on the other hand, God is One, and, however sublime the rank we assign to the person of Jesus, we attribute to him in no degree the character of Deity.

But it is neither at the Trinitarian nor the Unitarian point of view that we have to place ourselves in treating the question of the Divine Sovereignty. The opposition, in itself so radical, between the dogmas

of Trinitarianism and Unitarianism does not enter into the question here. The important thing is that, by Calvin as by us, God is regarded as All-Powerful, whatever may be our conception of his nature and essence. In reality, Calvin was as convinced of the Sovereignty of God as is the Mussulman, who, like the Unitarian, is out and out monotheistic.

"The power of God," says Calvin, "is manifested in His creation and continual government of the world" (I. C., i. 5). "In fact, the Lord takes to Himself omnipotence, and His will is that we should recognize it in Him. Ruler of heaven and earth by His providence, He so nearly measures all things with His compass that nothing happens which has not been decreed by Him (Ps. 115: 5). For, when He says in the Psalm that He does all He wills, He says it with unwavering determination and deliberate intention" (I. C., i. 16, 3). The will of God is the first and sovereign Cause of all things, for nothing happens without His will and permission.

On this declaration of the Sovereignty of God I am at one with Calvin, and consequently could not accept the theories of some modern theologians as to the limitation of the Divine Power.

An eminent Christian thinker, Pastor Wilfred Monod, well known in French Protestant churches for his breadth of thought, his zeal in furthering the cause of Christian socialism, and likewise the boldness of his dogmatic theories, affirms that God, as we know Him, and to the degree in which we can follow His action in the universe and in society, is *powerless*, and has need of our co-operation in order to triumph over sinful humanity, and that, as a consequence, the power of God increases and extends in proportion as we lend Him our aid.

I am quite willing to admit the originality of this point of view, and I realize in a measure that the social evils, to the cure of which Mr. Monod is so devoted, may well suggest to the sensitive and thoughtful mind such an hypothesis as a limitation of the Divine Power. But, so far as I am concerned, I could not bend the knee to an infirm and powerless Deity, and from my point of view such an imperfect human conception of God is anthropomorphic.

No! I can only conceive of God as omnipotent, as absolutely sovereign, and on this question of the Divine Sovereignty I remain as uncompromising as the authors of Deuteronomy or of the Second

Isaiah, the leading representatives of Monotheism in the Old Testament, and I am prepared to repeat with the disciple of Mahomet, "God is the Mighty (*El 'Azîz*), the Powerful (*El Kâdir*), and everything, absolutely everything, is under, absolutely under His omnipotent control."

The dogma of predestination is the form *par excellence* under which Calvin affirms the Sovereignty of God.

A few quotations from the "Institutes" may not be out of place here:—

"That the gospel of life," writes Calvin, "is not to be freely preached to all the world, and that even where it is preached all are not to receive it, in this diversity there appears an admirable secret of the judgment of God, for there can be no doubt that it is only according to His good pleasure. . . . It is evident that it is ordained by the Divine Will that Salvation should be offered to some and foreclosed to others" (I. C., iii. 21, 1).

"We affirm, then, as the Scripture has evidently shown, that God has once predestinated in His eternal and immutable counsel those He desires to save and those He desires to send to perdition" (I. C., iii. 21, 7).

"And what I affirm should not seem strange: the fact is, God not only foresaw the fall of the first man, and in his fall the ruin of the whole of his posterity, but He predestinated it" (I. C., iii. 23, 7).

It follows from these passages, as well as from the whole tenor of Calvin's theology, that original sin, "that hereditary corruption and perversity of our nature, which renders us deserving of the wrath of God" (I. C., ii. 1, 8), and predestination, which is, in reality, but another way of putting the same thought, only throw into full light the Sovereignty of God who by an absolute act of His will pre-determined the fall of the first man, and consequently of the whole of the human race, and sovereignly predestinated some to eternal life and others to eternal perdition.

I am not seeking here to raise the question of the contradictions contained in the Calvinistic conceptions of original sin and predestination. I am looking at the subject from a higher point of view, and trying to disengage what may be called the philosophy of these dogmas.

Inspired by the true Christian spirit, I would seek for the soul of truth embedded in these erroneous doctrines, and under the form in which the great Reformer has expressed them. For an error which has dominated the thought of successive generations has only done so by virtue of the element of eternal truth of which it is the imperfect embodiment or travesty.

The truth at the bottom of the doctrine of predestination is just this belief in the Divine Sovereignty and Providence, to which all here can subscribe. It was because Calvin was profoundly convinced that God reigns over the world and humanity, it was because this conviction was so deeply rooted in his conscience, that his religious genius, nourished on the Bible, to which he attributed an absolute authority, was at first led little by little, and then urged on to rear the whole structure of Christian theology on the foundation of the dogma of predestination.

I am happy to be able to quote, in support of what I am here bringing forward, the opinions of two men of widely different tendencies of thought, one a native of your own country and the other a native of mine.

Mr. Edwin D. Mead, of Boston, in a speech he delivered in Geneva at the Palais Eynard in 1905, a speech which was heartily applauded, said, "Do not forget that to Calvin the doctrine of predestination meant specially the Providence of God" (*"Actes du 3e Congrès International du Christianisme Libéral et Progressif,"* p. 64).

A few years before, in 1901, one of the most distinguished representatives of aggressive orthodoxy in France, Professor Doumergue, the author of a masterly work on Calvin, which is now in process of publication, declared in an assembly of students at Geneva, in which I had the honor to take part, that "to Calvin the doctrine of predestination was but an expression of the idea of providence."

II.

Faith in the sovereignty of God is not the only point of contact between Calvin and Liberal Protestants and Free Religious Thinkers. There are other bonds which unite us to the great Reformer and his school, and I desire to bring before you what is, historically speaking,

a new fact which of itself is enough to explain the line of descent of the Unitarians in English-speaking countries from the Puritans.

This fact may be defined thus: Calvinism, by its narrow and intolerant dogmatics, by its uncompromising religious and ecclesiastical spirit, has produced men of will and action. It has communicated to its disciples a germ, so to speak, of that sovereignty of will which it attributes in so peremptory a manner to God. To employ a characteristic French expression, Calvinism, by its very intolerance, "has carved men out of one solid block of spiritual substance," men of inflexible will. Islam, too, with its unyielding monotheism, its doctrine of fatality which has found in the East so many defenders, has produced the same results. It also has given birth to men of iron will.

And here we put our finger, so to speak, on what has been called the *vertus-défauts* (defects of the virtues) of Calvinism.

The dogmatic narrowness of orthodox Calvinists, the conviction that they alone were in possession of religious truth, and that beyond their church and creed there was naught but error and darkness; their belief in

"The little garden walled around,
Chosen and made peculiar ground";

their assurance of their own salvation and their certitude of their own election,—in a word, that agglomeration of convictions in which the true and the false were evidently mixed, but which was dominated by a willing release from evil and a passionate desire after good,—that *ensemble* of convictions, I say, forged characters of iron and steel.

It is said that on his death-bed Cromwell asked his chaplain, "Is it possible to fall from a state of grace when one has once been in it?" "No, my lord," replied the minister. "Well," added Cromwell, "I am sure that I was once in a state of grace." * This episode and these declarations are an historical demonstration of the truth for which we are here contending.

It is in this irresistible strength of will, the source of which is in Calvin's doctrine, that we find the foundations of more than one state and republic.

* Guizot, "Histoire de la République d'Angleterre et de Cromwell" (1649-58), vol. ii. p. 393. Paris, 1854. This fact is attested by numerous English historians.

Such was the Republic of the Seven Provinces. It was not till after William the Silent (1584) had embraced Calvinistic Protestantism and had become leader of the Gueux in 1572 that the Union of Utrecht named him, in 1579, stadtholder, and that later, in 1581, the Republic was founded. Such, too, was England during the Protectorate (1653 to 1658) under Cromwell, that zealous Calvinist.

Such were the Puritan States successively established in America by the followers of Calvin: in 1630 in Massachusetts; in 1636 in Connecticut; in 1638 in Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire,—States which formed in 1650 the Federation of the United Colonies of New England.

Such also in more recent times were the Transvaal and Orange Republics, founded in 1834 by the Calvinistic Boers, partly of Dutch origin and partly descendants from the French Huguenots.

M. Brunetière, in a brilliant lecture on Calvin and the Reformation delivered in Geneva a few years ago (1901), said that Calvin had, if I may be allowed the word, *aristocratized* religion. Mixing up, in the principle of his Reformation, politics and ethics, Calvin, by his religious and moral severity, could not but establish the most authoritative of rules, alike in Church and State. •

Without doubt, he was authoritative in these two domains. Indeed, he was so by nature, by intellectual temperament, and in the very native hue of his resolution.

But the fact remains, not less certain, that his Reformation, as the statements we have brought forward prove, eventuated in the Democracy.

In Calvinism the democratic form of government, both in State and in Church, proceeds from the principle of equality between all believers, resulting from the fundamental doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty.

Professor Osgood, an American author, writes: "The modern revolutionary movement began, not in the eighteenth, but in the sixteenth century. Protestantism, especially in the form which Calvin gave it, was hostile to absolutism, both in Church and in State, and carried with it a moral vigor without which the mere revival of classical learning would have been powerless to effect any deep social changes.

Calvinism meant democracy in church government. The local church furnished a much better model than any Greek state. The theory upon which it was based was easily transferred to the domain of politics." *

"Everywhere where Calvinism has spread," said Mr. E. D. Mead at the Palais Eynard, "it has sown broadcast the seeds of democracy."

This remarkable fact is visible in all churches of Calvinistic origin. Whether we turn to Knox and the Presbyterian churches in Scotland, to the Walloon churches in Holland, to the Reformed churches in France, or to the Calvinistic communities of other countries in Europe and America, we find that the ecclesiastical polity of them all is democratic.

The last and profound cause of all these events, so striking both in religious and political polity, was undoubtedly the genius of Calvin, that sculptor of strong characters.

From this point of view Calvin has been the leader of Unitarian and Liberal Protestant believers. In the United States and in England the Unitarians, in the energy of their will to live, in establishing their faith and church, in spite of all the difficulties they encountered, have given proof that they were men of indomitable force of character, true descendants of those of whom your poet sings:

"They were men of present valor, stalwart old iconoclasts,
Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that all virtue was the Past's."

Lowell.

In Europe also Liberal Protestants have given evidence of their vitality by the capacity to survive they have never ceased to manifest. Everywhere in the minority, everywhere resembling "the little one that afterwards became a thousand," not only have they maintained their right to exist as churches, but they have compelled the respect and consideration of the orthodox majority.

It is for the reasons we have here enumerated, on the one hand the spiritual religious ties which unite us to Calvin, on the other the force of will and energy of character we have inherited from him,—

* Quoted by J. J. Roget, "The Projected International Monument to the Heroes of the Protestant Reformation at Geneva, a Plea for Anglo-Saxon Support" (p. 24), Geneva, 1907.

it is for these reasons, I say, that we Liberal Protestants would offer our meed of praise to Calvin, and would contribute to the erection of a monument in honor of his genius and his Reformation in the ancient Swiss city of Geneva, the centre of his activity.

We desire to invest this event with an international character worthy of it. Calvin's influence has been world-wide. Politically, socially, and religiously, his sanative and invigorating spirit has breathed through Europe and America, and modern democracies are all, in one way or another, inheritors of his genius.

We desire that Calvinists of all countries, and all churches of Calvinistic descent, should take part with us in this work. Representatives of the ancient Calvinistic faith, believers in the Trinity and Predestination, representatives of moderate orthodoxy who have made a selection from the dogmatic faith bequeathed them to Calvin, representatives of modern belief, Unitarians and Liberal Protestants, all should unite in this act of gratitude to the great Reformer of the sixteenth century.

The monument which will be erected in Geneva in 1909 will be the testimony of all the spiritual descendants of Calvin to that principle of liberation from all religious and political servitude which is the manifest result of the work accomplished by the French Reformation in the sixteenth century. •

The central figure of the monument will, of course, be that of Calvin himself. Around this central figure will be grouped his principal collaborators, Farel, Beza, Knox, etc., and these again will be surrounded by the figures of great Calvinistic statesmen, such as William the Silent, Cromwell, Coligny, and one of the great Puritans of New England and others,—all men who were inspired by the spirit of the Reformer and had something of his indomitable will.

These were all, in the different circumstances in which they were placed, men of faith, of that faith of which Christ said "it could remove mountains."

In 1909 we shall celebrate a double anniversary in Geneva: the fourth centenary of the birth of Calvin (1509) and the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his Academy, to-day the university, founded by the Reformer in 1559. The foundation stone of the monument to the heroes of the Reformation will be laid in the presence of a concourse of persons from all parts of the world, and we shall invite

to the glorious three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of our university representatives from all sister universities.

Members of the International Congress of Religious Liberals, you will be present on that occasion; for, as representatives of the culture of the New World, your place will be with us at Geneva in 1909.

Dr. J. M. WHITON, of New York.—Allow me, Mr. President, to present the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That this Congress has learned with great satisfaction of the movement initiated at Geneva, and seconded in various European countries and America, to mark in 1909 the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Calvin by a monument in that city commemorating that illustrious man and the influences proceeding from him, and from the great men to whom he passed on the torch of progress for the advancement of freedom, education, and ethical religion.

Recognizing a just distinction between what Calvin inherited from his great master Augustine and what he himself contributed to the thought of his time, and in view of the latter as shared consciously or unconsciously by the freest and most catholic religious fellowship of to-day, this Congress heartily commends the proposed memorial to the favorable regard and co-operation of all who stand for a free church in a free state, for individual liberty under individual responsibility, and for the religious unity of all faithful souls.

It was thought best, Mr. Chairman, by the committee of this Congress that with this resolution should be coupled another which has been prepared by them, and which in conjunction with this I will proceed to read:—

Resolved, That this Congress also expresses its sympathy with the action taken toward the erection of a monument in the ancient city of Vienne, France, in commemoration of its former distinguished citizen and good physician, Michael Servetus, the martyr to freedom of thought and religious veracity.

The CHAIRMAN.—The question is upon the adoption of these resolutions. If there is no objection, I will put the vote on them both at the same time.

VOICES.—Separately, separately.

The CHAIRMAN.—There is objection. The question is upon the adoption of the first resolution with reference to the monument to Calvin. Those in favor of the adoption of this resolution will say

"Aye." ["Aye."] Those opposed will say "No." ["No."] It is a vote.

The question is upon the adoption of this second resolution. Those in favor of the adoption of this vote will say "Aye." ["Aye."] Those opposed will say "No." [A single voice, "No."] It is a practically unanimous vote.

"The Tendency of Positive Religions to Universal Religion." Under this title an address will now be given by Professor Pfleiderer of Berlin. [Applause.]

THE TENDENCY OF POSITIVE RELIGIONS TO UNIVERSAL RELIGION.

BY PROFESSOR OTTO PFLEIDERER, UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN, GERMANY.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century it was generally believed that the history of religion began with the knowledge and worship of the one true God, Creator of heaven and earth, and that the many false or heathen religions arose later through apostasy and deterioration from this original faith. For the Church this belief was grounded and established upon the early Biblical narratives, according to which God revealed himself to our first ancestors in paradise and then again to Noah, the father of all who survived the deluge. But even in the rationalistic circles of the so-called *Illuminati*, whose rise dates from the seventeenth century, and which traced the origin of religion not to a positive, primitive revelation, but to the innate human reason, it was at first considered self-evident that the original religion of humanity could have been no other than that monotheistic faith which alone can satisfy the universal reason of man. The origin of the many different heathen religions was explained as the result of human caprice and perverseness, and especially the deception of selfish priests, by which the truth once known and accepted was distorted and corrupted.

The philosopher and historian, David Hume, with his keen intellect, was the first to see that this theory is pure fiction and utterly unhistorical. He distinguishes between the basis of true religion, which is certainly the reason, and the origin of the actual religions of the peoples, which must be sought on the irrational side of human nature, especially in the feelings of fear and hope and in fantasies of the imagination, which invented beings like unto men as the efficient causes of those natural events and phenomena whose real causes were unknown. Therefore, the primitive religion was not

monotheism, but polytheism and animism, or the belief in spirits, as the earliest historic reminiscences of mankind everywhere bear witness. Only later on did monotheism develop out of polytheism, and even then not by means of the rational observation of the order of nature, but owing to irrational motives, such as national vanity, which may have led one people to declare its god to be the highest and finally the only God, or to interested devotion, which led to the adulation of an especially beloved divinity in higher and higher terms, until infinity and eternity became his predicates and attributes. So it happened that ordinary fear and adulation accidentally led to the same result as reason and philosophy; namely, monotheism. But, even when this result had anywhere been attained, human nature proved too weak to adhere to it permanently. Man's imagination and his need of communion made him yearn for nearer and more approachable gods, to mediate between the supreme God and the world. In practical life the importance of these mediatory beings soon surpassed that of the highest God. Thus the whole history of religion oscillates between the movement toward monotheism and the tendency towards polytheism. It is a purposeless play of irrational motives, whose results only accidentally and temporarily coincide with the demands of reason. According to this theory, reason is wholly without influence in the real history of religion, although, according to Hume's own premise, she is the basis of true religion.

This theory is undoubtedly interesting. It is equally significant for its keen insight into the empirical reality of the historical religions, in which the irrational undeniably plays a great rôle, as well as for its lack of understanding of the inworking and co-operation of reason in the purposive development of the religions upon which their growing content of truth and real value rests. Hume has the merit of having set up, for the philosophy of religion as well as for epistemology, the problem of a reconciliation of rationalism and empiricism.

German philosophy, since Leibnitz, has been at work on the solution of this problem. According to Leibnitz, the positive historical religions are related to the rational kernel of religion, just as accidental, empirical truths in general are related to the necessary and eternal truths of reason. As the latter virtually exist unconsciously in our

souls from the beginning, but are called into conscious existence only through and by means of our experience, so the idea of God as the perfect being is not innate in the mind as a complete cognition or clear perception, but as an unconscious tendency, which becomes conscious of itself in the experience of the positive religions, which are related to the religion of reason not, as the English and French *illuminati* thought, as contrast or contradiction, but as the necessary preparatory stages and the essential means to the realization of the latter. As the confused mental presentations of actual experience furnish the material out of which the clear perceptions of reason must be developed, so the presentative forms of faith and the ceremonies of the positive religions must serve as the means for raising the mind to the knowledge of the religion of reason. Herein lies their historical justification and necessity, and also their limitation and relativity. Out of this view a new problem arises for the philosophy of religion; namely, to comprehend the positive religions historically, as relatively true stages in the development of the rational religion which lies concealed in them, and can only realize itself through them, instead of, as heretofore, criticising them and measuring them by our preconceived idea of the religion of reason, only to condemn them.

Lessing and Herder proceeded still further in this direction. Lessing viewed the history of religion as a gradual and continually progressive education of the human race by divine revelation, which adapted and accommodated itself to the gradual growth of man's powers of comprehension; that is to say, passed through a process of evolution in which every stage contained truth commingled with error. This, also, holds true of Biblical religion; for, according to Lessing, the Old and the New Testaments are simply two primers of the divine pedagogics, for the elementary instruction of the race. They both contain valuable truths, but these need to be developed into the universal truths of reason, if they are to be of service or benefit to mankind. Out of a Biblical religion, founded upon accidental historical truths and such heteronymous motives as the fear of punishment and the hope of reward, Lessing expected the development of an eternal gospel of human perfection, in which the good should be loved and done for its own sake. Lessing did not identify the Biblical Christianity of the Church with the universal

religion of reason, but considered it simply as the highest stage in the evolution towards this ideal goal. Generally speaking, he has also succeeded in bringing out the value of the *two* sides of the conception of the relative truth and the temporary stage of an historical evolution with a juster sense of proportion and with less partisan feeling than many who have come after him.

Herder's strength lay in his broad sympathy, which enabled him to catch the accents of the spirit under the most diverse forms, from the hymns of the nature religions to the lyrics of the prophets and the psalm singers of Israel and on to the gospel of Jesus. For him Christianity was not only the highest, but also the perfect religion, and identical with the universal religion of humanity. The small residue of positive doctrine which could not be resolved into universal religion he calmly ignored as of no consequence.

Kant, on the contrary, carrying his critical method into the domain of religion, emphasized the contrast between the ideal of his ethical religion of reason and the positive statutory religions so strongly that the worth of the pre-Christian and non-Christian religions remained altogether doubtful. He would almost place them in the category of religious delusion and superstition. Only to Christianity did he attribute real moral value, and he endeavored to interpret its chief dogmas in the terms of his ethical idealism. Nevertheless, he would have us distinguish clearly between the positive ecclesiastical religion, established by accidental statutory power, and the one universally valid faith of pure reason. These, however, are not mutually contradictory, for the one is contained in the other in germ or principle, and therefore even the accidental statutory forms of every positive ecclesiastical faith possess a relative right and worth just in so far as they are utilized as serviceable and expedient means for the furtherance and development of the ethical religion of reason, as means which will become superfluous in time, and may eventually be entirely dropped. Yet Kant leaves us in doubt whether the positive ecclesiastical religions will ever pass over entirely into the universal religion of reason or not. The only thing that seemed essential to him was that the ideal of the universal religion of reason should remain the regulative principle for the interpretation and the further development of the positive ecclesiastical faith.

The irrationalism of romanticism, on the contrary, would have

nothing to do with any universal religion of reason, not even in the Kantian sense of a simply regulative ideal.

Schleiermacher declared that since religion is the feeling excited or aroused in the individual by the Whole, there can be none but positive religions, of which there must be indefinitely many, as many as there are peculiarly impressed or influenced individuals. That which they hold in common is of secondary importance, small in extent and of constantly changing dimensions, and rests solely upon the accidental affinities of souls pitched in the same key. In this view the distinction between true and false also disappears, since every religion is true just in so far as it has been felt and experienced as a fact of consciousness. But every religion must acknowledge the equal validity of an infinite number of other religions besides itself, just because they also have been as really experienced as facts of feeling.

From the origin of religion in irrational feeling, Hume had drawn the pessimistic conclusion that all religions are equally false. From the same premise, romanticism drew the optimistic conclusion that all are equally true. This judgment was very soon reversed in favor of the pessimistic side in Feuerbach's pathological theory of religion. This was quite natural, for on the purely empirical ground of irrational emotional experience we are left without any criterion for the objective determination of the truth and value of the psychological facts which are given. Nor can we speak here of the evolutionary stages and relativity of religious truth, because this, too, would require some universal principle or ideal to serve as a standard of values for the measurement of the separate phenomena.

Thus this purely positivistic empiricism proved itself as incapable of a true understanding of the history of religion as the rationalism of the *illuminati*, which was based upon pure abstractions drawn from the facts of experience.

Leibnitz and Lessing hit the golden mean between these two extremes. They beheld in the positive religions the forms and the means for the development of the universal religion of reason. On this path, which they were the first to tread, Hegel has travelled further.

He took up the same method, and carried it through to its logical consequences. Like Hume, Hegel also distinguished between the essential foundations of religion in reason and its actual beginnings in

history. Hegel felt just as sure as Hume that the primitive religion was not the religion of reason, but its very opposite. But, while Hume saw nothing in the actual history of religion but the accidental and irrational play of human passions and fictions, Hegel was convinced that, in spite of the irrationality of isolated facts and appearances, that which is reasonable is also the actual in history, taken as a whole; that is to say, reason is the operative and regulative principle of the evolution from the unreason of nature to the reasonableness of the spirit. Just as he interpreted history in general as the process or method of the self-realization of the spirit, out of and by means of the natural, so he considered the history of religion as the process of the evolution of the religious consciousness, through which and in which the human spirit gradually becomes conscious of its essential relationship and oneness with the divine spirit; or, briefly, as the gradual elevation from the humanity of nature to a divine humanity. The evolutionary stages in this process are the positive religions, in which the religious consciousness expresses itself in a manifold variety of forms, differentiated according to different peoples and times. Christianity Hegel considered as the absolute religion, because in it humanity had arrived at the consciousness of its true relation to God. But even within Christianity itself this evolution must be continued, because even here the truth, though present in principle, is nevertheless still veiled or concealed under the symbolical forms of the ecclesiastical dogmas and cult. Thus, according to Hegel as well as Lessing and Kant, it becomes the task of the philosophy of religion to interpret the ecclesiastical articles of faith in such a way that the content of truth which they contain and conceal may be brought clearly into consciousness. The positive ecclesiastical forms are not an end in themselves, they are not truth itself, but they are the means which subserve the continually progressive evolution of the truth. The universal truth of reason is the ideal and the regulative principle for the criticism and treatment of the accidental historical forms, which *per se* can have only limited validity.

Since Hegel's time our knowledge of the history of religion and the materials for such a science have increased so considerably that the details of his philosophy of religion may be considered as antiquated. But it does not follow by any means that the idea of development—which, like a scarlet thread, runs through the whole of

German philosophy since Leibnitz—must be given up. On the contrary, it seems to me that the more massive this historical material grows and the more difficult it becomes to orient ourselves in this labyrinth of infinitely manifold details and introduce order into this chaos, the more urgent becomes our need of the Ariadne's thread of a reasonable teleology. But of course the peculiar form which the idea of development has assumed in the dialectic method of Hegel has now been given up entirely: his construction of history as the logical dialectics of ideas changing into their antitheses is rightly considered nowadays as an arbitrary violation of actual history; but it does not therefore follow that we should not look for any rational development in history, but simply that we must understand it more clearly, that we must observe the real factors and impelling forces of this evolution more closely than was the case in speculative idealism. In the same way the old nature philosophy of Schelling has had to give way to the exact sciences, but its central thought of development has triumphantly come to its own in Darwin's theory of descent, though in a new form more consonant with and adequate to the facts, in so far as real vital forces and their struggle for existence has stepped into the place of the logical categories. If we apply this analogy in the observation and study of the history of the spiritual life of man, and especially to religion, we will not conceive of the development of religion as a simple, straightforward progress in reasonable ideas, but as a constant interworking of universal and particular ideas, of rational and irrational tendencies, in which the latter by no means act simply as hindrances or impedimenta, but also serve as means for the deepening of the religious life, and furnish the impulse to new and higher progress. This view enables us to do justice to the facts of religious history which the sceptic Hume pointed out so energetically, and at the same time to hold fast to the optimistic evolutionism which has been the soul of German philosophy since Leibnitz and which has been the condition and ground of its attitude towards the positive ecclesiastical forms of religion,—an attitude which has been one of freedom and at the same time of a discreet and sober conservatism and a broad-minded, wide-hearted tolerance.

II.

That religion did not begin in monotheistic faith is now almost universally acknowledged by religious philosophers. The worshipping cultus-community was at first circumscribed by the narrow bounds of kinship and blood relationship, and so the object of its worship was the god of the tribe, who possessed only limited and locally restricted powers and found his rivals in the gods of neighboring tribes. Polytheism arose through the union and combination of various tribes into larger groups and peoples with a well-organized civil order. The earlier tribal gods were converted into the members of the same pantheon, subordinated to one supreme god, and set up as the rulers of the separate departments of nature and society. As civilization increased, the impulse of the reason toward unification awakened, and strove to rise in one way or another above the multiplicity of gods to a unity. This was accomplished in two principal ways, that of theoretical reflection and that of the practical ethically induced postulate. The more the understanding intellect learns to observe the unitary order of the world, the less it is satisfied with a multiplicity of gods, and so it seeks the ground of this order in a unitary power from which all things proceed, or of a world-soul, which gives life to all and is manifest in all things. The One in all now becomes for him the only true God, of whom the many former gods are different manifestations, corresponding to the various natural phenomena, or the names of the many gods, to whom all real existence is now denied, become so many worshipful and honorable appellations of the one God. Thus we read in the Vedas, "They have called him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, for to the One the poets give many names." In this way arose the well-known Pantheism of the Brahmins, the Tao-doctrine of the Chinese, the esoteric speculation of the Egyptian priests, of the orphic theosophists, and of the Eleatic philosophers among the Greeks. But it is significant that this pantheistic doctrine of the unity of God was restricted everywhere to a narrow circle of the initiated, such as philosophers or priests, and remained without any perceptible influence upon the actual faith of the people, who continued the worship of the traditional and many gods, and who, when the prestige and consideration of the recognized official gods de-

clined, sought substitutes for them in the storehouse of the oldest superstitions; namely, in the gods of the mysteries, of which we will speak later.

The other way out of polytheism led to monotheism. Here it was not so much the observation and reflection upon the order of nature which was decisive, but rather the ethical consciousness, which called for a just government of human affairs, and could therefore believe only in a morally good ruler of the world, who could satisfy this demand. Attempts in this direction are often found in the polytheistic religions, in which the monarchical position of the supreme god is so strongly emphasized that by the side of his world-wide rule the other gods become practically unimportant. Thus in the language and manner of speech of the Greek lyric and dramatic poets the name Zeus is used almost as if it were the designation of the one ruler of the world, so that some upon good grounds have ascribed a practical monotheism to them. The Sun-god Ra fills a similar place in some Egyptian hymns.

There has also come down to us a purely monotheistic hymn to the Sun-god Amen, the god of the heretical king Amenophis IV. The Chinese heaven-god and high emperor of fate, Tien, and the Babyionian Creator-god Marduk may also be mentioned here. The nearest approach to monotheism, however, was made by the Ahuramazda-faith of the Iranian prophet Zarathustra. As the will of the good, Ahura is raised so high above the nature gods that he becomes the one and only Lord, while they are degraded into his servants and messengers. To be sure, his rule is still limited by the power of the hostile and evil spirit Angromainyu, but, since this resistance is to be conquered in the end, this Persian dualism is by no means absolute, and is hardly essentially different from the Biblical opposition between God and the devil. Of course, we may take it for granted that the old nature gods, who were degraded to the rank of angels, in the system of the Avesta, still played an important rôle as independent beings in the popular faith of the Persian people, otherwise it would never have been possible for Mithraism to arise to such great importance as the later rival of Christianity.

Even in the case of the Israelites, monotheism was no more the primitive form of faith than in the case of any other people.

Jahve, whom the tribes held in common as their national God after their entrance into Canaan, was worshipped side by side with the Canaanite Baal for centuries. As long as the being of Jahve (Jehovah) was not specifically conceived to be different and higher than that of the nature gods, the worship of Jahve alone could not become the one religion exclusive of all others. The prophets of Israel after Elias were the first to rise to this conception. Their quickened moral consciousness and ethical insight beheld in Jehovah, before all else, the holy God, who willed the holiness of his people, sat in judgment upon their sins, and used the foreign nations as instruments for the punishment of Israel's transgressions.

In the faith of the prophets, Jahve's being was one with the will of the good, with the ethical order of the world, and thereby he was already practically the one God, the World Ruler, who guides the destinies of the nations and uses them as means for the accomplishment of his final moral aim and ethical purpose. We must not forget, however, that in the pre-exilic period, at least, this prophetic faith was very far from being the faith of the whole people: the prophets themselves are constantly complaining that their preaching met with so little response, and that the majority of the people hardened their hearts against their message. We may therefore believe that the consciousness of the multitude had not yet developed to that degree of intellectual and spiritual maturity which would have been necessary for them to grasp the ethical ideal of God which the prophets proclaimed. The faith of the prophets first became the common possession of the Jewish people in the post-exilic community, which out of the general shipwreck of their national existence had saved their religion only, to which it now clung with greater fidelity than ever before, without ever again relapsing into polytheistic tendencies. With this, pure monotheism for the first time became the exclusive religion of a people, or a church-state. However, the more anxiously the Jewish people separated themselves from all others in order to maintain the purity of their faith, the narrower their religion grew.

Although, theoretically, Jahve was still thought of as the one only God and Ruler of the world, nevertheless for the religious consciousness of the Jews he became once more simply the particular and special God of their nation, to whom alone he had revealed his will, whereas he maintained no positive or direct relations to other men.

"Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." Of course, this Jewish pretension to a peculiar possession of God stands in direct contradiction to the universalism of the monotheistic idea of God, and one might easily see in it the proof of a colossal national pride, but we must not forget that precisely this Jewish exclusiveness proved to be the inevitably necessary means by which the religion of the prophets was preserved for mankind. The more the later Jewish theological thought separated God from the world by an abysmal gulf and placed him at an infinite and inapproachable distance, the more men felt the need of bridging this gulf by means of more accessible mediatory or intercessory beings whom it was easier for the mind to contemplate. For this the Jews found the acceptable types in the Persian religion. The Amshaspands and Yazatas, who formed the court of Ahura, found their counterpart in the archangels and angels who peopled the Jewish heavens and served as managers of the different departments of the life of nature and humanity, and as instruments of God in his government of the world. And just as in the theology of the Avesta the *spirit* of Ahura, as well as his *good thoughts* and his *wisdom*, were personified and posited as independent separate beings, so in the later Jewish speculation the Spirit, the Wisdom, and the Word of God were likewise personified and posited as separate, self-existent, and creative powers, as personal, divine, mediatorial beings. This process was carried furthest among the Alexandrian Jews, who were acquainted with Egyptian and Greek speculation, under the influence of which the Alexandrian theologian Philo plainly distinguished the divine Word (Logos) as a second god and first-born son of God from God himself, and described this Word as the mediator of the divine revelation in the world, in the history of Israel, and in the hearts of the pious. There can be no question that this idea is a mythical invention of the phantasy, and it is patent that it stands in contradiction to the pure thought of God as the infinite, omnipresent, and all-energizing spirit. Shall we, like Hume, consider this development as an irrational relapse from monotheism to polytheism? Or should we not much rather see in this reversion the providential means whereby God in his divine education of humanity prepared for the transcending of the one-sided Jewish monotheism and the introduction of a deeper and richer universal religion? The Jewish monotheism was unquestionably one-sided, and that in two

respects: first, inasmuch as the one only God, the Lord of the whole world, was conceived as standing in an exclusive relation to a particular people, the Jews; and, again, in so far as He is thought of only as the transcendent, supermundane God, standing out in a so rugged, exclusive opposition and contrast to the world that this visible world of nature and man appeared more and more to be without God or to be even hostile to God, having been given over to the rule of the demons and being destined to destruction in the final judgment. This pessimistic conception of the world and of human life, especially as it exists in the later Jewish apocalypses, was due in part to the evil conditions of the times. Nevertheless, its deepest source lay in this one-sided transcendence of God, in this dualistic separation of God from the *world and man*, which made any real inner communion of God and man impossible, and left room only for the cowering fear of the slave before his terrible Judge and Lord.

From this point of view the Jewish speculation concerning divine mediatory beings no longer appears to us as a meaningless relapse into heathen superstition, but as a perfectly justifiable reaction against the one-sidedness of a transcendental dualistic theism.

By the doctrine of the Logos, Philo and his successors really meant to say that God is not only the transcendent and supermundane Lord and Judge of the world, but that he is everywhere present and everywhere at work in the actual world, as the energizing and ordering, the inner, shaping force of nature, and as the power within the intellectual, moral, and religious life of man. This basic thought, which can easily be separated from the original mythical form of the doctrine, also constitutes its essential and permanent truth. This development of Hellenic Judaism by no means denied the monotheistic faith in God, but, on the contrary, simply freed it from its Jewish narrowness and limitation, and broadened and deepened it by means of the relative truth of pagan Pantheism, which may be expressed in two utterances of Saint Paul: "For God is not only a God of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles"; and "God is not far from any one of us, for in him we live and move and have our being; for we also are his offspring." These are fundamental truths of universal religion, and the recognition and acceptance of these truths was the essential condition without which Jewish monotheism could never have developed into a world-religion.

But at the very time that Hellenic Judaism took this step towards an understanding and agreement with Greek philosophy and the Greek conception of the world, the national and official polytheistic religions had shared in the decay and death of the separate nationalities composing the universal empire of Rome, and in consequence we find on every hand new religious movements and attempts at religious reconstruction, which had their origin in popular religious needs and feelings and grew out of the depths of the human soul. Mysterious customs and doctrines, strange fantastic mixtures of the oldest ancestral traditions with the newest wisdom of the day, spring up everywhere. To the superficial observer all this may seem like a reversion from the clear intellectual sanity of the Græco-Roman civilization and culture to the fantastical mysticism and asceticism of an earlier and uncultured time. But, if we observe more closely, a strong undercurrent of deep religious need, aspiration and intuition, reveals itself beneath all that is strange and fantastical. "What must I do to be saved?" This question strikes the keynote of the cultus of the many kinds of mysteries of the decadent antique world. In their need, men did not turn to the highest gods of the national religion, but to the inferior gods, who, according to old popular legends, had descended into hades, and had encountered as well as triumphantly overcome the terrors of death. To be united to these by mysterious vows and consecrations, to make men partakers of their divine life and thereby give them the assurance of happiness and bliss in the beyond, such was the aim and goal of all the mysteries; and the purpose which was served by their manifold rites and ceremonies, such as baths of purification and castigations, eating sacramental food, speaking mystical names and formulæ, and contemplating holy symbols,—all of these were used as means to excite ecstatic emotional states, which were considered as the demonstration and manifestation of the life and power of the God by which the individual was possessed and by which he was transported into that life himself. Much superstition undoubtedly mingled with all this, and mystical enthusiasm often degenerated into immoral and orgiastic practices, as witness the Bacchantes and the priests of Cybele and Isis. Yet who would deny that there is manifest in these phenomena a deepening of religion, which had now become the personal concern of

the individual, as well as the desire for a personal inner experience of the divine life and for the elevation of the spirit above the common reality into an ideal world of eternal values? The deepest and most fundamental religious feelings of the human soul have expressed and revealed themselves in these phenomena, and these feelings have universal significance and importance, although they may have been wrapped in and buried under the husks of temporary and fantastical ideas.

Contemporaneous with the deepening of the inner religious life of the individual by the mysteries was the strengthening and humanizing of the ethical consciousness by the philosophy of the Stoics. They taught that a man's moral worth must be found in that inward disposition of the will towards the good which is independent of nationality or social position or the outward conditions of his life. True felicity belongs only to the Wise Man, who seeks happiness not in outward possessions, but in the purity and freedom of his soul from low and base passions, who respects the worth and dignity of human personality in every man, and who feels himself united to all men through brotherly love and philanthropy, as a citizen of the universal state of God, which embraces all mankind. By its ethical doctrine of motives and inward disposition and by its cosmopolitan and humanitarian ideas the Stoical philosophy helped mightily to prepare the way for the universal religion, but it could not quite reach that goal, it was powerless to realize the universal religion, because as a rational philosophy it lacked the religious enthusiasm which clothes ideal truths in concrete forms and symbols, by means of which they first gain real power over the feelings of the masses of men and can become the faith of an ecclesiastical community.

Christianity became the world-conquering religion because it united in itself the most powerful religious and ethical tendencies of its times in a form which, although paradoxical, was generally comprehensible, and which gripped the hearts of men as well as gave the intellect food for thought. It took over from Judaism its monotheism, but stripped it of its national limitations and corrected its one-sided transcendence by the immanence of God in man, which was expressed by the doctrine of the incarnation of the son of God, and of the indwelling of the spirit of God in the con-

gregation,—in short, by the teaching of a divine humanity. It took over the pessimistic apocalyptic attitude of contempt for this world and the hope for a new world, but modified and softened both by its faith in the present existence and the gradual coming of the kingdom of God in the congregation of the faithful. It took over from the mysteries the mythical representation of a suffering and dying God, of his resurrection, his sacrificial atonement, and his final conquest of death, but for the mythical heroes of the mysteries it substituted the historical person of the sufferer of Golgotha, and it ethicized their orgiastic enthusiasm by converting it into the inspiration of faith and the enthusiasm of the love which reveals itself through sacrifice. Like the Stoics, it treated national and social distinctions with indifference, but to the negation here implied it added the positive duty of all to work together for the kingdom of God. Thus Christianity combined the various religious and ethical ideas and tendencies of its time into the unity of a new positive religion, and it was precisely this creative, unifying, and elevating synthesis which made it possible for Christianity to lay claim to an unconditional superiority and universality as against the old religions.

But does this claim in its full and strict sense still hold good for us? Is this positive religion, with all its accidental historical, its mythical, apocalyptic, and ascetic elements, the absolute, universal religion, valid for all men and for all time? To answer this question in the affirmative is becoming more and more impossible in these critical times. We are no longer naïve enough to overlook the contrast of all those historical antique elements to our modern habits of thought in the naïve way which has been the custom in the past. Shall we, then, simply strike out those parts of positive Christianity which are no longer acceptable to us, after the manner of the rationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and declare the remainder to be true Christianity? I believe our keener historical conscience would forbid that, nor can we be blind to the fact that this radical operation throws overboard just those very elements which give to Christianity its distinctive character as well as the depth and richness of its religious ideas and its capacity to satisfy the most varied religious needs. Or shall we follow the programme of modern rationalism, and declare Christianity to be wholly

antiquated, and then proceed to evolve out of our own consciousness the new religion of the future, which is to take its place? Here, again, we would find no thoroughfare. Such a course would be forbidden not only by our pious regard and feeling towards the religion of our fathers, but also by our historical insight into the fact that religions cannot be constructed or made to order in this fashion, like a system of philosophy, because religion is life, and only life can beget life, and new life can only spring and grow out of pre-existing life.

What, then, can we do? What course remains open to us? What action is possible and best?

Our German philosophy has given the answer to this question long ago. It has shown, as we saw in the beginning, that universal religion, understood in the strict sense as the whole truth in its purity, is an *Ideal*, and as such cannot and should not suddenly or immediately take the place of positive religion, but this Ideal has always controlled and guided the development of the positive religions as its living and regulative principle, and should and always will continue to do so. As Christianity in its origin was itself the fruit of the religious evolution preceding it, and the synthesis of its elements of relative truth, so in its own history it has passed through manifold developments, in the course of which it has adapted itself anew to different peoples, to different habits of mind and thought, and to different periods of time; it has transformed the old and appropriated much that was new; it has overcome morbid states and conditions of spiritual paralysis by the inexhaustible vitality of its spiritual power; and the churches of the Reformation at least have always acknowledged and recognized the constant purification and renewal of ecclesiastical forms through the spirit of truth as the task of every generation.

They who have become clearly conscious of the difference between the traditional and positive form and the ideal truth of Christianity are called, before all others, to contribute their honest and patient labor towards the solution of this problem. But they will accomplish this task all the better, the more they are impressed with the thought, which has even greater validity in the domain of religion than in any other, that it is not revolution, but evolution, which leads to the happy solution of all difficulties. This maxim should determine our whole attitude towards and our treatment of religious problems

in public or in private. Not destruction, but construction, is our task. We are here not to tear down, but to build up. We must not oppose our own dogmas to those of others with the same pretension to infallibility and exclusive validity, for thereby the strife of controversy would simply be everywhere embittered and perpetuated. But we wish to tolerate every sincere religious conviction, providing it does not work positive harm, and we will try to understand its psychological motives and their relative truth, to seize upon these as the essentials, and to strip off the error which cleaves to them with gentleness and consideration, hoping that then in the course of time it will disappear of its own accord. Those who have fallen out so completely with the faith of the churches that they are in danger of losing all religion whatever we will try to lead to the understanding that the things which are an offence and a stumbling-block to them are in reality only the temporary and perishable shells which contain the precious pearls of eternal truth for him who looks not upon the visible, but upon that which is invisible and eternal. If we thus speak the truth in love, we shall not increase strife, but will prepare the way for a peaceful and wholesome solution of the present crisis of Christianity,—a solution which will continue and complete the unfinished work of the Reformation in such a way that the now hostile confessions, sects, and parties will finally acknowledge, respect, and esteem each other as brothers in the one house of their common Father. Fixing our gaze upon this high aim, let us continue to work, with fidelity and patience, upon the great task which has been set before us, always keeping well in mind the motto, “Nicht mitzuhassen, mitzulieben bin ich da,”—“I am here not to hate with those who hate, but to love with those who love.”

The CHAIRMAN.—The next and closing part on the program will be an illustrated description of Harvard University. It will take a moment or two to let down the curtain on which the illustrations will appear. During that time it occurs to me that the audience may desire to stand for a minute. But you will not be relieved from voices on the platform, for our Secretary, Mr. Wendte, desires to make two brief announcements.

The SECRETARY.—We were fortunate in securing yesterday an excellent photograph of the foreign delegates, but we did not succeed in obtaining the photograph which we desired of the entire Congress. Therefore, as we leave the theatre, we will assemble on the steps and be taken in one great group photograph, of which copies can be obtained at headquarters. Secondly, with regard to the proceedings and papers of the Congress, I will announce that the *Christian Register* of this and two successive weeks will contain very full reports, the *Register* this week publishing forty-eight pages for that purpose. The volume which will contain the papers and proceedings of this Congress, together with photographs of the principal delegates and speakers, will be published in December, and subscriptions are in order at any time.

Professor Peabody will now give an illustrated description of Harvard University. It will occupy fifteen minutes.

Professor Francis G. Peabody, D.D., then gave a brief historical sketch of Harvard College, with the description of the buildings, showing pictures of the prominent buildings, also a copy of the charter of the college.

ADDRESSES MADE AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF UNITARIAN AND OTHER CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, IN TREMONT TEMPLE, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1907.

The National Unitarian Conference, which united with the American Unitarian Association in inviting the International Council to hold its fourth session in Boston, in order to give the largest opportunity for the international meetings, not only abbreviated its own customary biennial session this autumn to a single day, but in its selection of speakers and the topics they were to treat was governed by an expressed desire of their guests from abroad to acquaint themselves more fully with the principles, ideals, and working methods of American church life, and especially with those of the liberal denominations of the United States.

It has seemed advisable under these circumstances to include in this volume several papers read before the National Unitarian Conference, but possessing permanent interest and value for the members of the International Congress.

THE NEW COMITY OF NATIONS.

BY HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, LL.D., PRESIDENT CLARK COLLEGE,
WORCESTER, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN
CONFERENCE.

Two years ago this Conference voted that this year one day only should be given to its own work, and that the rest of the time of the week should be given up to the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers. This was a deserved courtesy to the delegates who are gathering this week from all parts of the world. It is therefore eminently fitting that the subjects to be considered on this one day should take a broader and wider field than when simply the wants and the interests of our own country are to be considered.

This International Council is an important step or element in the great undertakings that are continually going on for broadening the outlook of nations. These undertakings are bringing about a new comity of nations. They are teaching us what may be called the true intercourse of different races, of different nationalities, under which new forms of procedure are being projected, and this great international effort will grow and expand as intelligence increases and religion finds practical fields for work. For, unless the new comity of nations is based upon high religious principles, these efforts will either fail or in a measure disappoint those who are fostering them.

I do not think it is too courageous to assert that all these great movements are based upon that practical religion which in our time we find supreme in the government of all our forces.

The great watchword is the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and the principle of this watchword should be, and I believe is, the corner-stone of all the great efforts of which we know and read.

If this foreword be true and indicative of real conditions, then this Conference of ours is taking a part of which it in the future will be proud, and which in the present means assistance, sympathy, and influence for all the others.

We welcome here to-day not alone the delegates who constitute the Conference, chosen from our various churches all over our land, but we welcome the delegates from other nations who come from afar to join with us in our acts and in our deliberations. We welcome the men from far Hungary, from England, from Holland, from Switzerland, from Germany, from France, and from the Far East,—a goodly company bent on presenting the highest ideals of their constituents and of bringing to America the news of their progress and of their efforts. And we welcome, too, those members of different communions, Jew and Gentile, who are bearers of the word of God; educators, whose hearts and minds are devoted to the highest work; business men, who are willing to lay aside the affairs of the day and join us in reorganizing the very highest religious ideals. They make a council of wise thinkers and workers, free from dogmatic theological tenets, free to stand before the public as representing the necessity of applying the highest religious ideals to the affairs of the world.

Our deliberations, therefore, take on the character of a conference devoted to the very best interests of humanity.

What are the great movements to which I have alluded? They are great and ever-present and ever-increasing elements which are bringing about the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, the chief elements in international intercourse and international righteousness.

We have in the world now a new diplomacy,—a diplomacy based on truth, sincerity, and the welfare of contracting nations, not the old diplomacy based on duplicity, chicanery, and an effort to secure the highest means of international selfishness. Great nations, sovereigns, peoples, now recognize the necessity of honest dealings with each other,—dealings that shall represent the interest of humanity and not narrow sectional politics. Our own John Hay put his religion into the initiatory steps which led to the adoption of this new diplomacy. Everywhere now an ambassador must be not only a representative of the government whose commission he bears, but

a representative of the highest ethics under which he may deal with the government to which he is accredited. This new diplomacy means much for the welfare of the peoples of the earth.

And in education the same movement is going on. The teachers, the scholars of the great universities of different countries, are exchanging not only their services, but their thoughts, the representative of one country giving to the people of the other the best thought which can be carried.

What stimulates such a movement as this, broad, comprehensive, and grand as it is? Could it have been done under the old comity of nations, which simply sought selfish ends and not broad humanitarian results?

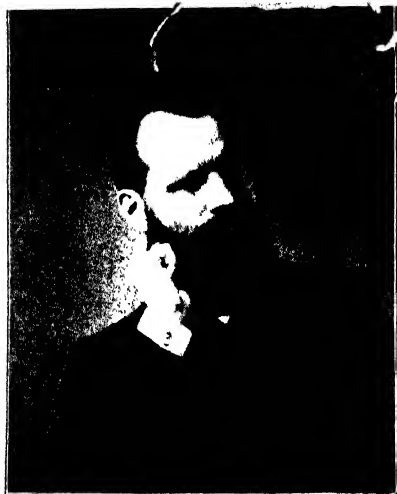
Education and religion are so closely allied that we cannot separate them, and in this new movement, which will extend as time goes on, we see the motive of the man who originated it, primarily for an exchange of scholarship; but really it is an element in the extension of the truest religious principles.

And we have had great delegations, hundreds of teachers coming from Great Britain to the United States to study our ways, our methods, and their results. Shall we not reciprocate and send our delegations to different countries to study their methods and the results thereof? Individually, this has been going on for years. The exchange of students, the exchange of thought and ideas, the familiarization of methods and processes which to one or the other seems strange, is doing much to place education on a universal basis and relieve it of local conditions.

And now the great peace movements are bringing the peoples of the world nearer together. The grand spectacle of forty-five nations represented at The Hague at the recent Peace Conference stimulates each man who reads of their doings, who reads of their discussions, who understands their methods, to feel that he is something more than a citizen of his particular locality. He feels that he is a part of the movement which shall bring about a cessation of war, and bring in a movement for the settlement of great international difficulties on a basis of justice, of reason and enlightenment. The gathering here of the delegates to the Council as the guests of America stimulates such a movement, and adds to it power and influence.



REV. W. COPELAND BOWIE
LONDON, ENGLAND



PRINCIPAL J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, D.D.
OXFORD, ENGLAND



The increasing interest in investigations by governments is hardly appreciated. Not a year, perhaps not a month, goes by that there are not government agents—experts in their various lines—looking into sociological conditions in various countries, whereby they may benefit by the experience of those who have undertaken practically to carry out some great reform in the interests of the people at large.

Our own government is not behindhand in this matter. These experts investigate and report upon the labor conditions, economic relations of government and people, the relations of employer and employee, child labor, the employment of women, and all the great elements of the great question which we label labor. How capitalists deal with affairs, how capitalists deal with employees, how employees conduct themselves, the conditions under great combinations of capital and great combinations of labor,—all these things are the subject of grave inquiry and honest candid report.

We learn what is being done in other countries, other countries learn what is being done here, and we profit by the example. And this example is a distinct recognition of great underlying religious principles, which are rapidly teaching the world that the solution of the labor problem is religious in its nature, and that there can be no solution unless these principles are recognized and put into practical effect.

These investigations cover that complicated and difficult problem of immigration. Our government agents are constantly studying conditions abroad with a view of making immigration a force in society. The treatment of immigrants, the efforts to utilize their services by sane methods,—all these things bespeak a higher plane of civilization for many, many people.

The International Prison Association is a body of philanthropists of practical experience in dealing with the delinquents of society, which is doing God's service. The welfare of what we were wont to call the outcasts of society has been improved, all previous conditions bettered, and the moral tone of everything relating to criminology and penology brought to a higher plane,—truly practical international religion of the loftiest type.

But there is one very important question which ought to be considered by this Conference and by the International Council,—a

question on which this country can throw some light. We are not troubled here by the question of the relation of State and Church. England, France, Germany, Austria, nearly all advanced nations, are considering this grave question. The delegates from countries where this trouble exists, whether in an acute or other condition, can learn much from us. We can learn many, many things from them; but on this one point we have an experience here that can only be beneficial to all.

We believe in the separation of State from Church. We believe in the voluntary support of religion. We believe that such voluntary support makes for the very highest elements of religious work. You may marvel, some of you who are here as our guests from far-away countries, that the Church can survive without State aid. The facts here will show that religious faith, theology, can grow most naturally and effectively in an atmosphere of freedom; but this is not all the facts will show to indicate how generously churches and all institutions of religion can be maintained by exclusively voluntary contributions. And, again, it is seen and testified to on all hands with us that the habit of voluntary maintenance has had its own influence upon the *morale* of our religion and its virility.

You may ask, Does not the State in some way aid the church? and the answer must be yes. All over our land church property is exempt from taxation, and, so far as the value of the church property of the country is concerned, the public treasury loses what it would secure, were such property taxed. The value of the exempt church property in the United States is roughly estimated at \$3,500,000,000. With the average rate of taxation this would bring into the various State treasuries about \$56,000,000. These estimates are far under the truth.

This is the aid the State gives to the churches; but it extends the same aid, or aid in the same way, to all charitable and educational institutions. It is the theory of the State that it should encourage all charitable and religious institutions, not by gifts, but by exemption from taxation. In our Commonwealth of Massachusetts alone the value of church property exempt from taxation is estimated at over \$64,000,000, resulting in an indirect aid to churches of over \$1,000,000 annually. But, so far as the general support and maintenance of religious institutions are concerned, the voluntary habit prevails,

while the State has no interest whatever in the government or direction of church business or church work.

In the beginning here with us in the Eastern States the parish was the political town, and afterward the parish became the town through incorporation by the State, and the separation has been complete since those days. Nor would the people of the country change this condition to in any way partake of the elements of the relation of State and Church, as it is found in other countries.

The changes in the principles of missionary work are changes which mean more than their recital indicates. We are beginning to see everywhere, through our missionary efforts, that duplication in one locality means weakness. We are beginning to see, furthermore, that the best way to aid missionary work is through the development and character of the moral lives of those for whom the efforts are undertaken. No longer does dogmatic theology prevail in these efforts, but instead we have that deep, underlying religion which means the uplifting of people in a lowly state.

All these movements, and others of which I have made no mention, are, as I have said, religious in their nature, and they would seem to indicate that the time is coming when we shall have what somebody has called a universal patriotism. This, however, it seems to me is neither possible nor desirable, in fact it is illogical.

A man may have filial affection and he may have sympathy with all mankind, but he cannot apply his filial affection to mankind. A man can be a patriotic Briton or Austrian, but he cannot at the same time be a patriotic Frenchman or American. He may elevate his patriotism to the point of sympathy with his brothers of other nations, but without a national patriotism the world's progress would recede. But that patriotism which embraces all his brothers of the same household may temper all the questions of nations, so that we shall have a patriotism broader than locality develops, kinder and more generous, less selfish, and of a character which means what I have called the new Comity of Nations. And this will lead all our efforts to the securing of an international conscience, a conscience which shall govern the leaders and the administrators of all progressive nations in their conduct with each other, a conscience which shall recognize honesty, truth, sincerity, as the leading elements of international relations, and which will in time do away with many

of the hardships that come now wherever the old diplomacy and the old form of comity exists.

This new form, or this new international conscience, will establish on earth a general and firm belief that God is the father of us all, and that we are brothers under the same divine administration. Nations will grow under this, they will prosper, and they will be the true examples of the highest civilization and of international righteousness.

THE FREEDOM OF CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES AS REGARDS PROPERTY-HOLDING AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

BY PRESIDENT C. W. ELIOT, OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, an amendment proposed by the first Congress in 1789-90, provides that Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of a religion or—a very different thing—prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and among the powers which the Constitution itself specifically gave to the national government there is no power to acquire, maintain, or regulate churches or other religious organizations. In Section 10 of the Constitution, which declares what States shall not do, there is no reference whatever to churches or the holding of church property, so that the several States are left free to determine how church property shall be held, protected, and transferred. The several States have therefore determined how church property is to be held, chiefly by enacting statutes, which have been revised from time to time, as occasion arose, to meet new needs or new conditions. Although several of the original provinces had, at some stage of their history, before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, maintained established churches,—as, for instance, the Congregational Church in Massachusetts and the Church of England in Virginia,—not a single State has ever maintained a religious establishment, while all the States have provided by statute for the holding of real and personal property for religious uses by corporations, trustees, and various voluntary associations.

The American States have had no direct experience of the possible evils of permanent foundation or endowments, and therefore have felt no serious distrust of them. Since the Constitution of the United States was adopted, none of the States has had experience of a dominant and oppressive church. No State has had occasion to take any action at all resembling that of the English government when, for

political reasons, it took away the property of the Roman Catholic Church in England and bestowed it on a new creation of its own,—the Anglican Church. In short, all the conditions have been favorable to the legal establishment of a large freedom for churches.

One of the leading considerations determining the policy of the several States toward religion has been the existence within every State of a great variety of religious denominations, all of which were voluntary associations, but which differed among themselves as to the particular manner in which they wished severally to hold their properties. Accordingly, we often find separate statutes concerning the property of the separate denominations, such as the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Quakers, the Presbyterians, the Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, and Baptist Churches, and the independent local churches which are not affiliated with any similar churches elsewhere. The variety of Christian denominations and the absence of a church of the majority have been real safeguards of religious liberty in the United States. As a rule, the political influence of any one church is not dreaded in the United States, in spite of the fact that there have been occasional outbursts of no-popery fury in some of the Protestant populations. These infrequent outbursts have been quite as much racial as religious, and have quickly been recognized as temporary and unreasonable panics.

The States have all given large rights and powers to voluntary associations for religious purposes in great variety, because they have distinctly recognized that the churches as a whole contribute to the welfare and efficiency of the people, and therefore to the success and stability of democratic government. They have believed that the primary sources of the ills and wrongs which society has long endured, and still endures, are ignorance and lack of opportunities and means to acquire salutary knowledge; and they have regarded churches and schools as the best constructive agencies for deliverance from these long-endured evils.

The States, with unimportant exceptions, have also fostered churches of all kinds by exempting their property from taxation, just as they have exempted educational and charitable foundations from taxation on the ground that such institutions are rendering a public service by means of endowments derived from benevolent

private persons. Declining to own and maintain churches itself, the State has given all possible assistance to every group of people that will voluntarily undertake to build and maintain a church.

An element in the great problem of a free church in a free State, which complicates the religious situation in European countries, is wholly lacking in the United States. There are no ecclesiastical edifices here which could possibly be considered monuments to be owned and maintained by the nation or by a State. The public monuments owned and maintained by the national, State, or municipal governments in the United States are capitols, court-houses, universities, school-houses, custom-houses, and city halls, but never churches. The cathedrals and other monumental churches of Europe have no parallel in the United States. And if, in the future, such structures shall be built here, they will be clearly the property of religious corporations which have been created, protected, and fostered under State statutes.

The desire of the State to promote religious associations for religious purposes appears strongly in the Statutes of the State of Maine (5th revision, 1903, chapter xvi., sections 1 and 2), which provide that any persons of lawful age may, by applying to a justice of the peace and getting a warrant for a meeting, meet and choose a clerk and other needful parish officers, and shall thereupon be a corporation, bear the name which they assume, and have all the powers of parishes and religious societies. The extraordinary freedom to form societies for religious purposes and the distinction between a church and a religious society are brought out clearly and authoritatively in the case of *Silbsbee v. Barlow et al.* (1860) by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, as follows:—

“A church is understood, among those whose polity is congregational or independent, to be a body of persons associated together for the purpose of maintaining Christian worship and ordinances. A religious society is a body of persons associated together for the purpose of maintaining religious worship only, omitting the sacraments. A church and society are often united in maintaining worship; and in such cases the society commonly owns the property, and makes the pecuniary contract with the minister. But in many instances societies exist without a church and churches without a society. Churches are not corporate bodies, and commonly have

no occasion for the exercise of corporate power. By our statutes their officers have sufficient corporate powers to enable them to hold any property that may be given to their church. Originally, all our religious societies were corporate bodies. The towns at first exercised parochial powers, most of the people of this State being of one denomination. But, as varieties of opinion sprung up, it became necessary to separate the parochial from the municipal business, and the parishes formed separate organizations. Other religious societies were incorporated by special acts; but many congregations remained unincorporated. Some persons had conscientious scruples against corporations, and others preferred to manage their religious affairs in a different way. The statute of 1811, chapter vi., section 3, was enacted for the benefit of such persons. It enabled unincorporated religious societies to take and hold property, manage, use, and employ the same, and choose trustees, agents, and officers thereof, and constituted them corporations so far as might be necessary."

A corporation organized for religious purposes may hold as much real and personal estate in addition to its meeting-house as may be necessary for its objects, and no more. It may vote to alter and enlarge, repair, rebuild, or remove its house, or to build a new one. Pews in churches are personal estate. (Massachusetts Revised Laws, 1902, chapter xxxvi., sections 25, 27, and 38.)

Many States have been careful to provide a statute under which an unincorporated religious society may become a corporation, and may hold as much real and personal estate as may be necessary to its objects. Such statutes recognize the fact that the beginning of a religious society may be extremely modest, the society containing but a few persons and having little or no property, and yet may in a few years become strong in numbers and in the public spirit of its members, and then may wish to hold in a safe and permanent way real and personal property to considerable amounts. A religious organization may maintain regular worship and exercise other appropriate powers without being a corporation; but, if it wishes at any time to become a corporation, it can do so. Incorporated or unincorporated religious societies may appoint trustees to hold and manage trust funds for their benefit. Care has been taken to provide that a religious society, whether incorporated or unincorporated, may take and hold any estate which may be given by will for the

purposes of the society; and some States are careful to provide that, if such a bequest should exceed in amount the existing limitation in the amount of property said society is authorized to hold, it shall be lawful for the society to take and hold such an estate, obtaining from the legislature, within one year, authority to take and hold real and personal estate to an amount large enough to include the property which has been given to the society by will.

The composition of the corporation which may hold real and personal property for religious uses has been the subject of numerous statutes. The members of the church proper—that is, the communicants in any church—are not usually incorporated; but the corporation is a body composed of the members of the congregation, or of certain officers or trustees, chosen or appointed in accordance with the discipline and customs in each religious denomination.

It is common for statutes to provide that no corporation organized for religious purposes shall at any time possess an amount of property, excepting church buildings, parsonages, school-houses, asylums, and cemeteries, the income from which shall exceed a stipulated amount. In such statutes we find a survival of the ancient English dread of unlimited permanent holdings by religious bodies. It has been easy, however, to get such limits extended by new acts of the legislature.

It is clear that all through the legislation concerning church property in the several States of the Union the holders of such property are not regarded as proprietors in the common sense, but as trustees. They are not even partly proprietors and partly trustees. Under the statutory provisions, however, the freedom of churches to acquire and hold property for religious uses is almost as great as the freedom of a person to acquire and hold property for his own uses, except that there is ordinarily some statutory limit to the amount of real and personal property which a church organization can hold in addition to the meeting-house.

Occasionally a survival of European precautions against the abuse of power by the priests of a dominant church appears in an American statute. Thus, in the Revised Laws of Louisiana, published in 1897, we read (page 140), "No church corporation or minister of the gospel for himself or the benefit of a church corporation shall be allowed to accept a bequest made *in articulo mortis*."

The variety of uses which are accepted as religious uses deserves notice. Thus homes for the aged and the poor, mission houses, school-houses, medical dispensaries, residences for ministers, teachers, or employees, cemeteries or lots in cemeteries and buildings in cemeteries, are all considered religious uses by the Statutes of New York State (chapter xlii. of the General Laws of New York, sections 5 and 7); and such provisions are not at all exceptional.

The alienation of the property of religious societies is generally regulated by statute, the general purpose of such statutes being to **prevent** the conversion to any private use of property, real or personal, **which** has once been devoted to religious uses. For example, the Statutes of New York State (chapter xlii. of the General Laws, section 15) provide that, when an ecclesiastical governing body, like a diocesan convention or an annual conference, having jurisdiction over several churches, has been incorporated, the incorporated governing body may decide that any church under its control has become extinct if for two preceding years it has held no religious services according to the custom of the church, or has had less than thirteen resident attending members paying annual pew rents or making annual contributions to its support, and that the governing body may then "take possession of the temporalities belonging to such extinct organization, and sell or dispose of the same and apply the proceeds to the purposes to which the property of such governing religious body is devoted; but it shall not divert such property to any other object." Section 19a of the same chapter provides that the trustees of property devoted to religious uses, and held by them for a corporation, may apply to the Supreme Court for dissolution when the corporation ceases to keep up religious services, and the Supreme Court may, except in the city and county of New York, if it deem it proper to do so, decree a dissolution, order a sale of the property, and direct the surplus over debts to be used for any religious, benevolent, and charitable objects or purposes suggested by the said trustees in their petition.

The laws of 1905 in the State of Connecticut (chapter cxxxviii.) contain an interesting provision for winding up the affairs of a religious society to the following effect: when any religious society has failed to keep up an active organization for two years or more, any members or interested persons thereof, or the attorney-general, or

the State's attorney of the county, may present a petition to the county court, asking for a winding-up, whereupon the debts of the society shall be paid; but none of the property shall be appropriated to private uses. These provisions are, however, not universal. A New Hampshire statute (compilation of 1901, chapter cliii., section 1) provides that the proprietors of a meeting-house which has ceased to be occupied as a place of public worship for a space of two years may sell the same and divide the proceeds.

Many States provide that the minister of any church, if a United States citizen, shall be capable of taking in succession parsonage land granted to the minister and his successors, or to the use of ministers, and may prosecute actions touching the same.

The comprehensive purpose of the States to further gifts for religious uses is often illustrated by the statutory provision that a legacy to a religious society is good, if there be enough to identify the party intended, although not incorporated.

The civil courts in the United States have done much to explain and interpret the relation of the State governments to churches and religious societies. In general, they have been very careful to maintain the complete separation of Church and State, to avoid exercising even a general supervision over the work of ecclesiastical tribunals or judicatories, to decline intervention in disputes relating to church discipline or in questions relating to faith and practice, and to confine their own action to questions relating to property dedicated to religious uses and to the legal rights of members and officers of religious organizations. The courts have declared, for example, that the State legal tribunals have no jurisdiction over a church (that is, the communicants) or its members; that the communicants of a church have no greater rights as corporators than any other members of the congregation who attend divine worship; and that the ecclesiastical judicatories cannot interfere with the property relations of a *religious society or congregation*, and cannot remove a minister without the consent of a majority of the members of the corporation if the religious society is incorporated. On the other hand, the courts have held that, if a minister be suspended or deposed for an ecclesiastical offence, his right to his salary and emoluments is gone, and that the decision of the ecclesiastical court is final as to what constitutes an offence against the discipline of the church. The independent

churches, of course, have no concern with any superior ecclesiastical authorities; but for the rest it is important to observe that neither the doctrines nor the practices of the civil courts affect the discipline and canons of any highly organized church like the Roman Catholic, the Protestant Episcopal, or the Methodist Episcopal, so far as ecclesiastical matters are concerned. The courts have thus maintained the boundary between Church and State, leaving each active and effective in its sphere. It has been their view that "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination," as provided by the Constitution of the United States, cannot be maintained if the civil courts trench upon the domain of the Church, construe its canons, and supervise its trials. The courts have universally declared that they will interfere with churches and religious associations only when rights of property or civil rights are involved, being in accord in this respect with the best English authorities, who have declared that "there is no authority in the courts . . . to take cognizance of the rules of a voluntary society, entered into merely for the regulation of its own affairs, save only so far as it may be necessary for the due disposal or administration of property," or again, "A court of law will not interfere with the rules of a voluntary association unless it is necessary to do so to protect some civil right or interest which is said to be infringed by their operation." (*Forbes v. Eden Cases*, in the House of Lords, 3d Series, vol. v., 36, 1867.)

The courts have insisted, however, that religious and secular purposes must not be mixed or combined. If a religious society, based on the acceptance of a given creed and the maintenance of a certain form of worship, teaches also a system of treating diseases by persons trained in the doctrines of the religious society, a sharp distinction has been made by the courts between the religious objects of such a society and its secular objects, and the society has been left free in regard to the one, but not free with regard to the other. In regard to its system of treating disease, it has been required to conform to the law regulating the practice of medicine.

The legal tribunals have interpreted and enforced the statutory provisions that property once devoted to religious uses cannot be alienated and converted to any private uses whatever. An interesting case of this sort concerning the new South Meeting-house in Bos-

ton was the occasion of a clear and forcible decision on this subject by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts (13 Allen, 497). Suit was brought by a majority of the members of this corporation, the petition setting forth that the corporation owned certain land, with a meeting-house thereon, in Boston; that it had become much decreased in numbers, and owed a large sum of money which it had no present means of paying, and that its annual expenses exceeded its revenues. The petition further set forth that a meeting of the proprietors had voted to apply to the courts for the dissolution of the corporation and the appointment of a receiver, who might sell the real estate and distribute the net proceeds among the members of the corporation. The land on which the meeting-house stood had been granted by the town of Boston, for the erection thereon "of an edifice for a meeting-house, for the public worship of God." The meeting-house had been built by private contributions. The court held that it had no power, by statute or otherwise, to authorize sale of the property of this corporation and the distribution of the avails thereof among its members, and also that, if the court had such power, it would not be reasonable to exercise it. The opinion of the court declares that "there is no ground for supposing that the trust was created for the private pecuniary advantage or gain of the individual members of the society. The object to be accomplished and perpetuated was a much higher one. It was to establish a permanent society for the public worship of God, with all the incidents, rights, and privileges which, according to the usage and practice in this Commonwealth at that period of time, have pertained to such bodies. . . . We look in vain for any provision which authorizes, even by implication, an alienation of the property by the act of the majority for purposes foreign to those for which it was held by the corporation, with a view to its appropriation for purposes of private gain or a distribution of it into shares by which the owners of pews are made stockholders, entitled to the whole beneficial use of the property discharged of all trusts." And again, "The power of the proprietors acting by a majority, in this as in all other corporations, is limited to matters properly embraced within the purposes for which the corporation was created." And, finally, "We are unanimous in the opinion, for the reasons we have stated, that, if we had the power, it would be most unreasonable for us, on the facts disclosed at the hearing, at

the request of a majority of the members and against the protest of a minority, to sanction the destruction of trusts reposed in the corporation which is the subject of this proceeding, and pervert the property from the uses to which it was dedicated by the pious founders of the parish."

Under this American legislative and judicial method of maintaining and fostering free churches in free States, churches, States, and citizens are alike contented. All kinds of Christians, together with Jews, Confucians, and Buddhists, enjoy a perfect religious liberty, all kinds of ecclesiastical organizations find their property rights secure and their internal discipline in no way interfered with, while the States are exempt from the intense religious strifes which European governments still have to dread. The civil status of churches in the United States has no parallel, because the conditions under which it arose and has been developed are unparalleled. Nevertheless, it is a good model for cautious imitation.

THE GOOD AND EVIL OF DENOMINATIONS.

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Church freedom culminates in Congregationalism, the resolution of the visible church into local units. Being asked to appraise the gain and the loss of such a result, I would fain justify such a polity by justifying all differences of polity and yet repudiate the spirit of schism. Denominational divisions are an accomplished fact. Grant that they will long continue or even be permanent, do they preclude a genuine catholicity in sentiment and in practical co-operation? Can the spirit of denominationalism consist with the claim of the Church Universal? Though we may hesitate to claim a complete solution of such a problem, we may expect some benefit from any attempt to define the problem.

Church, Denomination, Sect,—this is a descending scale of merit, and probably no man is of so low a preference as to admit that he is a sectarian. But what is church and what is sect? The answer is not easy unless we start from the principle of catholicity and from that zealous practice of catholicity which sought to gather and constrain all citizens within the confines of one ecclesiastical institution. With Father Tyrrell we may understand catholicity as “the ideal of a spiritually united humanity centred around Christ in one divine society.” In 1500 England acknowledged a Roman Catholic Church which for all Western Europe was the embodiment of that ideal. In 1600 there was one reformed Church of England, no longer Catholic, since reduced to national limits and alienated from many features of the Catholic past, but retaining still a Catholic consciousness in prescribing one religious system for the entire nation. Since 1700 there have been denominations without pretence to actual catholicity, though something of the old sentiment survived in their hopes and aspirations for the allegiance of the whole community. Even the in-

dependent autonomous congregations which repudiated the idea of a national church and limited their membership to the covenanted saints retained so much of the Catholic social consciousness as to insist on moulding and controlling the life of the non-elect. We seem to reach the point of sect when this collective social consciousness wholly vanishes and a group sequesters and secludes itself from the general community without offering itself as the ideal of that community. Such a point may be hard to discover in any group of men. If there were tendencies thereto in the past, they have ceased. Ever since the irritating, coercive policy of the state was definitely abandoned, a Catholic spirit, a Catholic social consciousness, has been reviving in all bodies. With the recent powerful growth of social solidarity in other spheres of life, denominations desire more and more to conceive themselves as religious expressions of the whole community, as societies which mirror the ideal of the whole body of man. This tendency and aspiration is not due to any institutional form of organization. Even those of us who, with our passion for freedom from external authority, seem to be the extreme expression of Protestant individualism, hear from our own midst a clamor for a better title than any inherited name, for a title descriptive of our aim rather than our origin,—the title of the Free Catholic Church. The generous idealism of young men, impatient of any name that falls short of the catholicity of universal religion, is often blind to the larger and finer intentions of old designations, though the growth of historical sympathy and historical comprehension enables an ever-widening number to view the whole past with a new temper and to claim its saints and its sanctities as contributive to the one consecrating and dynamic spiritual life which bears us onward. That social unity of brotherhood in one spiritual family unchecked by time or place, that unity which the Catholic claims as his ideal, is an ideal increasingly sovereign among divided Protestants and acknowledged by them as entering into the essence and definition of Christianity. The idea of evolution has given a new validity to the Catholic insistence on tradition, if only tradition is seen and held as something elastic and capable of permutation,—an evolution through us rather than simply an inheritance brought unchanged to us, an evolution with vistas into a spiritual future richer, freer, larger than past or present. With this new temper and tendency, how shall we judge

the great diversification which our Protestant world exhibits? Do these divisions of organization divert us from one destiny, one ideal, one duty? Are they symptoms of malady or of health? Are they disintegration or wholesome differentiations of one expanding vitality?

Let us not ignore the bitterness and animosity attending the birth of these divisions. There was enmity and strife so long as society aimed at coercive uniformity either through state law or social misprision. But, now that the diversities are accepted, reflection shows that the breach of harmony was overestimated. Men fancied that it was theological separation, and some men have come to say, as a thing solemnly indisputable, that theology is always divisive. But it is plain, on the other hand, that neither the piety characteristic of Protestantism nor its doctrinal expression were the things at stake save in very recent instances. The dividing issues were matters of practical social adaptation rather than matters of central faith. Mere diversity of action and expression and forms of concerted life can consist with unity of collective movement. To insist on complete uniformity is to reduce life to mechanism. Even the Catholic unity of the Middle Ages contained within itself national differences, diverse local usages, varieties of religious orders unlike in organization and distinguishable in methods. These were variations which did not mean a disintegration of the organic unity. The soul was one,—it was Catholic religion. The diversification was healthful and demanded by life itself rather than by reflective theory or by a dissident spirit. It was necessitated by natural and inevitable differences of race, culture, æsthetic capacity, practical instincts. It gave a richer and more complex adaptability of the one religion to a life which in other than religious relations became complex. The variations did not mean schism or severance of spiritual unity. Now, save for the lack of obedience to one central administrative authority, most of the divisions of Protestantism are exactly like this diversification within the older mother church. They fostered the same conception of the religious relationship of man and God. They were not severances in the spiritual principle of Protestantism. They were variations of the bodily expression rather than of the animating soul. The facts refute those critics of Protestantism who point to these divisions as due to doctrinal anarchy, the dissolving of the one faith into capricious individual beliefs. In

Elizabeth's time the main parties were already forming,—Episcopal, Presbyterian, Brownist,—but all were Calvinists in theology. All agreed as to the relations existing between God and man, as to the theory of human redemption, as to the meaning of faith. It is true that in the seventeenth century the Episcopal party became, for the most part, Arminian; but this theological difference was not the fruit of searching reflection. It was a somewhat artificial theological difference, a bit of strategy of ecclesiastical leaders of a party political rather than doctrinal. It was a strategic relaxation of Calvinism before a party zealous for Genevan standards of polity. What do the Arminians hold? asked a puzzled layman. "They hold," said Dr. Morley, of Oxford, "all the best bishoprics and deaneries of England." Presbyterian and Congregationalist parted from one another, though they had complete unanimity in their Calvinist theology and their methods of effecting religious experience. At a later time, when Arminian views were dominant, came the great Methodist divergence from the State Church. This was in no degree a theological separation. When the Methodist body itself divided into numerous branches, there was not a shadow of theological dissension. These great differentiations were due to divergent choices in the matter of the organization and discipline of the religious community. These choices were matters of serious conviction that appealed to Scripture as authority; but, when we ask why the plastic and neutral language of Scripture was so sharply interpreted and with such stress of party spirit, we find that the convictions did not spring from men's religious experiences. They corresponded to political and social tendencies in those generations of English life. The existing political divisions, the divergent ideals of social organization, manifested themselves in the religious sphere, insisting that the communal life of the Church should correspond to what were viewed as the necessary laws of any communal life. Religion has too long borne the reproach of these old passions and animosities. Let us consign them where they belong,—an *odium politicum*, originating in other instincts than those of piety. We will not justify the stress and strain, and yet we may accept these varying institutional forms as proper to the conditions of human nature. Just as unity in the fundamentals of religion did not prevent their appearance, so a substantial doctrinal agreement cannot prevent their persistence.

They correspond to persistent differences in the sphere of practical social co-operation, differences which are not necessarily evil. Rhode Island and Pennsylvania will probably differ permanently in their methods of political action, while they are harmoniously one in the Americanism of the Union of States. So Christian unity may be expressed through a diversity of governments and administrations.

Let us not forget, moreover, certain positive compensations. In the formal unity which preceded the denominations, activity and responsibility was concentrated in a few hands. The mass of men were passive and inert. Divisions in the formal unity brought more persons and persons of all social classes into directive activity and responsibility in the conduct of religious societies. This tendency has its theoretical culmination in Congregationalism, where the minister's activity, whatever it be, is viewed as delegated to him by the congregation. The result of this tendency has been the liberation of hitherto dominant energy. The process resembles the beneficent transition from autocracy or oligarchy to democratic society, the transition from a multitude passive to a multitude active. Some so-called sects have arisen solely through the pressure of the unfranchised plebs to obtain a share in religious citizenship and missionary action. This is strikingly the case in the history of Methodism, where the purpose of division has been simply to secure freedom of action for classes and individuals in the employment of aims and methods common to all Methodism. Every secession, too, ends in concession by the older group. The net result is a wider distribution of activity and the employment of multiplied energy. The history of Methodism is a complete disproof of the common saying that Protestantism is weakened by its divisions.

The apologist for denominations will discover other facts that engage his sympathy. He will note cases where the formative impulse, so far from being that of a dissident individualistic spirit, was simply and solely a social impulse which could not otherwise assert itself. In our large cities we see the establishment of separate Catholic parishes for immigrant Poles, Portuguese, French, or Germans. No one presumes to call this a schismatic tendency. Just so in American Protestantism. Racial and economic diversities enforced new formations simply to enable new classes to obtain a social union in religion which could not be immediately enjoyed in

churches of the older order. We may instance the United Brethren and Albright's Evangelical Association. They are counted as denominations. In reality they are only Methodism in a population restricted to the use of German. If Asbury's followers had provided German preachers, these separate bodies would hardly have come into existence and their separate existence need not long continue. Economic and social conditions have operated in a similar way. Nowhere is there such need of association as in the less privileged members of society. Among them new bodies have arisen in order to secure a richer and more intense moral fellowship without the disturbing differences of economic and social station. Needs have thus found relief which would otherwise have been suppressed, and the wholesome consequence for America is a diminution of that social tension which in some European communities tends to alienate whole social classes from the Church. We will deplore not the emergence of such new groups, but only the cause of them; and we may believe that these efforts of democratic life to find new channels will make the older churches unwilling to acknowledge themselves as unadapted to democracy.

My argument is that all the leading varieties of Protestantism had practical necessitations and did not spring from any disloyalty to the religiosity which was distinctive of Protestantism. It is probably apparent to most people, however, that division can and does degenerate into needless and ruinous competition. When the moral and religious needs of a community are not served but hindered by division, then indeed denominations are the weakness of Protestant religion. I will not dilate upon these evils. They are summed up in the trenchant words of President Benjamin Andrews: "In cities numerous powerful congregations huddle together where one of them could do as much good as all do now. Every mission field in a wealthy neighborhood is fought for by a half-score of denominations, while the dives and slums are neglected about in proportion to their need. In each country town two, four, six, sometimes eight or ten apologies for churches try to live where one strong one would suffice, where, moreover, such a strong church could easily be built up by combination of effort, and where, being erected, it would have ten times the saving power which all the weaklings at present exert."

This quotation may suffice, for it suggests the economic impossibility of continuing such a system. Economic considerations alone will force on the attention of all Christian people the folly and the ruin of such competitions. But economic considerations cannot furnish the spirit and disposition which will successfully heal these evils. If there is to be a new policy of concerted, friendly, federated action, a new temper and a new conviction must be generated for it. The spiritual conditions for new methods seem to be surely and swiftly arriving.

Denominations, I have affirmed, are ultimately due to temperamental differences in the organization and administration of societies. Practical instincts initiated them: later they are differentiated more subtly in detail. But why unfriendly, intolerant, insistent on exclusive dominion? Why led to invade the sphere of others? The main justification for this was the illusion of Scriptural necessitation. This made divergent practical tendencies to become dogmas. Revelation made the polity and practice a mandate for the conscience of believers. That a church should be so and so conducted, and not otherwise, was the will of God. This was the claim, and only this argument could justify an intolerance and warfare ruinous to the peace of the Church of God. To-day the justification is forever gone. The old argument for denominational polity is permanently impossible. Once there were fashions in exegesis. Now there are no fashions but the permanent achievement of an historical scientific comprehension of the Bible, and the achievement initiates sweeping changes. The authority of Christ cannot be claimed for the outer form of any instituted church. Denominations are obliged to renounce the dogmatic claim for themselves. They must advocate their methods of organizing and administering the religious society on grounds of reason and expediency. One may still prefer episcopal superintendency or synodal control or congregational autonomy, but reason and expediency will not allow a preference to weaken the religious life of a whole neighborhood.

Everywhere we see the extension of a critical spirit, the decay of the dogma concerning polity, the cessation of the argument from revelation, an indifference to the old contentions. We need not ask that the gains of the old historical development be surrendered. Humanity having repudiated a uniformity of organization. the con-

genial diversity may be retained. But the new spirit asks that they be retained in some new condition of friendly and concerted action, as diversities of relative value subordinate to that inclusive fellowship of the whole religious community which now after long suppression labors to assert itself. Friendly co-operation is all the more possible since the diverse polities, working themselves out as great historic experimentations, have come nearer to one another in their actual practice. In the free American life the more centralized polities tend to a fuller recognition of congregational home rule, and, on the other hand, autonomous congregations have actually developed agencies of collective enterprise and some form of superintendency.

Many will admit all that is thus said about the bodily forms of church life and yet doubt the possibility of a full and genuine co-operation. For, though theological cleavage did not produce denominations, they have, in fact, been differentiated in doctrine. They were Calvinist, Arminian, Lutheran, and the churches represented in this Conference owe their separate organization distinctly to a theological division. This is indeed a fact, but it is a past fact. That change of attitude toward the Bible which involves a reduction in the rival claims of denominations is only one aspect of a vaster and momentous change. Our churches here assembled have an explicit and defined liberalism, but there is a less explicit and more hesitating liberalism in all the other churches. In each and every denomination there are multitudes of individuals holding the views of modern liberalism, and this wide-spread reconstruction rests on necessities of thought so deep that the results must appear in every quarter. The reconstruction follows whenever the methods of modern intelligence are applied to the subject of religion, whether the thinker be Protestant or Romanist. For the first time in history theology is becoming a science. For the first time in history it is pursued with the methods of scientific inquiry and with the temper of the scientific spirit. Here is a great unifying force which never before has operated. Science is interdenominational, international, universally human, catholic. So far as the data of theology are historical facts, they are now to be ascertained, stated, valued, according to standards of historical judgment everywhere accepted. It is possible, it is necessary, for all Protestants and all Catholics to hold the same views as to the origins of Christianity and the development

of its dogmas and institutions. If they will not, they must pay the price: they must forfeit the respect of the modern world, for the modern world is a world of science. All men everywhere can interpret the inner life and purpose of the Christian movement by an historical study which penetrates beneath the formulas of councils and the decrees of prelates and the constructions of old divines. All men everywhere with the same historical and psychological method can define and determine the actual religious experiences of men, of Augustine, of Bernard, of Francis, of Luther, of Fox, of Channing. They can by one and the same accepted method unfold all the thought implicated in these undeniable and real experiences. They can develop thus together out of the same facts of life, by the same method of analysis, the propositions, the doctrine, implicit in the Christian religious life. There is growing up an organism of such knowledge and comprehension which is the guidance and control of all individual beliefs. Those who labor in schools of theology know that the old ecclesiastical lines have been submerged by this arriving and expected consensus of scientific theology. The ministers of all churches will soon discover that their interpretations of religion have been shaped in the same school. Our colleges and universities begin to engage the laity in this theological science, for it is an inquiry no longer hampered by denominational interests. Men of every church affiliation share amiably in the discussions of the *Hibbert Journal* or the *American Journal of Theology*, not as already adhering to the same conclusions, yet possessed by one spirit and pursuing one goal. The consequences of this overwhelming change have not yet fully exhibited themselves, but it is already evident that this new attitude and bearing of the Christian consciousness is dispossessing the spirit of the partisan zealot and is ushering in the spirit of Catholic unity. To this new organism of religious inquiry we, above all men, plight our troth; for its doctrines can never become dogma. The freedom from intellectual prescription which we have made a principle of our institutional life will be the very principle of the theology of the impending day of the church general. Shall we not predict, then, the victory of that conception of all our religious associations which we mean when we speak of the Catholic Church? To be a reality, the Catholic Church does need to become an objectified, materialized uniformity. Being a spiritual power, it has its reality in

use and purpose, as a power sovereign over the aims and endeavors, the affections and the hearts, of men. Each and every congregation, whatever its procedure and form, will acknowledge itself as the local expression of one divine society uniting all men in the life which is redemption from all selfish and sensual aims and an engagement to that supreme and supersensual realm which we name the kingdom of God. We may not know how speedily or by what paths we shall meet in that promised land, but to descry its fair, alluring prospect from any peak of vision wakens now the heart-beat of that holy fellowship and comradeship in spiritual quest which is the deepest and most enduring yearning in the spirit of man.

FAITH AS AFFECTED BY FREEDOM.

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Among the religious people of this country faith in its profoundest meaning stands for the life of the soul in God as God is presented to men in Jesus Christ. The universe is conceived as made up, in its final account, of soul. There is the infinite soul, there are the souls of men, there is the great historic soul of Jesus, serving as a mirror both of the divine and the human. The essence of Christian faith is righteous living, or the ideal of it, the pursuit and hope of it, in relation to all human souls, in relation to the eternal soul, and by his grace. Our American Christianity is so far apostolic Christianity: it is the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus. Our American Christianity is so far Augustinian and Lutheran: it begins with a great experience, the contents of the soul precede intellectual inquiry, a world of vision and love is the precious primary possession. This life in the God and Father of Jesus Christ, our father's God, the God who made the universe and all things therein, is our one fundamental and essential interest. With the German mystic we say we live in God, like the bird in the air, like the fish in the deep.

Our interest in faith as a body of ideas springs from our interest in faith as the life of the soul in God. Our great theologians have been men of profound religious experience, and because of the depth and urgency of their spiritual life they have sought a philosophy of religion. The deepest thing in Edwards—that which is great enough to remain part of the sacred tradition of mankind—is his rapture in God and his stern self-discipline in the interest of this rapt existence. The sources of the nobler part of his teaching are in his Christian heart. In regard to the whole circle of his ideas, interest to-day is won for them by the greatness of Edwards's soul. His successors,

direct and indirect, Edwards the younger, Bellamy, Hopkins, Emmons, Taylor, Bushnell, Park, Channing, and Theodore Parker, all began with religion as life, and in the service of this life each built up the faith as a body of ideas. When the gifted child looks out with eyes of wonder upon the earth and the sky, he takes in at once in his rapt vision the whole mystery of the outward world, and, when the scientist and the philosopher arrive, they arrive in the interest of that primary vision. When the soul awakes to the beauty of the Lord our God, it includes in its life eternal realities, and when the theologian comes, he does but translate into ideas some of the meanings of this original and ineffable experience of the heart.

Here in America, and emphatically in New England, freedom is regarded as the condition essential to religious life and thought. While somewhat limited in scope, freedom has been intelligently viewed and dearly prized in this land of freedom from the earliest days. The great thinkers of New England were innovators. No master was acknowledged, although the great tradition of theology was deeply respected. Within twenty miles of this city Calvinism became, in the hands of Nathaniel Emmons, a profound and thoroughly reasoned pantheism, yet no voice of authority called him to account. Heretics, like Bushnell and Channing, had complete freedom. Great preachers, like Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks, gave their message under no sense of outward restraint. In the older communities of America to-day intellectual freedom is a sure achievement. We no longer ask about a scholar in theology, Is he orthodox in his views, is he a follower of the tradition of the church upon his subject? but, Is he competent, is he eminent, is he sane, is he genuinely a person of the scientific spirit, and is he working in his theological science in the interest of a divine life in humanity which he shares with all the wise and brave?

Here in America we are finding that freedom is simply a condition of inquiry. It is simply a fair chance to test the validity of ideas, to examine the worth of opinions, to search the foundations of belief upon all subjects. It does not necessarily mean change of belief. The same beliefs may stand, and stand far more surely, in the mind of the freeman than in the mind under limitation. To-day in the Harvard Divinity School, where freedom is perhaps larger and surer than in any other similar institution in the land, opinion

is frequently more favorable to conservative views than in seminaries under decided restriction. Freedom is only a condition of judgment: it is one of two contrasted conditions. Men must think either under authority or under freedom, and from the earliest times here in New England there has been a growing tendency to trust truth to the conscience of the freeman.

This we regard as a great discovery. Our conservatives love the old ideas because of their relation to life. When, therefore, they see the liberal dealing tenderly with these ideas on account of that relation, and surrendering them only as they are developed into fitter servants of life, when these older leaders see that freedom does not necessarily mean denial or intellectual revolution, but simply a more promising condition of intellectual work, when they witness the interests that were fading under compulsion flourishing and secure under freedom, their natural prejudices give way. The eternal interests of the soul remain the same. They are still revered, they are still served, but now by the freeman, and no longer by the bondman. Perhaps an academic example will show more clearly how we have verified our discovery. About five and thirty years ago what is known as the Elective System was introduced at Harvard College. That system means freedom for the student in the selection of subjects. At first it was adopted under limitations, later it became the policy of the college through the entire course of study. It has since spread through all departments of the University. What has been the result? The intellectual interests believed to be essential under the system of compulsion are recognized as essential under freedom. Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Modern Languages, History, Economics, and Philosophy stand fast as permanent intellectual interests. Other interests in rich abundance have been found to be essential to civilized man, and these interests have been placed side by side with the old. But the original interests of academic life have not been displaced. Indeed, their essentialness for man through certain groups of students and through certain vocations is better understood now that compulsion is removed. Further, these subjects are better studied and better taught in the new atmosphere of freedom. Further still, the student has become a new factor in his own education, progress has become easier by discovering the genius of the student, by the earlier gathering of students

of like capacities into groups, by an ampler representation of essential human interests in the total body of the graduates of the college. Progress has been easier in the college itself. It has been drawn, as a learner and servant, nearer the heart of the nation. It has become the flexible instrument of the ever-widening range of great and enduring human interests. Freedom has thus led to the expansion and transformation of the American university. Something like this is the result in the sphere of faith under the condition of freedom.

The old fundamental interests of faith have not been displaced. The stars that the prisoner sees through his narrow and dim prison windows are the same stars that the freeman beholds gathered above him in the evening sky. Arcturus is the same, Orion is the same, the Pleiades are the same. What we must note is the disadvantage, whether for pleasure or for observation, of the prisoner. God is still in his world, God is still in the great souls of our race, he is still in the soul of Jesus Christ, he is still in our humanity. God is still in the life of a uniquely religious race, in the life of a supremely religious individual, and this monumental life recorded in a monumental way is still our Bible. The difference to be noted here is the immense advantage of the freeman. His approach to these shining and everlasting realities of faith is free, and he may speak with them face to face as men of old spake with God.

All these ancient interests of faith are in no way dishonored. They are indefinitely enriched by the inclusion of other great religions in the field of vision, by the enormous extension and transformation of the outlook of the modern scholar in religion. These discoveries of great religions and religions not essentially great, but vital to multitudes of our race, have issued in a new sense of religion as an essential part of man's nature. Religion has thus acquired independent standing in human nature, and Christianity has thus acquired new significance for the scientific intellect of the world. We may say to-day what could not have been said in an earlier day, at least with the same strength of conviction, that man is the interpreter of nature, that religion is the interpreter of man, that Christianity is the interpreter of religion, that God the Eternal Father is the interpreter of Christianity.

We are finding under freedom in a surer way the essentialness of the substance of the old faith. The compulsion of tradition is

done away, the pressure of authority has been removed. We have here met infinite gain. We have substituted for an outward authority an inward authority. We have replaced the compulsions of tradition by the compulsion of reality. We have gone into a great experimentation: we have found a body of ideas rising out of life under God in Christ. These ideas, coming up out of the burning centres of religious souls, are not open to question. They come with the force of the inevitable: they reveal themselves as essential elements in the religion of reasonable beings. The process is after this manner: Religion is the life of the soul under God. Our religion is the life of the soul under the Christian God. It is as real as any other part of our existence. Indeed, it is the supreme reality in that existence, the supremely significant and precious reality. Therefore, while our beliefs may be more or less crude, while they must be more or less inadequate, while they are eternally open to progress, they are now, and they will be forever, beliefs about reality, beliefs freely formed and gained under the benign compulsions of truth. Of this high necessity we say with Wordsworth:

"Stern Lawgiver! yet thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace;
Nor know we anything so fair
As is the smile upon thy face."

We are finding that the new atmosphere of freedom is the only fitting atmosphere for the cultivation of this infinite interest. What the cloudless sky is to the astronomer, freedom is to the religious thinker and the religious soul. In no other atmosphere can we be sure that we see the objects of our search and love. What the spring and summer days are to the life of nature, freedom is to the life of the spirit. Only thus does the seed become the flower, and the flower the fruit. The higher the human interest, the greater must be the demand for integrity in the treatment of it. Religion involves man's life with his kind and with God, for time and for eternity. Man should therefore be free to live that life, free to think the thoughts that it inspires, free in his whole treatment of it. Authority does not necessarily mean insincerity; traditional compulsion does not certainly imply dishonesty, yet it is favorable to both; and insincerity or dishonesty in the treatment of any important

interest is a grievous wrong, in the treatment of an interest of supreme importance it is a calamity. We are here more and more afraid of the influences that promote the holding of two sets of views, one set for private use and another set for public use. We are afraid of the external tendencies that press conformity upon men, because the truth may be against this conformity. We have an infinite interest, and we want only honest men to care for it, and we cannot be sure that men under compulsion are honest. We can guard the interests of industry, of government, of science, in no other way. In all these great interests, freedom is the only adequate assurance of honesty. In religion the same principle holds. Here the insincere soul is a plague, and we try to discover this villain of the religious life by the full blaze of freedom.

It need hardly be said that we are finding freedom to be the condition of progress. Freedom of research in religion has brought us into a new world of fact. There is progress clear, ample, significant, and assured. Freedom in the formation of ideas in accordance with ascertained fact is another branch of progress. Freedom has led to deeper insight into the sources of religion in man, and here is still another great gain. The greatest gain for the body of ideas to which we attach the word "faith" has been in the unrestricted reading of the character of God through the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ. Only within a generation has this freedom been fully and generally enjoyed. For more than eighteen hundred years the divine teaching of Jesus had been conditioned by writers of all degrees of worth in the Old Testament, and by all the apostolic utterances in the New Testament. Thus the soul of Jesus did not in that entire period get a fair chance at the human mind. Then men had to reckon with the great system of Augustine, consecrated by a vast service and by the practice of the Church for a thousand years, renewed by Luther and Calvin and Edwards, and made the classic theological version of the gospel. This denial to the mind of Jesus of his rights has been an immeasurable misfortune. The arrest of progress has been little less than a calamity. The sacrifice to the fear of external authority of the suppressed revolt of generations of noble men and women against the reigning scheme, and all the precious insights and dreams that were cherished in secret or abandoned as impious by prophetic souls, overawed and robbed of the

confidence of reason, is one of the supreme forms of the immolation of humanity. The loss sustained by the Christian world through the reign of authority is incalculable. We revolt from constraint here as from the chief enemy of the human soul. We rejoice that at last we are able to think of human life, human history, and the universe in the freedom wherewith Christ makes free.

Among Americans freedom is fixing attention upon character. There lies the problem of the free world. The treasure of the race is to be committed neither to authority nor to freedom, but to character. We are discovering that our one supreme evil in all departments of existence is irresponsibility. We fear the wanton intellect, the thinker who is a wild individualist, who is without the sense of the precious achievements of the past, who is fired by ignoble ambition, who conceals under high-sounding phrases scorn for the sovereign interests of man, who thinks and acts with no appreciation of his high accountability to life. We wish our scholar to conduct his research under the authority of an enlightened conscience. We require of our statesman that he shall live in the consciousness of the preciousness of our political institutions, and their cost in blood and tears to the American people; we ask of our philosophers high consideration for the values and the motives that are the consolation and the strength of human beings when human beings are at their best; we demand of our thinkers in the science of religion that they recognize religion as an independent and a momentous human fact; that they recognize the sublimity of the Christian version of that fact, and that, while they think in perfect freedom, they think in the presence of realities infinitely greater than they, upon which depend the fortunes of souls, the fortunes of mankind. We wish to remind them that the intellectual Cainite, the thinker who denies that he is his brother's keeper, is not a genuine freeman, that the Ishmaelite in learning, whose chief distinction is that his hand is against the hand of other scholars, is not the best fruit of freedom. Better a conscientious, conservative bringing up of the rear-guard than a conscienceless liberal, regardless of previous battles and victories of the grand army, the larger part of whose courage is not discretion, but recklessness, not homage to infinite interests, but the passion for personal distinction. Neither is the type of man called for to-day. Americans look for the leader who shall be equal to the breadth and

nobility of American freedom, whose interest in truth shall be a moral interest, whose integrity shall give assurance to the multitude who live and feel, but who, under the stress of their vocations, cannot know, who shall hold forth the hope to future generations of a mightier Christianity, and who shall, by intellect and yet more by character, renew the divine program of Jesus Christ, "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil."



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OUR FREE CHURCHES IN RELATION TO THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.

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In Jesus' parable of the Talents, or the Pounds, we hear of a servant who brought to his lord that which had been intrusted to him, carefully wrapped in a napkin, and said, Lo, here thou hast that which is thine. It is not a far-fetched analogy, at least in view of the treatment usually accorded the parables, to see in this unfaithful steward the prototype of those who regard the thought of Jesus, and of the Scriptures in general, as a sacred deposit to be scrupulously guarded and kept intact, neither increased nor diminished, nor even changed from its original form. But, notwithstanding his apparent expectation of approval, the unprofitable steward, who had not dared to commit his lord's money to the fortunes of the market-place, was condemned even as those must be who are unwilling to trust their Lord's thought in the forum of human thinking. Jesus compared his word to seed, and the function of seed is to enter into fruitful relations with an environment at once transforming and transformed. In the railway station of a thriving Massachusetts town hangs a closed cabinet containing sealed jars filled with kernels of wheat, corn, and rye, placed there years ago to illustrate and advertise the fertility of Nebraska soil. These particular kernels have been kept safe, but so they have failed of their appropriate function and missed their proper destiny. Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but, if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit. The seed is the word of God, and its mission is to be transformed and to transform, to change and to grow. Just because the words of Jesus are spirit and life, they are not to be regarded as a dead deposit, to be preserved unaltered in substance and form; and, were we to endeavor so to keep the sacred trust, we should do despite to the spirit of truth and deserve the rebuke visited upon the unfaithful servant in the parable.

It will be granted at once that this presupposes a quite different

conception of theology, and indeed of revelation, from that which has prevailed in the Christian Church. Ordinarily, revelation has been deemed a communication of ideas which, contained in Holy Scripture, require only to be articulated into a coherent and systematic whole. Thoroughly compatible with this view, if not actually necessitated by it, is that of a divinely constituted church and a regular priesthood, charged with the interpretation and administration of the revelation and consequently with the construction of a theological system. Plainly, from such a point of view, free churches are an impertinence, and progress in theology, save as it consists merely in a rearrangement of authoritative data, is an absurdity. Accepting, however, without present argument, the position of the free churches, and defining theology as the interpretation of religious experience in such a way as to unify both our experience and our thought taken in their totality, we see at once that changes in theology become necessary on account of changes both in thought structure and in religious experience. When habits of thought vary, when intellectual progress introduces a new point of view from which experience is reinterpreted and knowledge is reorganized, there will arise a demand for theological reconstruction. It can be resisted only by the sacrifice of religion; for, if clinging fondly, as the heart naturally does, to endeared forms, and pleading that so beautiful a sentiment is its own excuse for being and needs neither interpretation nor correlation, we separate religion from our thought on the one side and from our habitual experience on the other, the ineradicable human craving for unity will either break down the arbitrary barriers or leave the segregated sentiment to perish of inanition. Experience demands interpretation, and the mind requires unity. An uninterpreted and uncorrelated religious sentiment means a jejune piety, whose end in the second generation, if not the first, is to be disgraced and despised; for the heart will not long cherish what the mind disowns.

While, therefore, changes in thought, due to the advance of knowledge and the increase of wisdom, call for theological changes, a similar demand arises, also, from the side of religious experience. It is not to be supposed that theology always has to wait for a challenge from without. On the contrary, it grows normally by its own inherent life in response to the deepening of religious experience.

All experience is not the same experience. The wider and deeper the nature, the more ardent and persistent the devotion to spiritual values, the richer becomes the experience and, consequently, the larger and truer the thought which interprets it. From the side of religion, therefore, comes an imperative summons to theological progress. Progressive theology is a necessity for progressive piety; and man is so constituted that, in view of the changing conditions of life and, most of all, because of God's unceasing quest for deeper communion with his children, a progressive piety, which means a continuous response to the ever more intimate drawings of God, is essential to a living piety. "Nearer, my God, to thee," is the marching song of the children of God, and God is truth as well as love.

With respect to the call for religious progress coming from a changed intellectual environment, it scarcely needs to be said that of late it has been peculiarly clear and urgent. The increase of knowledge in all departments which has been going on within the past half-century, and still continues, is literally unprecedented in extent and rapidity; and the change which has been effected consists not so much in the greater accumulation of knowledge as in the inculcation of new habits of mind. Manifestly, such changes as these, including especially the work done in the realms of Biblical criticism and the history of religions, has created a new situation for theology. Nor must we fail to add that there has been a marked growth in religious life shown in the keener sense of social responsibility and human brotherhood. Thus both from without and from within comes the inspiring summons to theological progress. It has been responded to more promptly and gladly in our free churches than elsewhere, for their very freedom makes them peculiarly responsive to changing conditions and more plastic to the inner impulse of abundant life; but for the same reason, because they lack the firm and stable character of more compactly organized churches, they have been more subject to transient influences and liable to temporary aberrations, and therefore their curve of theological movement presents a bewildering problem in the higher mathematics. Time forbids detailed consideration of this fascinating history, and permits only a more definite statement of the way in which the general conditions of theological progress have found fulfilment in our free churches.

It has become a commonplace to say that progress depends upon the free rise of variations and the proving of these variations within a critical environment. Now there can be no doubt that these conditions have existed, to a remarkable degree, in the polity of our free churches, or, to be specific, let me say in our Congregationalism. For the two essential principles in Congregationalism are the complete independence of the local church from State or ecclesiastical control and the fellowship of the churches in deliberative conferences and advisory councils. By the first of these it is differentiated from every form of episcopacy, and by the second from unqualified independency. That the freedom of the churches is favorable to progress, because it permits the rise of variations and sustains them when they have arisen, is too evident for proof. It is of course true that the freedom has not been absolute. As in the organic world variations are within pretty definite limits, and a potato does not vary in the direction of an oak, so there are conditions established in the nature of thought itself as well as by traditional interests and habits of inquiry which restrict intellectual variations. But the same may be said with respect to thought changes in general, and this normal restriction, having been thus recognized, may henceforth be ignored. More important, however, is the fact that, where there is no acknowledged and central ecclesiastical authority, there is frequently a consensus of denominational opinion which is quite as effective as any pressure formally exerted; and even where the past does not control present thinking, through the presence and power of an enforced creed, there is often a persuasive, if not a coercive, reverence for the past which is a potent influence. And really this is as it should be; for no one can sincerely believe in the future progress of truth who does not also believe that the development of the past has been in the right direction, and that the limits which have thus been set upon the possibilities of our thought are profitable rather than harmful to the growth in truth. Actually, therefore, our freedom has been not so complete as might theoretically appear, yet it may unhesitatingly be said that in our churches, because of the absence of external control, and because of their own fulness of religious life-giving plasticity, there has been an altogether unusual opportunity for the rise of theological variations.

For their testing, also, there is good provision in the Congrega-

tional polity. It should go without saying that the ultimate criterion must be the adaptation of any theological doctrine to the *milieu* of human life in its entirety; but, practically, a theology which meets the needs of men who are living in ordinary human conditions by fidelity to their religious experience, on the one hand, and harmony with their general interpretation of experience, on the other, has warrant of worth and permanence. In our free churches, if a minister open a new vein of thought, present fresh theological ideas, there is no power outside his own church which can suppress him. And if he have won the confidence of his congregation, which sees that in him these novelties of theological thought are accompanied by no diminution of religious devotion, the church stands by its minister, and he continues to think and speak in freedom until his ideas pass into the lives of his people, and are tested by their experience. It is plain that the more diversified the testing experience, the more valuable will be its criticism. The experience of a church means more than the experience of an individual. But the sifting process becomes yet more comprehensive. It is not merely the church, properly so called, but the community to which the word comes, and here, too, it is applied to actual experience. Moreover, through the fellowship of the churches the new ideas find expression in conferences and councils, through ministerial exchanges, denominational papers, and in uncounted ways. Manifestly, all this means a searching criticism by a very wide and diversified experience. The point is, therefore, that the two constitutive principles of Congregationalism meet theoretically in a quite remarkable way the conditions of theological progress.

If now we turn from theory to history, we shall find that, on the whole, theoretical considerations are confirmed by the facts, and that according to the reliance upon the constructive principles of the free churches has been the rate and kind of theological progress.

For the sake of definiteness let us confine ourselves to the history of the Congregational order in its two branches of Trinitarian and Unitarian. In the first place, it is noteworthy that, whenever there has arisen restiveness under theological changes, there has been an attempt to resort to some form of ecclesiastical control, if only to a Presbyterianized Congregationalism, usually urged in the form of consociationism or of increased power conferred upon ministerial

associations. That was the case at the beginning of both the eighteenth and the nineteenth century: the Mathers in 1705, and Jedediah Morse, a century later, recognized the opportunity afforded by pure Congregationalism for theological change, and sought to interfere with it by changing the polity of the churches from freedom to control. The fact that those who have been adverse to theological change have also been adverse to the Congregational polity is instructive testimony to the relation between the two.

Secondly, where this particular tendency has been discouraged, there has sometimes been an attempt to qualify freedom, not by contemporary ecclesiasticism, but by traditional creedalism. The history along this line is exceedingly instructive. At the beginning, most of the churches of New England were constituted by ethical and religious covenant, and not by theological creed. Candidates for membership, however, were obliged to present a "relation" of spiritual experience, usually containing also a statement of belief, and this was critically examined both by the elders and by the whole church before the candidate was received into membership. The necessity of protecting their reputation abroad and their character at home soon led the churches to formulate creeds, which were, however, at first regarded as testimonies rather than tests, the "relation" being the decisive criterion. Little by little the "relations" were dispensed with, the question as to the qualification of members being left to the minister or to a standing committee, although membership was ultimately dependent upon the vote of the church. Along with this in certain churches went a tendency to make more of the formal statements of belief, and, when the schism between the Unitarians and the Trinitarians came at the beginning of the last century, the latter emphasized their creeds, making of them avowedly tests instead of testimonies. Thus the freedom of the churches was impaired by traditionalism, if not by ecclesiasticism, and variations of thought were discouraged and outlawed. In the Unitarian churches, however, this was not the case. It is corroborative of principles theoretically set forth to observe that in the Unitarian churches, which would have no semblance of ecclesiastical control and refused to make membership dependent upon creedal acceptance, theological progress has been most marked, and, furthermore, that in the Trinitarian churches which have gone forward farther than

their fellows there has been the most strenuous assertion of local freedom and the greatest willingness to relax or alter the established creed of the church.

While, of the two requirements, the first, freedom, has been, on the whole, well maintained, particularly among the Unitarian churches, the second, fellowship, has been comparatively lacking. Nor is this surprising; for, where there is the relation which fellowship demands, there is the ever-present danger that freedom may be jeopardized. Consequently, zeal for freedom, in its dread of coercion, is prone to hold aloof even from the fellowship of friendliness. Therefore, while there has been testing within the local church, it must be sorrowfully confessed that thought variations have not been sufficiently exposed to the judgment of a large and diversified community.

Unhappily, there came here a separation of the old Congregational order into two divisions, and the feeling between them, imbittered also, more's the pity, by property decisions, kept them for many years in vigorous opposition. To brand an opinion as Unitarian or Orthodox was at once to discredit it in the opposite camp, and prevent its receiving even so much as a fair hearing. That this has had most grievous consequences cannot be denied. It is plain now to thoughtful men on both sides that each had something which the other lacked, and that the delimitation of the testing field was of utmost harm. If the churches could have remained in fellowship,—and, if each had been true to the fundamental principles of Congregationalism as a polity, this might easily have been the case,—theological progress would have been more steady and even, with less of vagary on the one side and of reluctance on the other. The wider and more diversified fellowship of the united churches would have decided between conflicting opinions by the sure selective process of religious experience.

In addition, in the case of the Unitarian churches, the field was still further narrowed by popular prejudice against them. It has sometimes been made a reproach against us that we have had religiously so little popular influence. To a certain extent the complaint is just, and there are many reasons for the deplorable fact. Not to dwell upon the most obvious,—namely, that our influence has been through literature and philanthropy rather than through

strictly religious channels, partly because of a shrinking from what was called proselyting and partly because of the greater importance assigned to the present life with its agencies and values,—not to dwell upon this, I say, it is true that the Unitarian churches received at the outset an academic stamp which has militated against their popular effectiveness. But, besides this, it must be said in all kindness that it ill becomes those who have habitually held us up to reproach as unchristian and irreligious to upbraid us because we have accomplished so little. It is not for those who for years have industriously circulated reports prejudicial to a man's good name to urge at last, in vindication of the slanders, that during all these years he has failed to win popular approval. But, to whatever cause it may be attributed, the fact is that we have not been a church of the people practically as we have been theoretically, and that our developing theology has suffered because, while in the main it has kept in harmony with contemporary, scientific, and philosophical thought, it has lacked the wholesome criticism which common human experience alone can give. But this again means that, in so far as theology has thus suffered, it has been because the principle of fellowship has been sacrificed.

My time has almost expired, and I can give no further illustrations of the principle. The argument has been that theological progress demands both freedom and fellowship, the free rise of variations and the wide criticism of them in the largest possible field of experience, and also that the polity of our free churches theoretically meets these conditions most satisfactorily. In actual practice we have kept freedom, but at the expense of fellowship. And, although any change which should imperil our freedom for the sake of a visible and material prosperity would be deprecated by all who trust the free life of God in the souls of men, those who believe in and hope for theological progress welcome the signs of a wider fellowship, which appear in the increasing friendliness among denominations, and, most of all, in the presence of the great Council which is to assemble to-morrow. But our hope sweeps wider yet, even to a time when the spirit shall determine the body, and those in whom reigns the spirit that was in Jesus Christ shall be one fellowship, moving unitedly in mutual confidence and love toward the perfect truth.

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

BY HON. MARCUS P. KNOWLTON, CHIEF JUSTICE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Religious feeling—I might almost say the religious instinct in human nature—is well-nigh universal. From the earliest times it has been a vital force in civil government. Sometimes a religious enthusiast, wearing a crown, has attempted to control the religious opinions of his subjects for their eternal good. Sometimes an unscrupulous ruler has played upon the religious sentiments of his people for his own aggrandizement. Sometimes, as in this country, a state, by giving religious freedom to the individual, has laid a firm foundation for the upbuilding of national integrity.

As government in its widest scope deals with all matters of general concern to the body politic, it cannot ignore religious interests. A state may simply allow churches to hold property as corporate bodies and to conduct worship as they choose. It may go further, and interfere to regulate the use of this property or to put restrictions upon it. It may establish a church, or give property to a church, or enter into an alliance with it. It may even constitute itself the church, or, as the supreme ruler, become the final judge of conditions in the church.

The government of the Jews was a theocracy which, from first to last, showed the closest possible union of Church and State. Their expected Messiah was to be among nations a great temporal ruler, the King of kings; and in the higher spiritual realm he was to be worshipped as the Lord of lords.

The union of Church and State among Christians dates from the conversion of the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century. At that time the ecclesiastical power and the temporal power began to work together through the same agents, and at the beginning of the tenth century they seemed to form a perfect union. The ecclesiastical power as a controlling force in civil government reached its

culmination before the end of the eleventh century. Afterward, for four centuries, the Church seemed outwardly to be strengthening its position in this respect; but it was, in fact, through the silent working of spiritual forces, shaping forms of human freedom. Protestantism gave new life to the Christian Church, and sent out a call for religious independence. The Elizabethan era was a time of great expansion in different fields, intellectual, social, and religious. The growth of Puritanism and the establishment of the republic under Cromwell separated the State from the Established Church in England. But the new conditions were only temporary, and the Restoration gave back to the king the ecclesiastical control which had been held by his predecessors.

The emigrants to New England were representatives of the new thought, and they were willing to suffer much for the sake of religious freedom. As founders of churches in the wilderness, they established no ecclesiastical connection with the churches of the motherland: still less, in that relation, did they recognize dependence upon the civil government. They created a system of their own, under the authority of the royal charters, whereby they maintained governments founded on principles of civil liberty, and at the same time established churches for worship according to their conception of religious duty. In the different colonies the rules and requirements for participation in the making of laws and in the enjoyment of religious privileges were not the same, although in their leading features they had much in common. Under the original charter of Massachusetts Bay the political power was early vested in those inhabitants who were called freemen. An early order of the Council was in these words: "Henceforth no man shall be admitted to the freemen of this commonwealth but such as are members of some of the churches within this jurisdiction." In 1663 an order was adopted that persons who refused to attend upon public worship should be incapable of voting. There was also a requirement that all persons should contribute for the support of public worship, and be taxed in default of contribution.

Our forefathers were distinctively a religious people, and in general they agreed in their fundamental religious opinions. The strength of their convictions and the intensity of their feelings made them intolerant of conflicting views. They lived in an age of intolerance.

The institutions of England were organized to maintain and perpetuate a state church. Roman Catholics and Quakers residing in England, and other disturbers of the established order, were made the subjects of persecution. The colonists brought with them the spirit of the mother country. Laws were passed banishing Roman Catholics and Quakers from the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Baptists were treated a little less severely; but proscription of them drove Roger Williams and his associates to Rhode Island, where they made that colony a place of refuge for independent thinkers. The strength of Puritanism in the colony of Massachusetts Bay made it the stronghold of conformity to the doctrinal standards of New England. In the other New England colonies conditions were similar, although in none of them were the qualifications of voters determined by a religious test.

In Massachusetts the original requirement of taxation of all the people for the maintenance of the established churches was modified as to Quakers in 1731, as to Baptists in 1734, and as to members of the Church of England in 1742, by the enactment of laws which exempted from liability those who were conscientiously opposed to paying taxes for the support of the regularly established churches and who were accustomed to worship with a specified one of these other denominations. These statutes were first enacted for short terms of years, and were renewed from time to time until 1833, when general taxation for the support of churches in Massachusetts was abolished.

I have referred to these features of the early history of New England because the great influence of this part of the country upon the religious thought and the governmental policy of the Central and Western States has been everywhere recognized. To a large degree similar causes were operative from the beginning to produce similar although slightly different conditions in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The framers of the Constitution of the United States concluded its Sixth Article with these words: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States." The first article of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States begins as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the

free exercise thereof." It is therefore impossible for the nation, under our organic law, to create or recognize an established church or to interfere with the religious freedom of any citizen.

This constitutional provision is by no means an implication that religion is not a reality or that it is unimportant. It is simply the strongest possible declaration that this is a country of absolute freedom in religious thought and religious worship so long as there is no violation of moral and social regulations. In the constitution of Massachusetts and in that of some of the other States there is direct recognition of the importance of religion as the foundation on which good government rests. In Article II. of the Declaration of Rights in this constitution the thought is expressed in these words: "It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession of sentiment, provided he doth not disturb the public peace or obstruct others in their religious worship." We see, therefore, that our constitutions, State and national, recognize religion, but adopt no particular form of it. When legislative assemblies or sessions of courts are opened with prayer, a Christian minister usually officiates, because this is a Christian nation in the sense that most of the people have relations more or less close with some branch of the Christian Church. If it were conceivable that a majority of the people may hereafter believe that some other religion expresses more truly the relations of man to his Creator than the Christian religion, there would be nothing in our constitution to prevent the abolition or modification of any religious ceremony observed by a department of the government in connection with the performance of its public duties. If the Senate of the United States should invite a distinguished Jewish rabbi or Hindu sage to open one of its daily sessions with prayer in place of its revered chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale, it would not thereby violate any principle of our government.

The perfect independence of all our churches and the independence of our civil government in its relations to the churches are a development of our system which was hardly thought of in the early

days of the colonies. It follows from an application of principles of liberty which were planted deep in the hearts of our ancestors when they sought the inhospitable shores of New England. Freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences was the most fundamental and inspiring of the motives that gave strength and vigor and courage and perseverance to the Pilgrims and Puritans who laid the foundations of our State. Free speech, a free press, freedom to make laws and to choose rulers,—all these were included in their hope for the future, to be enjoyed to the full when civilization should be developed to their ideal. But these were only sequences to that freedom in religion which was their support and consolation.

The intolerance of the little communities during the early years in New England was without much consciousness of its purport. The proprietors had established their habitations as homes of religious liberty; and, in their confidence in the truth of their doctrines and in their revolt from the seeming worldliness of the Church of England, they forgot that others might conscientiously differ from them as they differed from the members of the Established Church. But they had planted the seed of true reform. Liberty of conscience was at the heart's core of their movement, even if they knew it not. With the advancing years it gave color to their system, and became its most striking feature. Now its dominion in the homes and among the people of the United States is absolute. In a free representative government it is necessarily inherent. The continuance of its existence in the future as a vitalizing principle in our republic cannot reasonably be questioned. It has come with the advancement of the people in education and civilization, and it is a natural accompanist of this advancement. That its effect has been beneficial, and will be beneficial hereafter, follows logically from its relation to all that makes for human progress.

A study of the practical workings of the American system, in comparison with that in England, will confirm our conclusions. The relations of Church and State in England have been much considered by the best thinkers for more than a generation. Incidentally to other subjects they have been considered for more than three centuries. While disestablishment and disendowment have been opposed by conservatives, they have found many supporters in the

Established Church as well as outside of it. Devout men have bewailed the paralyzing effect of State control upon spiritual life. Frederic Harrison likens the spiritual method in the Church to a mother teaching her children to love her, while the secular method reminds him of a drill sergeant teaching recruits to march. The stagnation of a church in corporate union with the State is undeniable. While the State looks to the world for its standards, a true church looks to the teachings of Jesus. In the work of the State we see the methods of politicians, while religious fervor begets the methods of spiritual teachers. The former methods paralyze a church, while the latter vitalize and invigorate it.

Many Churchmen in England utterly repudiate the illegitimate influence gained for the Church in the political world by enormous endowments, State monopoly, and artificial supremacy. They grieve over the political abuses connected with the traffic in livings and other ecclesiastical preferments. A distinguished Englishman in a spirited address arraigned the system in part as follows: "Is not an official religion a thing vicious in principle? Is it not growing each day more alien to modern policy? Is not an establishment, a political order within a religious institution, the invention of an age of unscrupulous politicians and political priests? Can we not read its doom written in every page of our new religious expansion? Can we not hear its buttresses crack and shiver under the swelling of spirit within, the stir and battle of life without it? Does it not add a new bitterness, a fresh entanglement, to many a political contest, making all education a field of contention, turning social problems into sectarian struggles, needlessly filling with embarrassment the tasks of imperial government? Are not statesmen growing weary of this useless burden of political difficulties? Are not Churchmen growing weary of the humiliating dependence? How long will they endure to see religious life thus vulgarized by a compact which forces devotion into the attitude of a parasite, and turns the voice of the preacher into the grating tone of a State official?"

The benumbing effect of political control upon the spiritual life of the Church is not the only ground of complaint among Churchmen in England. Men quite different from him whose words I have just quoted insist that the government is unfair to the Church in depriving it of authority in ecclesiastical matters and subjecting it to the

decisions of the secular courts. They feel that the successors of the dignitaries of the former ecclesiastical tribunals have no judicial power. Of course, non-conformists of different sects have long been contending for recognition and denouncing the injustice that has deprived them of their rights.

The evils which some Churchmen have anticipated from a separation of Church and State have not been felt in America. It has been feared that without the establishment the poor neighborhoods would have no proper provision for religious worship. Experience in America has shown the groundlessness of this fear. Nowhere else in the world has the missionary spirit been so effective as in America. Most zealously has provision been made for bringing religious teaching to small and poor towns and to remote parts of our country. It has been suggested that, without governmental regulation, rivalry among sects and jealousy of one another would bring denominations into mutual hostility. This evil has not been prevalent in this country, but the tendencies have been more and more toward unity of effort in Christian work.

Nor, on the other hand, has there been any lack of independence and self-reliance when denominational action has been called for. The growth of particular sects from the inspiration of their own conception of religious truth has sometimes been phenomenal. Under freedom every kind of religion helpful to the community may grow and thrive. After the Revolution the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country was very feeble. Its membership was small, it was surrounded by other organizations antagonistic to its doctrines and forms of worship, and it bore the odium of its former connection with the mother country. But from its inherent vitality it has grown to great prominence in America. The astonishing growth of Roman Catholicism has not come from immigration alone, but in great part from the retention of the descendants of immigrants within the Church. Other prosperous denominations might be mentioned, and of them all it should be said that their health and strength depend not upon adventitious aids, but upon their own vitality.

In this country and elsewhere the movement for religious freedom has gone hand in hand with the progress of civil liberty. In England the rights of dissenters have been enlarged from time to time, until

now there is little to prevent disestablishment but the practical difficulties involved in disendowment. Roman Catholics and Jews may sit in Parliament. The University of Oxford has been opened to dissenters by the passage of the University Test Act, and this has been supplemented by the act for the removal of ecclesiastical restrictions in the university. The ministry has lately been making a great effort to relieve the schools of all connection with the Established Church. This effort met defeat in the House of Lords, but it will quickly be renewed.

In Germany, since 1850, Roman Catholics have enjoyed almost entire independence. The union, many years later, of the Lutheran and Reformed communities into the "United Evangelical Church of Prussia" was intended to create a favored organization; but it left this Church in too close an alliance with the State. With the pope of Rome a self-restrained prisoner in the Vatican, the ecclesiastical thralldom of Italy no longer includes the civil power. France has lately been struggling, even to the great peril of the public peace, to establish the independence of both parties in the relations between the Church and the State.

Viewing this strain and stress in other lands, our country sits serene in the consciousness that here there is perfect freedom in religious life. Of the many blessings of a free government we deem this the choicest. Our fathers obtained it through toil and privation, in an unyielding determination to achieve so much of independence at whatever cost. Their children will cherish it as a precious legacy, whose possession suggests the development of an ideal national life.

NOTE.—In this connection may be read the article "Church and State in America," in the Proceedings of the First Congress, in London, 1901.

THE LIBERAL OUTLOOK.

BY REV. PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM, OF BOSTON.

The occasion which has summoned us together and the circumstances under which we meet encourage us to look with care, if somewhat briefly and in haste, at the larger implications of our message and the deeper obligations of our faith. The Liberal Outlook,—what is it at the present time? What promise is there of our cause to flourish? What duties have we to discharge, what functions to fulfil, what work as yet undone, which waits us to perform it and perfect?

I face the subject with the greater gladness, for there are certain things of definite and, I think, of pressing moment, which I wish to call attention to and urge. The time has come, it seems to me, for liberal thinkers to strike a note of deeper and more spiritual value, and to do a work of more constructive and religious import than has ever wakened our enthusiasm in the past. Our defects thus far, if I may speak of them as such, have been, as often happens in this world, the defects of our very qualities. Our weakness has resulted from our strength. Our faith has suffered at the hands of reason; and we have failed too much of late to take account of those elements in religion which are deeper than all the definitions of the mind and all the searchings of the intellect.

It would, I suppose, be pretty heartily agreed that a thing we definitely stand for is the need and value of clear and rational thought upon religious matters. We have always emphasized, and often well exemplified, the power and glory of plain, decisive, honest thinking,—not holding on to beliefs because they are beautiful or helpful or hallowed by a long tradition, but asking only, Are they true? Thus we often speak of ourselves not as liberal believers, nor liberal worshippers, nor liberal churchmen, nor as liberal religionists, even, but as liberal *thinkers*. The very name, indeed, of this Inter-

national Council, which has come together, is instructive and significant. It is the "Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious *Thinkers* and Workers."

In other words, we make the Truth, as the intellect perceives it, our one supreme desire. We agree to stand or fall by what appear, or are proved to be, the facts. We do not care for any set expression of a truth so much as we do for the truth itself. Like Matthew Arnold, we can say,

"For vigorous teachers seized my youth
And purged its faith, and trimmed its fire,
Showed me the high, white star of truth;
There bade me gaze, and there aspire."

And all of this, let me hasten to say at once, is well. It is still needed at the present time. There is none too much of it among religious bodies and believers. The Church as a whole,—there are great and noble exceptions of course, and they must never be forgotten,—but the Church as a whole, when account is taken of all its various branches, does not seem to be so much interested in what is true as it does in what may still be clung to as if it were true. It is not in the position of one who is eagerly searching for the truth; but it is in the position of having certain facts thrust upon its attention, and of being told that it must not any longer ignore them. The "children of the world" in this respect, if they are not wiser than the children of the light, are much more scientific. They are modern and not mediæval.

There is need, therefore, I repeat, and ample room, for insistence upon clear and vigorous thought in matters of religion. The battle has not yet been won for a pure religion which is fervent as well as rational. A thing, however, that as liberals in religion we too often have forgotten is distinctly this,—that a vast amount of religious impulse and spiritual consciousness exists which never can be brought within the range of what the human mind can find out to perfection. The deepest things in the world are those which are nearest to us, and those which least can be defined are the most essential and instinctive. Moreover, it is just when thought grows weary, and when her sturdy pinions, once so active and efficient, begin to beat in vain the rare and sublimated ether of the spirit,—

it is then that the other faculties of life push boldly on, then that feeling and imagination seek the dazzling source of light itself, and dare to trust where vision is denied. Religion, in other words, is deeper than any of the explanations and the definitions of religion, and faith outsoars the farthest reaches of philosophy.

This does not mean, however, that faith is the necessary foe of reason. Not at all! It very often is its friend and helper. When the two do not agree, it is frequently because the more spiritual faculty has gone boldly on ahead, and occupies with confidence a high and far position which reason only later will attain. If we may not, therefore, distrust our powers of thought, we often are obliged to confess their painful limitations. "Thus," as a writer has well said, "there must lie in all reasoning men's minds a streak of agnosticism. The triumph of faith can never, until faith melts into certainty, be of the same quality as the triumph of reason, and it is upon the proportion of doubt to faith in any man's mind that his religious attitude depends." For "Religion, in its purest form, is not a solution of the world's mystery, but a working theory of morals," and a creed is "only a desperate human attempt to state a mystery which cannot be stated, in a world where all is dark."

The inadequacy of thought, however, to be our sole reliance in matters of religion, is less the point on which I wish to lay my emphasis than its over-great sufficiency to waken differences and divide men into sects and schools. Religion, as I just have said, is a deeper, grander, more inclusive thing than any or than all the explanations of religion and the theories about its nature. Moreover, it is when we attempt to explain it fully, and to dogmatize about it, that differences rise and difficulties gather. You can never expect people to unite upon a definition of something which is practically indefinable. Thus it happens that the religious thinkers of the world too often have succeeded in confusing the religious workers and believers. Theologies have rested like a dull and heavy weight upon the breast of religious hope and trust. They have checked the natural breathings of the spirit, if they have not even stifled and suppressed them. Excessive emphasis upon the thought-element in religion, to the exclusion of the dictates of the spirit and the instincts of the feelings, not only acts to multiply religious sects and to magnify religious differences, but to minimize religious life and even to

repress religious feelings. It is the tendency of the reason to make religion "a theory for the understanding rather than a life for the soul."

You see, therefore, the point at which I have been aiming and where at length we have arrived. The liberal outlook should be an outlook of the *spirit*, and the thing that we are called upon to emphasize is a new interpretation of those great realities of faith which are deeper, higher, broader, more inclusive and enduring than all the "letters" which would kill and the dogmas that divide. What we need at the present time, and what we may confidently look to see developed, is the spiritual mind, the spiritual way of looking at religion and interpreting the Christian faith. There has been too much theology and not enough religion in the past, too much talk about the differences of dogma and too little stress upon the unities of worship. What the world is waiting for is less emphasis upon the things which cannot be believed and more insistence upon the things which never can be doubted.

Moreover, this spiritual view of things, as distinct from what is purely intellectual or essentially dogmatic, is the true inheritance and the rightful mission of the liberal faith. It was this that was the glory of the fathers of our movement, and the thing which causes them to be so well remembered. "The very essence of the liberal movement" under Channing and others, if I may quote the words of so clear an interpreter as the late John Chadwick, was "to emphasize the ethical and spiritual, and to treat theological dogmas as negligible quantities." A generation later came the word of Starr King upon "Spiritual Christianity"; and no deeper, truer, or more helpful word has since been spoken on this most important theme. It was the glory of King to declare and make forever clear that there are truths of the personal soul in relation to the God of all which are vastly more important to religion than all the articles of so-called faith and the arguments of valiant reason.

But I have no wish to-day to argue in this presence for this deeper and more spiritual point of view in matters of religion. I would rather plead with earnestness for what the spiritual point of view will lead to and result in. For genuine unity can only come through genuine spirituality. Fellowship of the spirit is the only fellowship that ever can be made effective, because supremely natural. It is

the function of the intellect to divide and make distinctions: it is the mission of the spirit to unite and make us all as one. In our thoughts of God, for instance, in our understanding of the life and teachings of the Master, we here, though liberal thinkers, are more or less divided. In our consciousness of God, however, and our reverence for the character of Christ we are as one. When we begin to define things, we fall inevitably apart; but, when we face the eternal mysteries which can never be defined, then the differences fade away, and we feel the touch that binds us all together.

We can hardly do much better than to go back to the great Erasmus, who was wise beyond his age and generation, and to act upon his clear advice in this respect. "Reduce the dogmas necessary to be believed to the smallest possible number," were his words of counsel. "You can do it without danger to the realities of religion. On other points either discourage inquiry or leave every one to believe as he pleases—then we shall have no more quarrels, and religion will again take hold of life." And the judgment of a recent prophet is the same. "Theology," writes Shailer Mathews, "indispensable as it is, always has been, and is always likely to be, a disintegrating force in Protestantism. To simplify theology is to unify society. With all the stern realities of unco-ordinated social life pressing in upon Christian people, it is suicidal to waste time discussing the calculus of Religion. With the sanctity of the home threatened by reckless divorces and even more reckless marriages, with a generation polluted with a mania for gambling, with saloons and brothels at its door, why should the Church pause to manicure its theology? Facing the world in the darkness of heathenism, the submerged tenth rotting in our cities, an industrialism that is more murderous than war, why should the Church stop to make a belief in the historicity of the great fish of Jonah a test of fitness for co-operation in aggressive evangelization? If it would make toward fraternity, the appeal of the Church must be to life; and, so far as social significance goes, the Church that does not make this appeal is dead while it lives."

One of the disgraces of Christianity is the divided condition of Christianity. In a day when railroads are being merged and business interests of various kinds united, and when nations even are drawing together in a closely federated world, the Churches of the

world still stand too much apart. Cleavages are sharp and differences emphasized. The condition oftentimes has been deplored, and remedies are being sought. And we, my friends, just because of our position, just because we are liberal thinkers, have a duty to perform and a function to fulfil in helping to promote a larger and more generous unity of Christendom. We, who care so little for the dogmas of theology, by laying ever greater emphasis upon the deep realities of religion, will inevitably help to bring about that unity of purpose and of power which are so much needed in the religious world to-day. To destroy the superficial, to disavow the unessential, that is not much; but to show the instinctiveness of worship, the inevitable nature both of trust and aspiration,—this seems to me of real and great account. For these, the deep realities of faith, are the things that evermore abide, and regarding which there is a minimum of difference.

In one of the older towns of Germany, so I have been told, they undertook long years ago to build a large and ambitious church which should take the place of a small and primitive chapel. But the people, in their wish that religious services might not be discontinued, did not tear the ancient structure down. They began to erect outside of it the giant walls and soaring arches of the larger church. The time came, however, when a period of war broke in upon the process of construction. Long years of strife went by, and the work thus interrupted never was begun again. There the buildings stand, therefore,—the little church within where worship still is held and prayers and praises never yet have ceased, while without the unfinished aisles and arches of the larger structure crumble into slow decay. And what is that but a true and graphic picture of the secret and abiding shrine at the heart of all religion, behind the walls of crumbling and defective creeds and insufficient definitions? It is the spiritual at the heart of all things, the elements of hope, of trust, of aspiration, that endure unshaken and are evermore important.

It was more than eighty years ago that two English poets stood together in the shadowed richness of the cathedral of Pisa. As the organ was playing and the soft, full notes were floating through an atmosphere made mystical and sweet by the incense that ascended from the altar, Leigh Hunt suggested to Shelley "that a truly divine

religion might yet be established if charity were really under the principle of it." And Shelley gave a deep assent.

To that poetic and prophetic wish, which never was so near fulfilment as to-day, we may add the music of a gentle prayer which was breathed at a later day by a brother poet of our own New England. Whittier clearly saw the unifying power of a real religion of the spirit. May we of this convention contribute something which shall make his prayer the practice of the Christian world by a closer union of all Liberal forces!

"Forgive, O Lord, our severing ways,
The separate altars that we raise,
The varying tongues that speak Thy praise!

"Suffice it now. In time to be
Shall one great temple rise to Thee,
Thy Church one broad humanity.

"White flowers of love its walls shall climb,
Sweet bells of peace shall ring its chime,
Its day shall be all holy time.

"The hymns, long sought, shall then be heard,
The music of the world's accord,
Confessing Christ, the inward word!

"That song shall swell from shore to shore,
One faith, one love, one hope restore,
The seamless garb that Jesus wore."

DE PROFUNDIS CLAMAVI.

PREACHED AT ARLINGTON STREET CHURCH, TUESDAY EVENING,
 SEPTEMBER 24, BY THE REV. JOHN HUNTER, D.D.,
 GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.

"Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, O Lord. Lord, hear my voice. O Israel, hope in the Lord; for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption."—*Psalms* cxxx. 1, 2, 7.

I.

THE DEPTHS OF LIFE.

The ancient maxim, "Self-knowledge is the beginning of all knowledge," has a nobler significance than that which it often bears. It is true, in the sense of Saint Augustine's memorable words, "If thou sinkest deep enough into the human, thou wilt find the Divine." Not only around us, but within us, there is all the mystery and wonder of the universe. Mind and heart and soul are deeper than we know. They draw their life from infinite sources.

Thomas Carlyle, whose "gospel" has been the inspiration of much of the best thinking and best striving of two generations, made a commonplace of the fact that every great man is a miracle. But one need not be "great" in order to be a miracle. There is a divine marvel in every common man. Our heroes and saints are not exceptional, but representative men. They reveal and interpret us to ourselves, disclose the depths of our being, the appetencies of our nature, and the possibilities of our life: their greatness is a promise and a prophecy,—the justification, not the condemnation, of our aspirations and hopes.

Our human nature and human life have their depths, and not in anything are they less understood than in the depths which belong to them. Their superficial aspects are forever hiding from us their

deeper realities. What calls itself knowledge of men—acquaintance with their ordinary thoughts, passions, motives, and ways, with their various humors, caprices, follies, and weaknesses—is not knowledge of man, of the inner and real man which the outer man as often conceals as reveals. We speak at times of “a shallow man.” But is there any such man anywhere? There are only too many men everywhere who are living on the surface of their nature, keenly alive to their earth-born wants and to the capacities of human existence for work and pleasure, and whose days are largely the record of mean ambitions and strivings. But to judge by appearances is nearly always misleading. The acutest judges of character are often at fault, and none go more frequently and lamentably astray in their reckoning than those who boast most confidently of their knowledge of men. In the so-called shallow man we may perceive, if we look intently and sympathetically enough, what is not shallow, and find, especially in those revealing hours when the tragic forces of existence sweep into his life, some suggestion of the latent power which needs the fiery storm to throw it up to the surface. We are often only passing judgment upon ourselves, upon our want of thought, imagination, and insight, when we proclaim our fellows to be lacking in those elements to which the great and deep things of life make their appeal. In the circle in which we live and move there would be many rich discoveries for any one with fine imaginative power, skilled to see into

“The depths of human souls,—
Souls that appear to have no depth at all
To careless eyes.”

There is a well-known poem by Matthew Arnold entitled “The Buried Life,”—a poem full of haunting music and rare introspective power. It is a picture of many a soul, and it is not difficult to fill in from experience the outline which it supplies. We all have the power of living so completely upon the surface of our souls as to be ignorant of what is hidden in their depths. It is, indeed, a large part of the pathos and tragedy of life that we are so disobedient to the oracle which bids us know ourselves. We either do not care for self-knowledge, or imagine we have it in such abundance that we can swear by it at times,—“as well as I know myself!” But there

are moments when we have glimpses of what we are and may be, of hitherto unknown capacities and powers, and from beneath our conscious life there rise the murmuring voices of a deeper, a buried life.

"Yet still from time to time, vague and forlorn,
From the soul's subterranean depth upborne
As from an infinitely distant land,
Come airs, and floating echoes, and convey
A melancholy into our day:

.
A bolt is shot back somewhere in our breast,
And a lost pulse of feeling stirs again,
The eye sinks inward, and the heart lies plain."

It is, nevertheless, true that many people here and everywhere are living superficial and shallow lives. They have either not come to themselves, they are still crude, undeveloped beings, to the great human powers and affections their vital progress has not yet advanced; or they have fallen away from their true life after it had been once and well awake, and it is now deeply buried beneath passion and pride, concealed under the thick crust of a selfish and worldly nature. But in them all slumber the powers which make of the sons of men the sons of God, and the education of their being is the unforgetting care of Him from whom they come and to whom they go. In vain do they seek to escape from His discipline, and in vain do they seek peace elsewhere than in His will. In the natural movement of their days and quietly as the night dawns upon a sleeping world, or swiftly and sharply in one of those

"strong, rushing hours
That do the work of tempests in their might,"

they will be awakened out of their vulgar ways of living, be made aware of the depths of their souls, and pass into a new world of experience and knowledge.

Saint Augustine complained of the people of his day, "No man cares to descend into himself." It is a complaint which some of our wisest teachers are repeating in our day. Few there be who care to go down to the depths, to have their self-complacency disturbed, and be made to feel deeply and think deeply. Most men

have no inwardness. They live altogether in the outward. The brooding, meditative gift is not in them. In past times, men suffered from excess of introspective thought, but the disease which is brought on by too much self-reflection is not in our day a wide-spread epidemic. Too much looking within is not a temptation of the modern man. There is no country less known to him than his own soul. "After years of life together," he might often confess, "my soul and I are strangers yet." He is afraid of deeper experiences, and reluctant to be on terms of close intimacy with himself. He is quite at home in the visible and temporal order of things, but he is a pilgrim and a stranger in what the Scottish seer called "the Eternities." From the message of the spiritual life he turns away as if it touched no secret spring in his heart. It is the voices without, not the voices within, to which he cares to listen. Even in religion, though interested, and perhaps keenly interested, in the problems of its external life, in its ecclesiastical and theological controversies, in its sectarian developments, and in its social and philanthropical activities, he is unmoved by its inward and spiritual power.

It is often a sorrowful surprise to the earnest religious teacher to discover how slightly interested many professedly religious people are in religion and what a trifling portion of their time they give to its serious study. Thorough, perhaps, in everything else, they are content to be superficial in all their knowledge of the verities upon which rest the world that now is and that which is to come. Hence their readiness to run after crazes and fantasies, and the little it costs them when brought into contact with aggressive unbelief to give up altogether their religious faith. They are carried away for the most part by scraps of knowledge which have come to them from newspapers, magazines, and popular novels. They have "out-grown" what they had never really grown into, and abandoned what they never truly possessed. There is a saying of Renan's which ought to be well pondered,—“In reality, few persons have a right to be unbelievers.” There can be little doubt that much of the fading interest in spiritual and eternal things which has marked the days that are passing over us, much of our religious indifference, and much, also, of our scepticism and unbelief, are due to the want of inwardness, to the slight knowledge men in general have of the depths of their life, and to atrophy of the spiritual senses through neglect.

There can be little doubt, also, that this neglect of the inner life is the explanation of the falling back of many in recent years upon traditional ecclesiasticism,—the reverting to a lower type of religion which we once supposed had been left behind. Men want a certain amount of assured religious belief, but they want it without any high and prolonged spiritual effort on their part. But as long as they remain strangers to their own souls and are content to let others feel, think, and believe for them, they must be more or less ignorant of the reality of religion. We are so made that we cannot believe with a real believing anything which does not answer in some measure to our consciousness and experience. The ultimate appeal of religion is to the soul. Outside of the soul the surest and most convincing evidence of the realities of faith can never be found. The divinity within us must be awake to discern the divinity that descends out of heaven and is revealed in the world and life. Without the personal assurance which flows out of experience, and which is the result of the actual satisfaction of our spiritual needs and yearnings, we are not able to appreciate the great testimony to God and to the things of God borne by the religious experience of mankind,—the collective experience which is named “authority,”—a natural and genuine authority by which our spiritual life is enriched and we are freed from the limitation and narrowness of the mere individual standpoint. Also, we can never, outside of the soul, find the true and permanent ground and bond of religious sympathy and fellowship. On the surface we are divided, often to all appearance hopelessly divided, but in the depths we are one. Debate and argument, views and opinions, drive and keep us apart, but in the depths we find not only ourselves, but our brethren,—brethren breathing out the same aspirations and prayers, having the same passion for God, the same need of God, and the same joy in God. It is true of religion, even in its intellectual aspect and expression, that those who are able to go beneath the surface and have the power of insight discover unities underlying apparently serious differences, but this is still more true of religion as an experience. Spiritual experience—the experience of the life of God in the soul—is the highest liberalizing influence, and the most effective and satisfying. It gives one the power to understand and interpret many religious dialects, and to discern here and now, beneath diversities of temperament and

training, cult and creed, the communion of saints, the Universal Church of God, the Church of the Spirit.

It seems to me what we most need to bestir ourselves about in these passing days is not so much the broadening as the deepening of religion, its deepening in our own souls and in the souls of our fellows. In its thoughts of God and his ways with man, religion has expanded wonderfully everywhere since the middle of the last century, but religion must have depth as well as breadth. The breadth that does not proceed from depth is hardly worth having: it is certainly not worth crossing the Atlantic to recognize and honor. The intensive movement is more vital to progressive religion than any expansive or forward movement. The course of true religion is, indeed, most outward and onward when it is most inward. Great religious reformations ever date from the quickening and deepening of faith in the souls of men. Their inspiration and energy are drawn from deeper depths than the lower faculties of the mind. It is perhaps the most serious defect of the liberal movement in religion that it is so much more an intellectual than a spiritual movement. It is the constant approach to the things of God primarily through the intellect which sterilizes much of liberal religion everywhere, makes of the churches lecture halls rather than temples of the Spirit, and their pulpit a rabbinized platform for the exposition of philosophical ideas and doctrines rather than a place for the delivery of a message from God to man. We must go deeper. Out of and to the depths of life we must speak. Mere affinity of opinion and belief is far too outward and contracted for the sympathy of men who speak so much of universal religion and hope and pray and work for the Universal Church. Our great facts, the things which in our hearts we all most care for, are in the depths, not on the surface. We are religious, not because the credentials of this or that form of religion bears the strain of critical inquiry and satisfies our critical reason, but because we have great moral and spiritual needs and experiences to which we believe our religion is a full and perfect counterpart, corresponding in a deep and manifold way with what we know of ourselves and of life.

To the soul, then, we must return. Out of its depths have come religions, Bibles, prayers, liturgies, psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, and it is still full of the elements of revelation. It is an un-

exhausted and inexhaustible world. The outward universe, the star-sown abysses of space, have none of those mysterious and unsearchable depths which we find in our spiritual being. When we gaze on all

"The splendor of the morning sky,
And all the stars in company,
And think, How beautiful it is!
Our soul says, There is more than this."

And there ~~is~~ more than this. God is, indeed, immanent in the world of nature and in the order of life, but He is still more intimately present in the soul of man. Our spiritual being relates us immediately to the Infinite and Eternal Spirit, and it is this divine depth of root and resource which is the explanation of all our aspirations and the justification of the most daring hopes we can cherish of illimitable development.

II.

THE CRY FOR GOD OUT OF THE DEPTHS.

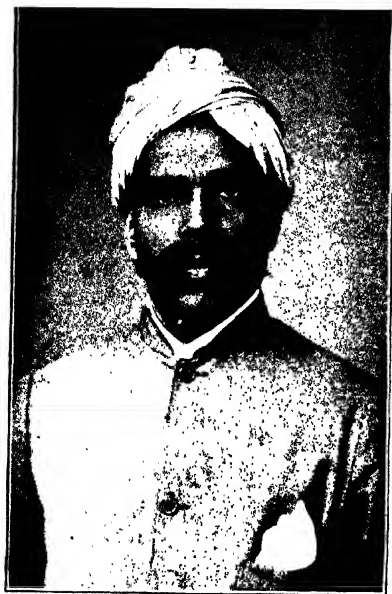
1. The cry for God is the natural utterance of the awakened soul of man in every land and age,—the cry of man whenever and wherever he freely speaks out of the depths of his nature, an aspiration which all history confesses. It may not always be an intelligent or conscious cry, but a seeker after God man has always been and must ever be, because from God he comes, begotten, not made, and with a nature so constituted that only in God can he find his full and final satisfaction and rest. The surface of his life may often appear to say one thing, and its depths quite another thing, but it is the cry from the depths which reveals what he truly is and what he most needs. It is his inmost wants and desires, not his hard, cold sense and keen understanding, which read most rightly the secret of his life. It is not to the surface of his life his real spiritual needs belong, but only those poor selfish cravings which are often mistaken for them by ill-instructed minds. Outwardly, he may seem to long and cry for other things more than for the presence of God, and to find his peace and joy in them, but when his soul is moved and searched, and the fountains of its great deep are broken up, in all those crises which throw light on the inner condition and movement of his

being, the cry for God is seen to be fundamental, and his longing to connect his life in some way with the life of the invisible and eternal world an irrepressible longing, which tends ever to rise into a strong and intense passion.

In the eighteenth century some clever men found an easy settlement of the religious problem by dismissing religion as the invention of priests, forgetting that it was the religious instincts and wants which made the priest and his institutions at all possible. Man is as distinctively a religious as he is a social being,—religious for the same reason as he is domestic, political, intellectual, and artistic. It is his nature unfolding to divine realities and relations, seeking its corresponding objects and satisfactions. The beginnings of his religion, like the beginnings of all other things in his history, may be dim and vague and feeble, but it ought to be judged, as we judge the other things, by its essential quality and most perfect expression, and not by its early and rude forms, not by the physical beginnings of spiritual instincts and the sense-conceptions and sense-language of primitive religious feelings. It is not independent of his mental and moral development, of his general condition and culture. It grows as he grows. It is not something grafted upon his nature from without, but comes out of his nature,—a component part of himself, which he must train and develop. Revelation is necessary to its purifying and perfecting, but revelation does not and cannot create the religious capacity or instinct. For a revelation received and understood there must be that in man to which it appeals,—something in the depths of his personal being akin to what is in the infinite and unsearchable depths of God. Matthew Arnold used to say that religion, if it is to continue, must be based, not on traditions and documents, but on its natural truth; and of course that is so if by its natural truth we mean its correspondence with the fundamental facts of life and with the generalized experience of mankind. We need have no hesitation in affirming boldly its natural truth when we call to mind that there is nothing in the history of our race older and more universal, more central and commanding, than religion. Its many and various forms, the great historical religions and the older religions out of which they grew, all have their roots struck deep in human nature. Whenever and wherever man begins to reach the truly human level, he begins to worship,

and, the more human he becomes, the more do the sentiments of awe and reverence, dependence and submission, reinforced by the larger trusts which longer and wider experience give him, become natural to him. It is just because he is what he is that his spiritual attitude is that of a believer and worshipper, and, had he no other Bible than his own soul, he would never be without a living witness for God. In its wonder and awe, in its fear and hope, in its sense of goodness and truth and beauty, in its aspiration after perfection, in its shame because of failure, in its joy in obedience and service and sacrifice, and in all its idealizing yearnings which never in these mortal years get their right and complete command over the life, he who watches and studies wisely and patiently will discover God, and from the sympathetic observation of all such experiences have the persuasion confirmed that religion is natural to man, and that, the more of God man takes into his life, the more natural he becomes. It would be easier to deny the tendency of matter to a common centre, or the tendency of man to draw to his fellows, than to deny the native tendency and movement of the human soul to God. Its only language may be a cry; but how full of meaning and prophecy is that cry!—the cry of the soul for God as it comes to us down all the ages, from every people and from every literature which utters the mind of a people, and from the noblest spirits of every race, interpreting most clearly the voice of humanity as it speaks through them. “All men,” said Homer, “cry after the gods.” “Through all heathendom,” said Saint Paul, “men seek after the Lord, if haply they may feel after Him and find Him.” “The human soul,” said Tertullian, “is naturally Christian. The testimonies of the soul [to God] are as true as they are simple, as simple as they are universal, as universal as they are natural, as natural as they are divine.” “If we will but listen attentively,” said Max Müller, “we can hear in all religions a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to utter the unutterable, a longing after the infinite, a love of God.”

There is not, I am persuaded, even a touch of exaggeration in the statement that the greatest discovery of the nineteenth century was the discovery of the ancient religions,—of what men before Christ and before Moses, in a dim and far past and in countries like Egypt and India, thought about God and life. It has made us hear clearly, rising from every land and from every age, from men divided by



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leagues of space and centuries of time, ignorant and enlightened, mean and noble, the cry out of the depths of the soul for God, even the living God.

Everywhere in our own age as well as in past ages may be heard the cry for God. It is the advanced spiritual desire of humanity. To-day, as yesterday, out of the depths of his soul, man cries to God, however much his noisy passions, follies, and cares, and the tumult of the world may make inaudible the voice of his deeper mind and deeper heart. It was once said by a celebrated English lawyer of our time that the man who could not get on without religion, who could not occupy his mind with love, friendship, business, politics, science, art, literature, and travel, must be a poor kind of creature. It is, on the contrary, the man who can be wholly satisfied with outward and earthly things apart from God who is the poor kind of creature, living upon the surface of his nature, with the energies of his spirit still dormant or so suppressed and overborne that they are in danger of dying out. To be truly a man is to have infinite capacity for God, to have desires, affections, and needs which the things of civilization and culture cannot satisfy, which can only be satisfied in communion with the Divine. Man, be he what he may, is made to be a seeker after God; and, because he cannot escape from himself, he cannot escape from God. The cry for God is heard as soon as he comes to himself, and it becomes clearer and more persistent, more passionate and pathetic, the further he goes into himself. In his more careless moods he may play with doubts, amuse himself with negative views and cheap rationalism, and treat religion as if it were merely something to be examined, pulled to pieces, and criticised; but out of the depths of his unbelief the unconscious faith of the soul never fails to make itself heard. In spite of crowds of easy livers here and everywhere and the extraordinary supply of the means of excitement, which, giving vivid interest and attractiveness to the outward life, tend to stupefy and deaden the religious sense, men cannot live utterly contented without God. The way they are caught now and again by all kinds of fanaticism proves that the promise and potency of religious faith are still there. It is also an impressive fact that behind all the surface play of the forces in modern life that tend to obscure or even to challenge and deny the fundamental religious beliefs, the religious nature of man may be

seen asserting itself, and often in strange ways. The philosopher's bold statement that man becomes more and more religious is not without warrant. The religious affections may be changing, here and there, their objects and modes of expression; but they are not losing their energy. The phenomena which are often regarded as signs and proofs of religious decay are more justly interpreted as religion passing through a process of transformation. There are movements of thought and feeling, far below the upper tides, and disturbing agitations which we see and chronicle, that bear silent but strong witness to the upward-looking instincts and impulses of humanity. There is, as has often been pointed out, hardly a form of the deeper thinking and deeper living of our time which does not reveal the inherent and indestructible religiousness of man. The ideal substitutes for God upon which our more serious and cultivated unbelievers have been spending their devotion these many days prove how deep in the soul and unescapable are the religious instincts and needs. The cry for truth, for right, for justice, for love, is a cry for God. The moments in which men long and strive most purely and intensely for the triumph of truth and justice and love are moments of unconscious prayer, the prayer which includes in its sweep all our unselfish desires and yearnings and strivings. "All my springs are in Thee," said the Hebrew Psalmist. God is at the root of all our ethical aspirations and purely human enthusiasms, and to Him they lead. Without Him they remain partial and fragmentary, only in Him do they find their centre and unity, their strength and stay.

2. And thus are we led to observe that the cry for God is the aspiration of the whole nature of man when he is true to it. It is not an isolated thing, the expression of one faculty, a single experience: it is in the structure and strain of our being, in its living unity of powers and tendencies and manifold needs. In all the faculties and affections of our complex nature we are created for God, and through them all we are meant to rise upward to Him.

God is a demand of the intellect as well as a longing and need of the heart. Reason seeks God as much as any other of our nobler human powers, and in the fully and symmetrically developed man it is ever seen to be a faculty of reverence. Out of the depths of all true and earnest thought on the mystery of the world and life the quickened mind aspires to God, rises instinctively to the one supreme

and universal Mind which the order of things bespeaks, and in which alone it can find a satisfaction proper to its characteristic nature. Thought as it deepens confirms and justifies our own religious aspirations and trusts. We remember Shelley's line,—

"O thou Immortal Deity
Whose throne is in the depth of human thought,"—

and the philosopher's saying that, while a little knowledge inclineth men to atheism, depth of knowledge brings them back to God. Because in mind as well as in heart and conscience man is kindred to God, the full development of the mind must lead at last to God, and God, we may be sure, has not made the world in such a way that the honest and thorough study of it will lead men away from Himself. The complete witness of the human reason to God is yet to come, but God is its inevitable goal. The end of all deep thinking must be to put men more and more into the mood and attitude of worship. Much of the intellectual movement of our times may indicate instability and superficiality, but in its more serious forms it is the modern spirit dissatisfied with old and familiar explanations of the material and spiritual universe, yet seeking the innermost truth and reality of things, crying in its own way with the ancient Hebrew for God, and confessing with the Christian saint that it is restless until it finds rest in Him who is the truth itself.

And what has been said of deep thinking may be said of every form of deep feeling. It must render us religious, deep calling unto deep. The sense of beauty which makes poets and painters, and is more or less in all men, belongs to the image of God in man and is meant to put us in touch with the spiritual and eternal in all created things, and to raise us into communion with Him to whom Saint Anselm prayed as the Absolute Beauty. Admiration, the power of perceiving, appreciating, and enjoying things lovely and great and wonderful, rises into adoration. Seas and skies and mountains, the dawn of day, a night of stars, kindle in the susceptible soul the sentiments of worship. The feeling which noble music produces is of the nature of aspiration: it is a longing towards some divine good, consciously or unconsciously a longing toward Him who is the source and centre of all good and all harmony. It has been said of the highest kind of music that the hearing of it enables one to realize his

immortality. It touches and awakens some inner sense which our common experience only partially satisfies; it fills the mind with those great and high feelings and with those far-reaching thoughts that pass beyond all earthly bounds and wander through eternity. And the same is true of all the deeper parts and passions of our being. Our human affections at their best have their flower and fruit in spiritual and heavenly aspirations. Our human love of goodness stirs in us the divine love, and is included in it, and opens our nature to God as the sun opens the earth in spring. Our desire of excellence—excellence of character and excellence of work—bears witness to God and is a cry after His perfection. Our moral aims and strivings are fulfilled in religion. Our religion is the fulfilment of the deepest instincts, affections, needs, and experiences of our nature. As the fire seeks the sun and the river the ocean, so does our life in all its deeper and larger aspects move towards Him who is its beginning and its end. We must have God to understand and explain our nature and life. He is the answer to all that is good and best in ourselves, to our powers of intellect, imagination, affection, conscience, to our faculties of worship, aspiration, and hope. "When I awake," said the Hebrew saint, "I shall be satisfied with God." "The life of man," said one of the Fathers of the Christian Church, "is the vision of God." Out of the depths our souls, as they awake, cry for God; and only with God can they be finally satisfied, only in communion with Him, spirit with spirit, can be found the fulness of life and joy.

3. The cry for God is an importunate cry in all the critical moments and experiences of life. What is true of the depths of our nature is true of the depths of our life as it is lived in the world. In its deep places where we come face to face with its serious realities we are taught what we truly are and are made aware of our divine relations and needs. Under the pressure of critical emergencies the most fundamental things in our life come to the surface. In our great and sore straits, if at no other time, the soul reveals its divine kinship and lifts its cry to God.

It is true that our deep experiences are not all sorrowful. Joy may be as profound as grief, and out of the depths of joy every sound-hearted man breathes forth his gratitude not merely for good found or achieved, but received. In all its supreme moments life

turns inevitably to God. In all our deep experiences God has a part, and almost in spite of ourselves we recognize it.

But be glad and grateful as we may and ought to be for all that brightens and sweetens life, yet as things are now, it is sorrow more than happiness that drives us to God. We have a nature endowed with infinite capacities for pain, and there is no escape but an ignoble one from some form of the pain which makes the cross the true symbol of a large part of every man's life. "Perhaps to suffer," wrote the Swiss theologian, Vinet, in one of his letters, "is nothing else than to live deeply. Love and sorrow are the conditions of a profound life." A truer word was never spoken. The tragedy in which we live is meant to educate us. There would indeed be no understanding of life at all, did we not know from experience that in life's depths we receive our best teaching and training. Out of the depths have come the finest poetry, the finest music, the finest speech of the world. "The Bible owes its place in literature," said Emerson, "not to miracles, but to the fact that it comes from a profounder depth of life than any other book." Out of the depths have come the most inspired and inspiring of the psalms of faith, both ancient and modern. Out of the depths men have brought blessings which are rarely found in green pastures and by still waters. We never know how much God is the one great need of the soul till we go down to the depths.

There are depths of physical weakness and suffering out of which men cry to Him whose will concerning them they often forget in health and ease, and only remember when sickness comes in and shuts out the world.

There are worldly anxieties and losses which rudely break up all the shallow optimism that has no deeper root than the self-complacency produced by prosperity, and which take men down below the surface of life into its deep places where they learn to pray, or to pray as never before.

There is the sorrow of bereavement, common, yet never commonplace, the pain that comes from broken fellowships; and in their spiritual solitude and desolation men are driven to seek higher help and comfort than any which the world can give.

There are experiences of fallibility in understanding what we ought to do; critical hours in life when serious responsibilities press, and

grave questions which mere acuteness cannot settle; and men, in their extremity, feel the need of a wisdom which they do not find in themselves, and of a guidance which their fellows cannot give, and they cry unto God, "Lead me and teach me."

There are depths of disappointment and failure in our best work,—sympathies imperfectly met, misplaced trusts, broken purposes, and defeated hopes; and it is especially the ministry of such noble failure to draw forth the powers latent in every human being, and to make God felt as the one supreme necessity of life.

There is the struggle with moral limitation and weakness,—the sensitive temperament, the ill-balance of a finely endowed mind, the want of will-power, the overgrowth of impulses good in themselves,—inheritances which make life so tragic to many,—the struggle with forces within and forces without which seem adverse to a noble development, and which make the most aspiring and faithful souls feel that they cannot do the things they would.

The Psalm from which our text is taken is familiar to many devout people as one of the seven penitential Psalms. It was dear on this account to Chrysostom, Augustine, Savonarola, Luther, Hooker, Owen, Baxter, Wesley, and to many more of the elect spirits of our race. And it surely cannot be that any man capable of deep feeling can be wholly ignorant of the saddest tragedy of human life which is seen in the conflict between desire and duty, in the effort to reconcile the ideal and the actual, and to be at peace with God. Who does not know of this struggle, interpret it how he may? Who has not cried out in the agony of it, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?" When one passes in review before the tribunal of his heart the irrevocable years, what wonder if

"Oft his cogitations sink as low
As, through the abysses of a joyless heart,
The heaviest plummet of despair can go."

Though it is only one experience of the spiritual life, and must not be allowed to overshadow all the rest, yet the sense of dissatisfaction, deepening into the sense of guilt, lies near the heart of all personal religion worthy of the name. It marks the awakening of the higher life; it is, as Carlyle once said, the beginning of all progress. The worst conscience is not the one that is most

sensitive to evil and most troubled by wrong things done and good things left undone, but the conscience that is so dull as to have no experience of guilty pangs and terrors, and that can make its possessor able to fit his greatest transgressions into a self-satisfied view and scheme of life, and to reconcile himself to memories of passion and shame. In men morally healthy and well developed the sense of sin, of evil done with full consent of the will, is a reality, not a shallow emotion, but a profound grief, the thought not of their weaker moments, but of their sanest hours. It is simply self-knowledge.

It is a universal law of the higher life that, the better a man becomes, the more sensitive he is to sin, and not only to his own sin, but to the sins of his fellows, the sins of the nation, of society, of the church, of the community in which he lives. It is the best men who feel most keenly the burden of human iniquity and confess the abounding moral evil of the world as if it were their own evil; it is they who are most conscious of the wrong-doing of their fellows and suffer most on account of it, and not the actual wrong-doers themselves. It was so with the Hebrew poet. The pathos of the great lovers and helpers of mankind is in his Psalm. It is the utterance of an intensely personal emotion, but it is more than personal. He speaks in the name of Israel, merging his own feeling in the shame and repentance of his people. "I wish," said that great prophet and saint of God, Frederick Denison Maurice, "to confess the sins of my land and time as my own." It is almost impossible to imagine a truly godly life without this underlying sensitiveness and sadness, without this suffering heart of holy love and sympathy, which is the thing likest God in this world.

In ancient India, perhaps more than fifteen hundred years before our Psalm was written, men sung a hymn which obviously came out of the same experience as this passionate Hebrew poem of penitence and prayer. It was translated into English out of the dead Sanskrit tongue by Professor Max Müller. These are the English words:—

Let me not yet, O my God, enter into the house of clay:

Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.

If I go trembling like a cloud driven by the wind:

Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.

Through want of strength, thou strong and bright God, have I gone wrong:

Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.

Wherever we men, O God, commit an offence before the heavenly host:
 Wherever we break the law through thoughtlessness:
 Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.

III.

THE DIVINE ANSWER TO THE CRY OUT OF THE DEPTHS.

Is there any divine response to the call of humanity for God to these many and varied cries out of the depths of our human being and life? There must be in the nature of things, we are persuaded, such a response, something outside of man answering to his inner life and fulfilling its needs, actual movement and manifestation on the part of God corresponding to our natural cravings after Him. Out of the depths man cries: down to the depths God must come, meeting with a corresponding answer every real and deep want of the souls He has made to seek after Him, if haply they may feel after Him and find Him. Whatever may be the relations between human aspiration and divine condescension, whatever be the conditions of the coming down of the heavenly help to human need, it is simply impossible for any religious soul to think that there is no approach of God to man. Unless life be a tremendous unreality and illusion, and we come into the world only to be fooled and cheated; unless the universe departs from its order in dealing with the spiritual necessities of mankind and the cry for God meets with exceptional treatment, quite unlike that given to the other functions and attitudes of our nature,—it is simply inconceivable that the fundamental cravings of the soul can exist without their satisfaction and the prayer from the depths remain unanswered. Many of our religious teachers may say too much on this matter and speak presumptuously of what God has done and can do, but their overstatements to those who are living in the consciousness and communion of God are better and nearer the truth than denials and negations. It is, indeed, not difficult to believe in divine condescension in an answering, revealing, redeeming God, when one truly believes in God,—believes, that is, in infinite and eternal goodness. It appears inevitable that man should look with longing and hope for help from on high, for he cannot understand his life, its whence, and why, and whither,

apart from God. It cannot be, he is sure, having no choice of existence, that he should be here in this world endowed with a mysterious nature, called to live a life full of most serious significance, without the presence and help of God. He has a right, he feels, to trust Him from whom he comes, and to believe that no light from heaven can lead astray, least of all those great religious aspirations and wants which have lived through all human ages, overreaching all stretches of history, and are still the highest necessities of the soul. No strong crying and tears will make God answer our selfish or fictitious wants; but that He is responsive to what is best in man, that He is answering day after day, age after age, the spiritual aspirations and needs of humanity, is a necessary belief to every one, Christian or non-Christian, who believes in the reality and closeness of the bond between God and man, in the affinity of man for that life in God which is the true end of his being.

"O Israel, hope in the Lord; for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption." "He is mindful of His own; He remembers His children." The movement cannot be all on the side of man. Job had caught a glimpse of an eternal truth of life when he rested his hope of vindication and deliverance upon the desire which his Maker had toward the work of His hands. That the desire of God has brooded over humanity from the beginning, and still broods over the life of the children of men, is a thought which holds a central place in the literature of religion; and, however difficult it may be to reconcile this lovely, human way of thinking of God with our abstract conceptions of Deity, it brings us closer, we feel sure, to the divine reality of things than ways which we may fancy to be grander and more philosophical. We are fond of contrasting the littleness of man and the awful brevity of his days upon this earth with the immeasurable creation which science reveals; but, if God be love, then our passionate human life must be more to Him than a whole universe of passionless worlds. What answer can masses of clay and stone, however huge and old, give to the desire of His heart? Can we frame any worthy thought of God which excludes the idea of His need of the love and trust and obedience of His children? If the word "Father" spells but one syllable of the divine name, then we may speak not only of man's need of God, but reverently of God's need of man, of divine love that seeks the answering love of its sons

and daughters, of Deity ever going forth out of the abysmal depths of His perfection to give Himself to His creation and His children because it is His nature and property so to do.

It is told of Pascal that often he seemed to hear God saying to him, "Thou couldst not seek Me, hadst thou not already found Me." Yes, we seek God because He has first sought us and found us. The cry out of the depths is more, therefore, than a mere human breathing: it is itself a divine inspiration. Our pure unselfish longings for truth and goodness, our prayers for union with God, are, as Saint Paul taught long ago, the spirit making intercession for us,—that highest human voice which is ever one with the divine voice, which is the divine voice rising from the depths of our humanity and speaking through our spiritual needs. In the movements of the human spirit we see the workings of the divine spirit. It is the divine love of goodness that cries out in us when conscience bears witness for good. It is the divine hatred of evil that cries out in us when conscience awakes in protest against evil. It is because we are made in the moral image of God and are united to Him, not by baptism or conversion, but by birth, that our whole nature thrills with what moves the divine nature. In its last analysis there can be no noble aspiration in man which is not an impulse from Him in whom we live and move and have our being. In the realm of our inner life God does not begin His work where we leave off. It is not man down here and God up there with a vast stretch of distance between. In all the experiences of our life and growth He is present, mingling His life with ours, silently and potently. Not here and there, not now and then, but always and everywhere He is near, acting upon the human spirit from within as well as from without, immediately as well as mediately, speaking down to and up from the depths of the heart and conscience,—deep answering to deep.

We interpret, and rightly interpret, the various religions of mankind as man seeking God; but they may also be regarded, and rightly regarded, as God seeking man. "Unaided reason," men have been in the way of exclaiming, as they contemplated the various religious systems of the world outside the Hebrew and the Christian religions. But we may well ask, with Cardinal Newman, whether the reason of man is ever unaided. There are not two kinds of religion, natural and revealed. From the point of view of human

capacity and seeking and effort all religion is natural: from the point of view of divine manifestation all religion is revealed. The Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel, whatever else it teaches, teaches the divine activity in our world from the beginning. It would be an error to suppose that God neglected the larger part of mankind because of His more intimate dealings with one section of the human race. It must be true, if God be one and His name one, that men of like passions and needs as ourselves, who came from God and belong to God, and are nourished physically by His air and sunshine and fruits of the earth, must also have provision made in the divine order of things for the sustenance of their spiritual life, and that it is not left entirely to the tender mercies of their fellows whether they shall have God or be without God in the world. It must be true that God cares equally for the souls of all His children, and that He finds access to them, helps them, teaches them, comforts them, saves them, by methods and means that are not seen and temporal, and by ways in which no man can tell whence He cometh and whither He goeth, and that He is only limited in the giving of Himself to them by their capacity to respond and receive. People of old used to think that the divine action was confined to here and there, now and then; but the conviction is growing and spreading that the only defensible conception of the moral action of God on humanity is that of a continuous and impartial influence, limited to no age or race. To our enlightened feeling it is becoming more and more presumptuous to say that His spirit can only work along one line of human thought, or can only bring men to Himself through one set of defined successions of emotion or experience. Personal intimacy with God is not an experience special to Jews or Christians. The knowledge of the revelation of God in Hebrew and Christian history is an unspeakable blessing, but those whom, in the order of Providence, it never reaches, are not hereby excluded from the communion of the spirit. A truer and larger faith in God as the everlasting Father and Teacher and Saviour of mankind has made it no longer possible for intelligent and believing men to regard all religions outside the Jewish and Christian pale as superstition and falsehood, or to keep up the old pitying and condescending attitude towards them. Their immaturities and corruptions we no longer allow to cheat us of the right to say, God is good to all: whither shall

we go from His spirit? He has never left Himself without a witness, never left multitudes of His creatures without His help, without light and guidance, without comfort and salvation.

“The Unseen Power, whose eye
Forever doth accompany mankind,
Hath looked on no religion scornfully
That man did ever find.

“Which has not taught weak wills how much they can?
Which has not fallen on the dry heart like rain?
Which has not cried to sunk-self, weary man,
Thou must be born again! ”

The deep needs of the soul which make man look longingly for help from above and beyond himself, even from God, may be interpreted as a cry for knowledge of Him with whom he has to do, a cry for reconciliation or union with him, a cry for light and guidance, a cry for strength and consolation and peace. The divine response to this vast and varied cry of humanity has been made, we believe, in some degree, to the whole race of mankind.

“Tell me, I pray thee, thy name,” is a cry out of the depths which man has raised to God in every land and age. It is as natural as it is vital. To know the character of the Unseen Power that orders our birth and death and all our life, and what His relation and attitude are to those whom He made to seek after Him, is a craving which every human being exercising normal powers must at times feel and express. And in some way and in some measure God has been answering this cry, has been revealing Himself to man through all the ages of man’s life here upon this earth. Revelation has been slow and gradual, not because of any divine reluctance or caprice, but because it waits upon human development, upon the quickening and unfolding of man’s highest powers. In troubled and bewildered hours man has been heard complaining, “Verily Thou art a God that hidest Thyself”; and yet the light has ever come as fast as he could bear it and receive it. There is no want of revelation. There is, indeed, nothing but revelation. From the beginning God has been revealing Himself to men by the order and beauty and bounty of the world, through the natural affections, by the teaching and learning of life and the education of history. Knowledge of nature

and man is knowledge of God. In finding order, harmony, bounty, beauty, truth, wisdom, justice, goodness, and love, God is found. It is all revelation from nature to man and from man to highest man. God has ever been actively present in the world, and especially in man and in the upward movements of his intellectual and moral life. We dare not pretend to limit the ways by which He makes known His personality and His presence, and moves, illuminates, and guides His children. He draws nigh to them, not only in and through His creation and the course of history, not only through the teaching and example of His great prophets, holy servants, and beloved sons, but immediately, mind with mind, spirit with spirit. In all ages men have had experience of an immediate presence, of a God who has access to their inmost being and acts in their secret life, who reveals Himself by impressions upon their spirits, and whose voice, when they are hushed to listen, is heard, not in their ears, but in their souls.

Yes, God is ever coming down into our life, coming more and more. His advent is unceasing: new light from the eternal source of light is ever flowing into human souls. What is needed is not more activity of manifestation on the part of God, but more susceptibility to the divine manifestation on our part, souls which have been taken pains with for the sake of the unseen and spiritual and been made sensitive to God.

The cry of our humanity for reconciliation and union with God is also a cry which God is ever answering. The great obstacle to religion in our world is not ignorance, but sin. More than enlightenment, we need salvation. Can all our civilization minister to a troubled conscience? Can all our culture heal a guilty pang? Can the knowledge of any scientific, philosophical, or theological truth subdue an evil passion? But in the depths of our weakness and sin God is our salvation. The deliverance of man is dear to God. It is the essential nature of love to seek and to save. Because God is love, He is ever coming down to the depths of our life, depths of sorrow and sin, the deepest depths of degradation, in order to help and to bring to Himself, by all the power of His love, His wayward and disobedient children. Whether it be a fallen or a rising world we live in, we know in our hearts that we need reconciliation with the God of the world: blessed be His eternal love! He has never been outside

His world, but has been always in it, bearing the sins and carrying the sorrows of our race. Its history is the history of redemption, the history of the unceasing efforts of Him with whom we have to do, to influence without compelling the vagrant and stubborn wills of men. Through all the human ages, ever since sin began to darken the face of the world, the seeking and saving love of God has been a reality. All the great attitudes and acts of God are eternal. "That which was from the beginning declare we unto you." "His goings forth have been of old and from everlasting." It was not a new and strange work which the beloved Son of God did in our world. His work is not an isolated divine effort, an interpolation in human history, but the reflection and revelation in a part of space and time of the universal and eternal labor and passion and sacrifice of God. Without Jesus the world was for thousands of years, but not without a God delighting to forgive and mighty to save. The work of Christ is based on the deeper and larger fact of the love and mercy and care of the Eternal toward all mankind. We are learning its deepest lesson when we see in it a picture of what God is always doing,—always helping His children, always saving them in His infinite goodness and mercy. And, as it was then, it is now and ever shall be, world without end.

And not only through Christ and men inspired with the spirit of his life and the charity of his cross does God reconcile the world to Himself, but the whole economy of things is so ordered as to bring men at every point into contact with God. Unto nature and unto all the forces which enter into human life have been committed the ministry of reconciliation. This is their final meaning and end as far as man is concerned. By all the natural processes and experiences of life, by the discipline of toil and hardship, joy and sorrow, by the retribution which warns us back to the ways of righteousness and peace and the moral purpose that is in all events, God our Father from the beginning has been reducing and destroying the moral separation between Himself and His children, and been seeking to bring them to the obedience and fellowship of sons.

But here again the work of God on man is more within than without. Immanent in men, He co-operates with the aspiration and effort of every man towards reconciliation with goodness, and therefore with the universal movement of the race. He is the ulti-

mate cause of all progress and the unseen source and inspiration of all our human strivings to draw near to Him. We seek Him because He first seeks us. And the meeting-place is often in the lowest depths, where we are struggling with weakness and sin or are sinking under them. At the point where sin leaves us in the darkness of shame and despair God in His mercy finds us and is nigh to help and save.

The most central truth of our religion is just the helpfulness, the universal and eternal helpfulness, of God. This is the heart of the religion of the Hebrew poets and prophets. "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in Me is thy help." "In God is my salvation and my glory, the rock of my strength and my refuge is in God." This, also, when we put aside all those strange accretions which have gathered about it in its passage through the thoughts of men, is the message of Jesus Christ, to whom God was the eternal shepherd of souls, who seeks until he finds. It is the message which the Church has been repeating age after age, clearly or faintly, in differing and often confusing phrase: God is with us, with us in the deepest depths, with us in our greatest humiliations, with us in our bitterest shames, with us in our terriblest sorrow, with us to forgive and save, to strengthen and comfort.

It is the glory of Jesus Christ that to-day as yesterday he inspires men who come directly under his influence with this enthusiasm of faith in the redeeming mercy and love of the Eternal. To those of us who have been born in Christendom the hope of the old Hebrew saint in plenteous mercy and redemption, in infinite resources of saving love and power in the divine nature, is ours more than ever. The gospel of him who sounded the depths of human sorrow and sin, who descended to hell in another and truer sense than is meant in the creed, who went down into the depths of the world's evil and felt its power, his gospel is a gospel of hope. What is emphatically his secret is the new and greater trust and hope in God which he implanted in the minds and hearts of men. His most central thought concerning human suffering is that it is joy in the making. His most central thought concerning abounding sin is more abounding grace,—infinite possibilities of moral recovery and repair. Men and women! haunted and persecuted by sleepless memories of passion and failure and shame, you have no right to

despair of yourselves, for that is to doubt God. His love is deeper than all the depths of moral evil into which you can sink. The hope of salvation to the uttermost has ever come to men through the experience of real and intimate fellowship with God. In all lands and ages the men who have stood nearest God have believed most grandly in His infinite charity and grace. Through him who said that he was one with the Father has been preached unto the world the forgiveness of sins. Because God is love, holy and inexorable love, He must be forever and ever a God who forgiveth sin,—the infinite giver of a power that makes men better, filling them with new tempers, new affections, new loyalties, through which the weak become strong and the bad good, the infinite giver of a power which takes away sin in the only sense sin can ever be taken away, by making the sinner hate his sin, turn against it and away from it, and love and follow the good.

In recent days we have heard much, perhaps too much, of "Old Theology" and "New Theology." What is described as the Old Theology made much of the sense of sin and the need of forgiveness. It regarded human nature chiefly under the aspect of sinfulness and guilt. It forgot that human nature is not a simple and single thing, and that a gospel to commend itself to all men must be wide as human need. Its marvellous strength in the days when it was heartily accepted and believed grew out of its limitations, but these also were the cause of its weakness and its decay. It provoked a reaction from which we are at present suffering. Our liberal theology is too often just as partial and one-sided, failing to meet the needs with which the old orthodox presentation of religion chiefly dealt. A well-meaning religious teacher was speaking on the beauty of goodness to a gathering of poor people in the slums of a great city. "Your rope isn't long enough for the likes of us," shouted one of his hearers. Now it is not wisdom to think that we have touched bottom because our plummet has ceased going down. It may only mean that the soul and life are too deep for our soundings. What is described as "New Theology" must have much of the Old Theology in it to enrich and complete it if it is to satisfy in any real and abiding way the spiritual needs of men. Sin and forgiveness, reconciliation and union with God, must not hold in it a secondary place. Its preachers must have the historic sense, and come not to destroy, but to fulfil. The

thought of the immanent God which has become so real and vivid in our time that it seems to many like a new revelation does not, wisely understood, lessen our faith in the ever-revealing and ever-redeeming God. But it is required of religious teachers who would meet the deepest cravings of humanity not only to believe in the Divine Immanence, but to have some personal experience of God's present help and salvation. Saint Augustine tells us that his chief reason for writing his imperishable confessions was to praise God before men for raising him from such depths of sin, "lest any other might lie down and sleep in despair and say, 'I cannot awake.'" It is still preachers who can tell men from their own experience of the love and mercy and grace of God whom our world most needs. Of all men, the preacher must not be weak in faith; he must be no doubter, no cynic, no pessimist. He must be a great believer in the great things, also an unconquerable optimist, a man of abounding hopefulness; for he lives to inspire and diffuse hope, to make men feel and believe that they live in a world not under God's wrath and curse, but under His love and blessing, and that neither life nor death, nor things present nor things to come, will be able to separate them from the Eternal Charity and Care.

When the saintly Quaker, John Woolman, lay on his death-bed, the feeling, he said, "of the extent of the sin and misery of my fellow-creatures separated me from the Divine Harmony, and was more than I could bear. But, in the depths of my distress, I remembered that Thou, O Lord, art omnipotent, and that I had called Thee Father; and again I was made quiet in Thy will and looked for deliverance from Thee!" To God we must ever look when there is darkness without and within. We must not let the sorrow and sin of the world rob us of our faith and hope. There can be no such thing as unchanging and persistent evil in the world, for God is never outside of His world. He is ever indwelling and at work in His moral as in His physical creation, and present in all shapes and depths of evil as the infinite spirit of goodness working for goodness, the everlasting Father and Saviour of men. "O Israel, hope in the Lord; for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption."

DEPARTMENT MEETINGS.

DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY
OF RELIGION.

Held in Pilgrim Hall, Congregational House, on Tuesday afternoon, September 24. Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., of Boston, presiding.

The Chairman in a few felicitous words introduced Rev. Gottfried Schoenholzer, pastor of the New Minster in Zürich, Switzerland, whose paper was on Martin Luther's historical utterance at the Diet of Worms. Mr. Schoenholzer's address was delivered in German, but the translation of it, which follows, had been distributed in pamphlet form among the audience, making it easy to comprehend him.

**"HERE I STAND. I CANNOT DO OTHERWISE.
MAY GOD HELP ME!"**

A TRUE MAXIM FOR LIBERAL PROTESTANTS.

BY REV. GOTTFRIED SCHOENHOLZER, OF ZÜRICH, SWITZERLAND.

Did Martin Luther actually end his classic reply at the Diet of Worms on the 18th of April, 1521, with these very words? This no one can prove, any more than the exact wording of the historic utterance of Galileo on the 23d of June, 1633,—“E pur si muove!” But both expressions represent the situations and utter the thought of these great thinkers in their greatest moments in an unsurpassable manner.

You may have seen on a May morning a dewdrop lying upon a delicate blossom of the spring. It performed the service of a convex lens, and showed clear and enlarged the finest filaments of the petals beneath. So, in the early morning of the enthusiasms of a people for its heroes, myths and legends settle down on the objects of their admiration, and we are permitted to gaze into depths of soul which the actual words of these great spirits, spoken under stress of circumstances, would hardly have revealed to us so clearly. For this is the deeper sentiment of these devoutly stubborn sons of God in the greatest hours of their life: “Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. May God help me!”

The first concern of a reforming spirit is *to take a firm stand*. So the great sculptors have represented them. How firmly they are planted on the fixed base of their convictions,—Luther at Worms and in the Church of the Protestation in Speyer, Vadian in the market place of St. Gall, and our own Zwingli in Zürich, with Bible and sword, gazing afar over his native Alps! The sculptor, in each case, has known how to express the thought that these heroes possessed something fundamental on which to base their protest and their defence. They are all a reproduction of Archimedes with his

famed utterance, "Give me a standing-place and I will move the world!"

To merely say *no* is an easy matter. Children can do that. If adults exercise this inborn love of negation *in a narrow, one-sided way* in religious, political, or economic affairs, then they act in a childish manner. The *mere* love of criticism and negation is puerile. Young persons and the old war-horses of reform often find particular pleasure in protesting, in denial. Unless their Nay is founded on a deeper Yea, before which the defender of the ancient and loved order of things must bow in acknowledgment, it is natural that he will attribute their negations to frivolity or obstinacy. Often, to be sure, he does not see this Yea, and does not wish to see it, even if it has long been shining in the souls of those who lead in the attack. The princes and representatives of cities, who at the Imperial Diet at Speyer in 1529 raised their protest against the assumption that the most intimately personal and sacred thing which a man possesses (namely, his religion) should be decided by a majority vote,—these were called Protestants, in the reproachful sense of obstinate deniers. Yet they possessed, like the ancient prophets, like Jesus and the Reformers, a mighty Yea as the basis for their Nay. They, too, could say: "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise!" What was then, in all ages, the firm foundation which made the true and serious-minded Protestants so irresistible? I sum it all up in one sentence. *It was the inwardly experienced, directly known, and eternal life of God in their souls*, in contrast with all temporal forms of mediation, such as the priesthood, a hierarchical church, churchly works, ceremonies, sacraments, the intercession of the saints, and the like. All these finite and temporal institutions, caricatures often of the religious life, have the tendency to flow together and form a substitute for inward and spiritual religion. Therefore, all protest against Rome culminates in the opposition to its polypiferous nature, so destructive to all national life. In the degree in which a child of God has forced his way to the conception of the unmediated character of personal salvation, such as, for instance, we find expressed in the Beatitudes of Jesus, it must protest against all this impedimenta of baggage, which burdens his ethical life and limits his communion with God. Because it proceeds from what is innermost and best in man, every religious

protest—that of the Waldenses, the Reformers, of Jesus of Nazareth—has an elemental and indestructible power. But this only when its Nay is the reverberation of a still grander Yea.

Only the religious man is really justified and permanently successful in making a religious protest. From this point of view much light is shed upon protests which have failed. By the seventeenth century much of the Protestant protest had degenerated into dogmatic disputes, and had so lost its power. Also many persons are Protestants to-day, not from inward conviction, but because of hatred of the political power of Rome. Their protest is nothing but an empty beating of the air. Their seeming victories over Rome will soon be annihilated again. Though the Christianity of the Roman Church is, in our opinion, very much distorted, and of the earth, earthy, yet in its distortion it is still a greater power than the irreligion of many zealous anti-clericals who are not able to oppose Rome from the firm foothold of an internal religious conviction. Against this Church, which still contains much true religious life, one cannot triumph by means of force, contempt, and scorn, but solely through a higher and better piety.

But our protest, thus based on an inward and firm conviction, is not only applicable to the Church of Rome; *it must also be uttered against the stagnation in the work of the Reformation in our own Church.*

One must admit that Protestant Churchmanship has also been held back, and its progress retarded by the power of habit and of written and oral tradition.

Here we stand. This we believe, this is our position; that is to say, "our spiritual life is intended for harmony, and not for dissonance. If it is to be well with us, our inner world of thought and feeling must not occupy itself with conceptions which are opposed to the laws of our reason. Our inventory of beliefs must not be cut off, like a separate domain, from the knowledge and activity of our rational powers. It will not do for us to write in one subdivision of our minds, "Christ, entirely and completely human," and in the other, "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, sinless, omniscient, and almighty." God meant the spiritual and the rational in man to go together. The example of Luther shows how much trouble is caused by trying to tear them asunder.

Luther read in Corinthians, as we still read to-day: "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive," and in Romans: "For, as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." This Luther, in his Bible Commentary, calls an absurd doctrine, one opposed to reason. That one man should be a substitute for all men, and that we all should die or live through the imputed merit of another, this seemed to him to be senseless. But here it is in the Scripture; the Scripture is God's word. "Therefore I will believe it," Luther said to himself, thus compelling himself to accept it, since to doubt would be a sin against God and a rejection of his explicit revelation. "Therefore, if temptations should again come to me, if doubts of salvation should arise, I will believe the word of God literally and wholly. He has said it: that decides all. If he deceives me, I am blessedly deceived. To stand by the literal text, to close one's eyes to all else, is the one thing needful. What Christ in his Sacrament, and Paul in his epistle, which is God's word, have told us, must be true, even if no human being can understand it." Luther went so far that he characterizes objections of the human reason in these matters as the Devil's work. He heaps upon this supreme gift of God truly blasphemous abuse. He himself is brought by this unholy inner contradiction to the verge of despair. "I was," he tells us, "thrown about in the storms and floods of despair and blasphemy against God." At the Diet of Worms, on that great day in his career, he demanded of his opponents "just, sound reasons." He appealed to the Scriptures, but as interpreted by reason and conscience. At other times it was the Scripture alone to which he assigns the right of deciding the issue. Such is the fatal inconsequence of the Reformation, which called into being an inner schism among its followers. But here stand *we*, the sons of the Reformation. Its inner and fundamental unity must be preserved. The reason and the sentiments must not stand opposed to each other. What God hath joined together let no man put asunder. If in our attitude towards the doctrine of the Trinity we are Unitarians, we must be such still more with respect to our spiritual powers and potencies. And here we stand; that is, on the conviction that *one law, one all-including order controls the course of things*. On the acceptance of this truth rests

all our knowledge of the world, all our scientific understanding of nature and mind, all education, all our knowledge of man's place in the universe. The reason in man comprehends the reason which is in the course of things. The mathematic in us is cognizant of that in the universal order. This world-order must be an unbroken and eternal one, or it is not order and law. It would throw the whole economy of the world into confusion if on a single occasion iron was lighter than water, as is related in Kings vi. 6, or if once only the sun stood still (Joshua x. 13), or if in a single instance fluid water stood fast before a word, or if a man really dead had, through a spoken word, or in any other way, come to life again. For one who is reared in reverence for the Biblical world of miracles and wonders it is nothing less than a catastrophe to awaken to the modern conception of the world, a painful "I cannot otherwise," but yet a firm "I cannot otherwise." Truth above all!

But what becomes, in all this radicalism, of the conclusion of Luther's saying, "God help me!" Oh, if we could attain to a joyous uplift towards God, to a rock-based belief in God and trust in him, it would indeed be a splendid declaration,—"*Here I stand.*" And on such a firm foundation there would be erected a still more splendid "*I cannot do otherwise.*" Well, then, let us enter with courage upon the road to this faith in God. I am. I comprehend myself totally and briefly in this word *I*. I am conscious of myself. This consciousness is to me an immutable, incontestable fact of my nature. All other being depends for me on my own being. This also is for me absolutely established. I think, I am a thinker. I think myself, and I think the world. Thought is, and without it nothing exists for me. That which I do not think is nothing for me. Is it then so preposterous to conceive of an intelligence which includes all being, a thought which comprehends all existence, which I will call God? Of what import against this is the objection, "I have sought with telescope and with microscope through all the heavens and the earth, and have nowhere encountered God"? Is our most real possession, our spirit, our soul, an object to be surveyed through such instruments? Can you prove its existence by mathematics or the processes of natural science? Not so! We can *prove* absolutely nothing about even our own spirit. We can only experience it. What wonder, then, that we cannot prove the all-

including Spirit. But one cannot bring the shadow of a proof *against this existence of God as a world-embracing spirit*. If, then, both cannot be proved by the usual methods (that is, by experiment and dialectic), what is to decide the matter for a rational man? I think analogy will solve it,—the analogy of the human spirit and its relation with the body of which it is the informing soul. The one is not like to the other, but omnipresent in the other, the soul in the body. Even so God is not like unto the world, but is in the world as its cause, law, and goal. Secondly, a test of the matter proclaims this. I mean in this way. With the postulate God the whole world becomes clearer, more intelligible. If he interpenetrates and inspires it as unitary and perfect order, then I can understand that through the ages—if you will, through the processes of descent and development according to Darwin's teaching—spirit ever manifests itself. Out of spirit is produced life and the spirit of man. Without this divine spirit the appearance of life out of protoplasmic material is for me an insoluble riddle, a piece of magic. How out of mere mechanism, left to itself, life could originate, let him understand who can. Only when a chain is affirmed which winds itself over and around the atoms, and links them together, does there dawn upon us an intelligible world of life and spiritual phenomena. This is an assumption which by its reasonableness and scientific character may well maintain itself by the side of a pretentious materialism. The religious sentiment—"Of him and through him, and to him are all things" (Romans xi. 36); "In him we live and move and have our being" (Acts xvii. 28)—is also in the highest degree a scientific affirmation which cannot be denied.

We are still more bold, however, we cannot otherwise, we must go on and speak of a just and holy God,—yes, of a God of love, of a loving and beloved heavenly Father, to whom we may pray. We may be told that this is much to include in one affirmation. True, but we will justify our faith, and explain our "Here stand I. I cannot do otherwise."

The higher our standpoint, the more embittered is the attack made upon us by the champions of the so-called mechanical or materialistic theory of the world-government. Is not the world manifestly full of injustice? I recall all the social wrongs, the out-

rages committed by great nations against weaker ones, the individual crimes against the life, property, and honor of individuals. Is there not everywhere a discrepancy, in our day no less than in Job's, between our ideals of justice and the conduct of men, between their moral desert and their fate? Certainly, he who did not freely admit this would not be of the truth. But whence comes, amidst all these dark happenings, the indestructible light of the sense of justice in man, and his faith that justice must triumph at any cost? Whence the wondrous power with which the people Israel, with its faith in a God of justice and righteousness, maintained itself among much stronger peoples. Whence the elemental power with which Jesus' ideal of justice towards children, women, the serving and suffering classes, has forced its way in the history of mankind down to the abolition of slavery in America, and beyond this to the impetuous demands of the social movements of our day? Whence the disapproval by public opinion of the war of England against the Boers, and the cruel wrongs visited by Russia upon Finland? Whence, too, the wide-spread satisfaction in the human mind when it hears of a single deed of justice? It is because God, who lives in the conscience of the just, is justice itself, and has implanted in our conscience an unimpeachable faculty or sensorium for divining what is right and wrong. God's spirit gives witness in our spirit that we are his children. In the days when the unrighteous and insane violence of the dying Roman Empire cried to heaven, God called the greatest teacher of civil rights into action, from whose classic encyclopædia of law, the *Corpus Juris*, the students of social justice still draw their inspirations. Even from the mouth of the heathen he called: "Be not afraid. I, God, am the just and righteous One amid all the injustice and waywardness of the world."

And God, furthermore, approves himself to be the Holy One. But how, then, we are asked, can he permit evil to exist? How shall we reconcile with his holiness the presence of sin in the world? The whole of the manifestation of the ethical life of man (and in this consists the distinction between the nature of man and that of other existing creatures) has for its fundamental condition the free choice between good and evil. Without this possibility there can be no morality. For this reason there must be offences in the world. But, Christ tells us, "woe to him through whom they come!" In this

forced choice between good and evil comes to man that command, "Thou shalt," which is none other than the voice of God in his conscience. The wages of sin is death, the annihilation of man; but blessed, in the truest sense, are the pure in heart. Does not the Holy One announce himself in this condition of man's mind? Oh, do not err. God is not mocked. "He who sows to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, but he that sows to the spirit shall of the spirit inherit eternal life." Even the materialists desire to live morally, and train their children according to ideals. But, more than this, I have an inner proof of experience that God is just and holy; namely, when in the struggle against passion and flesh I rise to the freedom of the spirit, I feel myself near to God (blessed are the pure in heart), and, if I make God's holy will my own, then I not only best fulfil my life purpose, but then all the human environment about me feel the better and more deeply conscious of the purpose of their life. On the other hand, any departure on my part from the path of duty and right becomes a serious injustice toward all other men.

The greatest heroes of humanity, before whom all spontaneously bow in reverence, are *those who love*, the high-priests of human sympathy who take into their hearts the joys and sorrows of their fellow-men. Oh, what a chosen band are these,—Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Elizabeth, Saint Vincent de Paul, Hermann Franke, Pestalozzi, Wichern, Werner, Damien, Bodelschwing, Florence Nightingale, William Lloyd Garrison, E. Fry, Dorothea Dix, Lassault, Dr. Thomas Barnardo, Miss Hobhouse, and others! and in advance of all in light and life stands Jesus of Nazareth, over whom is the Father in heaven, from whom he, the Son of Man, derives his love and tenderness. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them which revile and persecute you." Should you ask from whence these men were inspired to this incomprehensible folly of loving these unlovable ones, they would say to you, "From God, who is love itself: it is this which animates us without ceasing." Though creatures, plants, animals, and men destroy one another without remorse, these angels bring us intelligence from a higher world. God, the only reality, is love. If I put it to the test, if in this faith I conduct myself towards the world, then the greatest and divinest is possible to me. The proof

is ample. With the God of love for my helper, I can do all. Here I stand, on the firm basis of this conviction. To this God, who is spirit, righteousness, holiness, and love, his children in all times lift up their hearts in prayer, in sorrow, and in joy, and their prayer becomes to them a source of strength and peace. In the face of all denial of the Godhead, from the sure foundation of the innermost spiritual experiences of all ages and lands, they exclaim with Luther: "Here stand I. I cannot do otherwise. May God help me!"

The Chairman next introduced Rev. Christopher J. Street, M.A., of England, who spoke as follows:—

THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO RELIGION.

BY REV. CHRISTOPHER J. STREET, M.A., LL.B., OF SHEFFIELD,
ENGLAND.

Time was, and that not so long ago, when a title such as I have announced, would have been hailed with derision by most Christian people.

I can well remember when it was the fashion to classify "religions," as they were called, into "true" and "false," Christianity being regarded as the only true religion and all the rest as false. The contemptuous pity then expressed for the "heathen" was offensive and ungenerous, utterly unworthy of the spirit shown by the Master and the best of his apostles in dealing with the religious susceptibilities of people who thought not quite as they did. The rebuke to the impetuous Son of Thunder who wished to call down fire from heaven to consume the unfriendly Samaritans, and tried to stop the good work of casting out evil spirits because it was being done by one who "followeth not with us," needed frequent repetition in those days, and it is not wholly unnecessary now: "Forbid him not; for he that is not against you is for you." "Ye judge after the flesh; I judge no man." The narrowness of Peter, before his soul was awakened, found many imitators, but not the catholic spirit of the enlightened Peter, who had gained grace to say: "God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean. Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." And the broad-minded oration of the Apostle of the Gentiles on Mars' Hill might never have been spoken, so far as the effect on the average Christian conscience was concerned. "God that made the world and all things therein, He, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is He served by men's hands as though He needed anything, seeing He himself giveth to all life and breath and all things; and He made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the

face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us: for in Him we live and move and have our being; as certain of your own poets have said, For we are also His offspring."

But the days of that old and objectionable narrowness and spiritual conceit (which is the worst of all conceits) are past—gone, I trust, forever from intelligent Christianity; and there is better promise to-day of a return to the pure and unadulterated gospel of Jesus Christ than in any of the generations gone by. All that is good and true in the "New Theology" is old as Christianity itself, and what is mistaken and foolish will pass away, as all kindred errors have done. But meanwhile, let us welcome every bold and earnest prophet, however we may differ from some of his teaching, so long as he proclaims the Immanent God and helps to make humanity conscious of its essential divinity.

A Christianity like that of Jesus so abounds in charity and sympathetic understanding of the greatness of truth and the varied wants of human hearts that no admonition as to tolerance is necessary. The more clearly we know, the less we shall criticise and the deeper will be our understanding. But a narrower Christianity sometimes meets with a deserved, if gentle, rebuke from one whom it may regard as a sceptic or agnostic, as when, *e.g.*, Mr. John Morley writes:—"Tolerance is far more than the abandonment of civil usurpations over conscience. It is a lesson often needed quite as much in the hearts of a minority as of a majority. Tolerance means reverence for all the possibilities of Truth; it means acknowledgment that she dwells in diverse mansions, and wears vestures of many colors, and speaks in strange tongues; it means frank respect for freedom of indwelling conscience against mechanic forms, official conventions, social force; it means the charity that is greater than even faith and hope."

What is it that has made such a sweeping change in the bearing of the thoughtful portion of the Christian Church toward the non-Christian manifestations of the religious spirit? Many causes have undoubtedly contributed to this cheering and satisfactory result. There has been much natural growth and development from within. The

essential spirit of Christianity has asserted itself as against all denominationalisms and ecclesiasticisms, and made thinking men understand that all humanity is one, and that the Father is always seeking His children in order that He may save them. But the chief factor making for this better state of things has been the wealth of new knowledge about the faith of other peoples which has been poured upon us—knowledge whose credentials are unimpeachable, coming as it does from close study given by sympathetic and scholarly minds, dealing with facts in a purely scientific spirit, and anxious only to ascertain and announce the truth. For the first time it has been possible, and is now being generally found by thoughtful students to be desirable, to apply scientific methods and tests to the problems of religious phenomena, as they are presented in countless phases and forms all the world over. Thus has grown up the science of Comparative Religion, and it has become practicable, and most interesting and illuminating, to study the various manifestations of the religious spirit together, enabling us to judge, as never before, of the degrees of merit in the different systems of faith which humanity has upreared, and to discern an underlying unity which the dust of the strife of sectarians has hitherto obscured.

One thing has been made perfectly clear by this new knowledge and the scientific application of it; namely, that Christianity is one thing, and Religion is something larger and more comprehensive. It is no longer possible for the thoughtful man, however devout a Christian he may be, to say or to think that the terms "Christianity" and "Religion" are synonymous and coextensive. He cannot refuse to see that much precious Religion exists outside of the Christian circle of influence. He cannot any longer divide "religions" into "true" and "false," for he sees that there is and must be truth in all. He cannot even speak, except carelessly, of "religions" at all; for he has learnt the great and liberalizing truth that Religion is One, though its manifestations and expressions are full of variety. He has come to see that the Church of God is greater than all the churches, stands high above their dogmatisms and half-truths, comprehends them all in spite of their arbitrary dividing lines, and even includes multitudes whom they have ignored or cast out.

The Church which is truly Catholic comprehends every earnest worshipper, and excludes no manifestation of reverence, whatever

intellectual shape it may assume. The spirit of the living God can never be restrained within ecclesiastical demarcations. Wherever the human spirit reaches out in aspiration and devoutness, a ready response of the Divine Nature is found.

I find it easier to define Christianity to my own satisfaction than to define Religion, which is perhaps natural. It is the larger truths that are hardest to summarize in a phrase. The nearer they approach infinity, the less possible is it for them to be defined. Christianity is a particular manifestation of the religious spirit which is common to all mankind. It may be simply and fairly defined, I think, as "the religion of Jesus."

But, when it comes to defining Religion, the real difficulty begins. How many books have I opened in hope for guidance in this matter, only to turn away unsatisfied and disappointed! How many great teachers, to whom one looks with affection or reverence, have failed completely in this respect! Religion is "those perceptions of the Infinite which are able to influence the moral character of man," says Max Müller. According to Frances Power Cobbe it is "the sense of absolute dependence, united with the sense of absolute moral allegiance; the Being on whom we depend being recognized as possessing the Right to claim, as well as the Power to enforce, our absolute obedience." "By Religion," says my own beloved teacher, James Martineau, "I understand the belief and worship of Supreme Mind and Will, directing the Universe and holding moral relations with life." "The religious element first manifests itself in our consciousness by a feeling of need, of want; in one word, by a sense of dependence," says Theodore Parker, who at the outset of his ministry wrote, "I determined to preach nothing as Religion which I had not experienced inwardly and made my own, knowing it by heart." "Religion," says Professor Flint, "is man's communion with what he believes to be a god of gods; his sense of relationship to and dependence on a higher and mysterious agency, with all the thoughts, emotions, and actions which proceed therefrom." Count d'Alviella defines it as "the conception man forms of his relations with the superhuman and mysterious powers on which he believes himself to depend." "Religion," says Bishop Creighton, "means the knowledge of our destiny and of the means of fulfilling it." Professor Bradley, in his Gifford Lectures last February, said, "It is an attitude or activity of the whole soul

or personality, containing a mode of belief about God and about the self and the world in our relation to Him, a mode of feeling concerning Him, a direction of the will towards Him, or a union of the will with His will,—no one of these alone or merely side by side with the others." "Religion," says Dr. Minot Savage, "is the search for the secret of life."

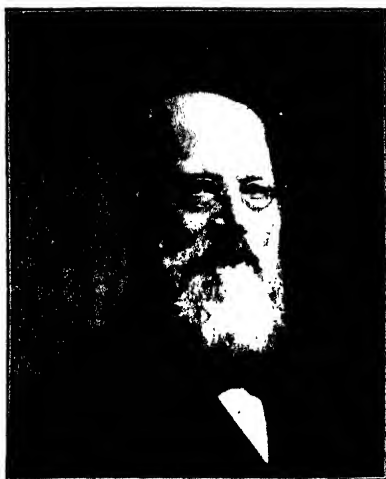
None of these definitions satisfy me. My own statement of the case usually is that Religion is the reaching out of man's spirit to God, the connecting link between earth and heaven. But I realize the inadequacy of the definition. The one which really commends itself to me as the most poetical and beautiful is that given at the very end of H. Fielding Hall's remarkable book, "The Hearts of Men": "Religion is the music of the Infinite echoed from the hearts of men."

The fact of man's religious tendency is a necessary corollary of his divine origin: the method and extent of its development depend chiefly on nationality and age. The American, like the Englishman, is born to be a Christian, the Turk or Arab to be a Mohammedan, the Burmese to be a Buddhist. Parsee and Jew, Brahman and Shintoist, are such because their conditions have made them what they are. But each expresses religion in his own way; and, whatever his form of faith, his fervor and zeal, his sincerity and devoutness are equally manifest. A man's religion is his most priceless possession. There is nothing he will not sacrifice for it when it has got a real hold of him. There is a strong enthusiasm felt somewhere for every form of religion; and the strange thing is that the enthusiasm of one phase of it usually scorns the enthusiasm of every other.

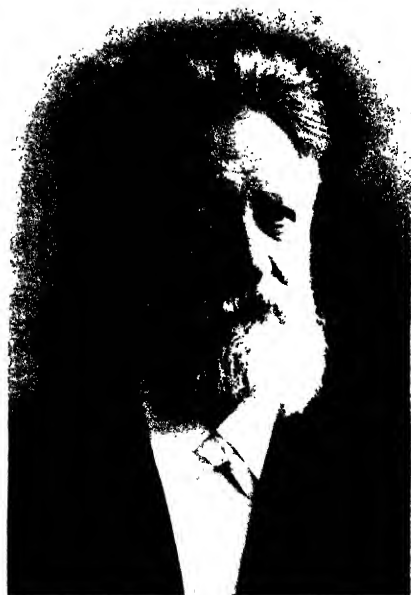
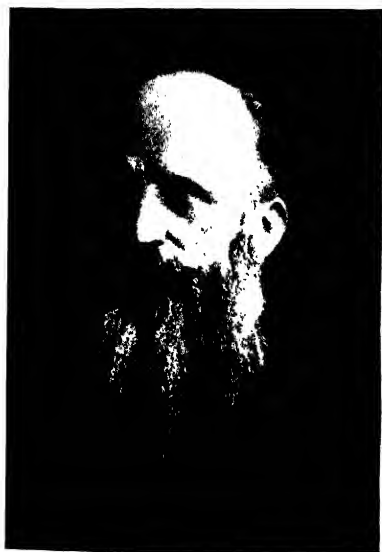
All religion comes to meet a deep human need: it springs from the fountains of the heart and wells up in strong waves of feeling. When religious susceptibilities are touched, all is Emotion,—a sufficient warning that Reason alone, invaluable gift of God as it is, is not enough to meet human needs. Religion may be divorced from reason, and, alas! it often is; but unspeakably beautiful is the perfect combination and harmony of Reason and Emotion, blending in perfect expression of the deepest wants of the soul. Faiths are built up from feeling, but they need to be guided and controlled by intelligence before they can stand the test of true worth. There is no such stimulus to life as religion. It intensifies a man's power over himself and over others. It transforms and dignifies the whole nature.



PROF. MARTIN RADE, D.D.
MARBURG, GERMANY



PROF. OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D.
BERLIN, GERMANY



It is clear gain when our minds are sufficiently broadened to enable us to realize that no religion is false, however inadequate it may seem to us; that no idolatry in itself is wicked, but simply an incomplete and childish attempt to express the worshipping spirit; that no doctrine of theology is untrue, merely an imperfect guess at the truth. Our own favorite doctrines are nothing more; and never a man was born who knew, or could know, the whole truth of God. Some of *our* worship is perchance idolatry, too. Certainly, it would seem so to men who approach God in other ways. The religion which we love with all our hearts appears to earnest and thoughtful men, born and reared under other influences, to be pernicious and fatally false; yet we know that it is not so, any more than their own faith is without beauty and truth to support it. "Every religion," says Max Müller, "even the most imperfect and degraded, has something that ought to be sacred to us, for there is in all religions a secret yearning after the true, though unknown, God. Whether we see the Papuan squatting in dumb meditation before his fetich, or whether we listen to Firdusi exclaiming, 'The height and the depth of the whole world have their centre in Thee, O my God: I do not know Thee what Thou art, but I know that Thou art what Thou alone canst be,' we ought to feel that the place whereon we stand is holy ground."

It is simply a question of degree between one form of faith and another, between one phase of religion and another, and each must stand the fair test of comparison. Jesus must be measured with the founders of other world systems; our Bible must take its place beside the other Bibles of the world; the best will plead its own cause. No thunder-voice from Sinai is necessary to proclaim, "This is the Word of God." If it is a divine word, it will speak for itself and make its influence felt. No mighty miracle is needed to proclaim the divine appointment and commission of the prophet: his preaching will make it plain. The Saviour of the world requires no herald angels: he will save,—the best proof of his divine warrant.

Only in full and open comparison with other faiths will the beauty of the best appear. Whosoever is convinced of the supreme dignity of his own Lord and Master need fear no rivalry with any other: rather will he court comparison. Indeed, between the founders and leaders of faith there would and could be no rivalry: they were each developing the best thought and life of their own age and race. The

rivalry has arisen among the disciples, unable to rise to the height of their Master's spiritual teaching, and diverting attention from the things that really matter to the things that are of little moment. The true value of a Religion or a Bible, or a Christ will only emerge when they are honestly compared with all other claimants for our regard and veneration.

No, the conflicts and jealousies have not been among the masters, but among the followers, who have too often been mere camp-followers. Men have wrangled about religion, and lost hold of the religious spirit in doing so. They have eagerly cast each other out of the synagogue, and denied to the heathen and the heretic the very name of Religion; but their foolish and bigoted denials have not altered facts. There is, after all, but One Religion, and that is the upward striving of the human soul towards the Divine, whether it recognizes it to be such or not. There is much unconscious religion in the world, happily. Perhaps the more unconscious it is, the better: it will not be spoilt by self-laudation. The manifestations of that Divine Leading which we term Religion are innumerable and boundless in variety.

Surely, it gives us a higher view of God when we are generous (or shall we say just and sensible?) enough to realize this larger truth. Is it not glorious gain to feel that no age or race has been left without contact and communion with the Most High? The vision has been proportioned to the capacity for sight: the word has been appropriate to the immediate need. James Russell Lowell most aptly expresses the great truth which the science of Comparative Religion is making clear to the world when he says:—

“God sends His teachers unto every age,
To every clime, and every race of men,
With revelations fitted to their growth
And shape of mind, nor gives the realm of Truth
Into the selfish rule of one sole race:
Therefore each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of man, and given it to grasp
The master-key of knowledge, reverence,
Enfolds some germs of goodness and of right;
Else never had the eager soul, which loathes
The slothful down of pampered ignorance,
Found in it even a moment's fitful rest.”

There is not less devoutness among the Brahmans or Mohammedans than we can find in our companies of Christian believers: does God think less of their worship and reverence than of ours? The ethical theism of the Jew is as firm and strong to-day as it was in the splendid prophets who redeemed his race from mere ceremonialism and lip-service: is it less acceptable to the Infinite Goodness than the tribute of virtue and service offered in the name of Christ? Naturally, we love our own best: we believe our own faith to be the highest possible, or we should not hold it; but we must be appreciative and sympathetic to the spiritual strivings of others who are no less sincere than we endeavor to be.

What matters it that some faiths seem still to be in their infancy or early childhood? It is a phase through which the highest and best-developed have had to pass before they attained to the glory of full-grown manhood. All religion probably began in fear, displaying itself first in a desire to placate the higher powers, to get them on the side of the worshipper rather than against him. What then? "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," and only the beginning. It was a child's motive that swayed the primitive worshipper, no doubt: it is often no more than a child's motive which prompts the Christian worshipper to-day. But the child will become a man, and put away childish things; and we shall not help his development by sneering at him or chiding him, or turning him out of the worshipping assembly or refusing to accept his tribute as religion at all. Not such was the attitude of Jesus, nor is it the right attitude for his modern disciples, who have the less excuse for narrowness because to them an ampler knowledge of God has been vouchsafed. God is revealing himself to our generation as never before. The pity of it, if we will not accept the vision, and understand the majestic truth that He is, and has ever been, within the heart and life of all His humanity!

And a higher and truer view of humanity itself comes to us when, in view of the facts presented by the study of Comparative Religion, we come to see that man, always and everywhere, is the child of God, dear to the Father's heart and with a spark of heavenly fire within. All through the history of mankind there has been the Divine appeal; and gradually, with growing appreciation of its mystic meaning, has come the human response. The Divine Nature unceasingly calls to that which in rising man is akin to itself: Human Nature, very slowly

and in stumbling fashion, learns its opportunity and ability, and painfully reaches up to the Divine. And so the story of the world is written,—“a blundering quest for God,” if you will, but not in the sense that Mr. R. J. Campbell used the phrase,—a progressive development of human power and possibility, a nearer approach to the divine intention and will. Religion is the impelling power, the stimulus, the kindling fire. And, as F. W. Newman wisely said, “True religion wages no abstract war against any part of man, but gives to each part its due subordination or supremacy, and breathes sweetness and purity through all.”

Christianity itself becomes a richer, larger, more generous thing when this more cosmopolitan view of religion is taken. The latest census of the British Empire indicates that King Edward has in Asia more than 300 millions of subjects, in America $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions, in Africa about 43 millions, in Australasia over 5 millions, and in Europe over 42 millions. Classifying these broadly as regards religious faith, there are only 58 millions of Christians in the King's dominions, as against 208 millions of Hindus, 94 millions of Mohammedans, 12 millions of Buddhists, and 23 millions of Parsees, Jews, and others, including some very primitive manifestations of the religious spirit. That is to say, that only one in seven British subjects is Christian of any kind.

These figures may be open to some challenge, but they are not likely to be very seriously wrong, and they should give us pause for reflection. After personal contact with the cultured and devout Hindu or Moslem and too frequent and painful association with shallow dogmatists who take the Christian name, but seldom use their brains to think or their hearts to be charitable, it ceases to be a wonder that the contemplative Hindu is repelled by the ignorant claims and practices of an offensive Christianity, or that the sober and honest Turk is disgusted with the unworthy Christians of the Levant. Of course, it is not the Christianity that is to blame for this unfortunate repulsion, but the shameful perversion of Christianity which is made into a constant object-lesson for them. So we are not to judge the religion of the Koran or of the Vedas by the degenerate types often presented to us. Each form of religion must be judged by its best expression; and then it is wonderful, soul-piercing, how much alike they are in the great essentials. There is more community of thought

and spirit between the best of Christianity and the best of Islam or Buddhism than between the best and worst of Christianity. There is more sympathy between the authors of "Contentio Veritatis" and the leaders of the Brahmo-Somaj of India than between them and the devotees of the debased superstition of the Greek Church. Ram-mohun Roy and Ramakrishna, Keshub Chunder Sen and Protap Chunder Mozoomdar, are nearer in faith and feeling to any Liberal Christian than is the head of a Jesuit College or the Catholikos of the Armenian Church or even the humble Plymouth Brother. We must not be the deluded creatures of a name.

This comprehensiveness of view, this generosity of recognition of religion as the human attempt to reach the Divine, will not interfere with our private interpretation of the great principles for which historic Christianity has stood, or diminish our loyalty to it in the least. But the principles will be amplified beyond our earlier thought: we shall see that our faith was greater than we knew. Do you ask, Where is the place left for Revelation? Ask rather where that place is not. God has always been revealing himself to those who were able to see the marks of His presence. Has Inspiration gone, do you ask? Have you not learnt that it began when man was yet in his infancy, and will remain as a growing influence through the whole of his adult life? What becomes of the Incarnation, think you? Does the Divine Indwelling in Jesus, then, become any the less true or significant if you also admit that God was in Buddha and Zoroaster, and in the Bab, and that His spirit is present to a greater or less extent in us all? Does not the larger outlook make it seem more than ever true that we are the temple of the Living God, that the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, and that the temple of God is holy, which temple we are?

Religion is no private demesne, but a public garden, wherein every man may walk freely, gather rosebuds that will not wither, and taste of fruits neither forbidden nor disappointing. Christianity, as it was in Jesus, is the choicest portion of that wonderful garden where the sun shines brightest and the flowers smell sweetest. Yet every avenue leads to some desirable goal, every meadow attracts some straying foot, every bank has its restful invitation, every tree its meed of welcome shade. Throughout the garden the loving care and touch of the great Master Gardener are everywhere seen, and His welcome is felt by each timid visitant wherever he may wander. And the heart of every

honored and understanding guest beats responsive to that of his Master. In His name an ungrudging greeting is given to all who, from the dusty highways and busy thoroughfares of worldly life, find entrance into the grateful garden of the Lord.

At the close of these addresses an interesting discussion took place. Rev. G. Schoenholzer criticised incidentally the "antiquated liturgies" he had found in use, even in Unitarian churches, in this country. Professor Dr. Francis G. Peabody, of Harvard University, maintained that the renaissance of rational religion must be accompanied and guided by a rational theology, the need of thinking men in a thinking age. Professor Dr. George F. Moore made some friendly criticisms on Rev. Mr. Street's paper, and upheld the claims of Christianity as a Universal Religion. Rev. W. G. Tarrant, of London, and Miss Mary Richmond, of New Zealand, also made brief remarks. It is to be regretted that these informal addresses were not reported.

The papers which follow were read at other meetings of the Congress, but are inserted here, since by their topics and treatment they belong to this department.*

Professor Dr. Rudolf Eucken, of the University of Jena, Germany, unable to appear in person, sent the paper he had prepared for the Congress, which was read by Rev. Charles W. Wendte.

*To complete the contribution made at this Congress to religious history and philosophy, the notable papers of Professors Pfleiderer, Montet, and Revs. Gordon, Bowle, Cope, Webster, André, and others, printed elsewhere in this volume, should be included.

WHAT DOES A FREE CHRISTIANITY REQUIRE IN ORDER TO BECOME VICTORIOUS?

BY PROFESSOR RUDOLF EUCKEN, DR. PHIL., UNIVERSITY OF JENA.

In the development and advocacy of a free Christianity much intellectual power is enlisted, many eminent persons have dedicated their life-work to this cause, and indisputably, in the domain of knowledge, this movement is in the lead to-day. In society considered as a whole, however, and in the shaping of general conditions, it is still strongly in the minority. Here it must still struggle hard for the recognition of its right to exist. Between its enrolment of intellectual ability and its acceptance by mankind there is still a great disproportion. What can be done to lessen this disparity? What can we on our part contribute to make a free Christianity victorious?

The question may be approached from different points of view. The philosopher may be permitted to set aside all considerations of a practical and political nature, and to limit himself wholly to its inward aspects, its intellectual and spiritual content. We will ask what may occur in the inner development of our movement to bring us nearer the desired goal. We shall, in so doing, have to exercise some self-criticism, and have to acknowledge much in our undertakings as crude and immature. But such an honest self-scrutiny, based as it is on a firm faith in our own good right to be, should be more useful to our cause than a self-satisfied optimism, than to claim as completed that which is still in the midst of work and flow.

Whatever treatment we may purpose giving certain problems in the course of our inquiry, all alike are subject to one general consideration. We who strive for a freer form of religion and of Christianity too often content ourselves with mere criticism and negation. We do not work out sufficiently the positive element in our convictions, and because of this we incur the danger of

not giving the matter the full depth of which it is capable, and hence of not imparting to men the irresistible power and glow which a religious movement of grand style demands. It is, indeed, impossible for us to refrain from energetic criticism and denial. We have, first, to make a pathway for ourselves. We feel ourselves in many respects unsatisfied with the form in which religious truth has been presented. In such a case all endeavors to veil from sight existing conditions are an evil. Our Yea cannot be clear and effectual if it does not bear within it a distinct Nay. But this Nay, indispensable as it is, must not hold us captive. Neither now or ever should we remain a mere movement in opposition. For in all times it was the positive affirmation which was decisive and constructive. The more we make it apparent that our convictions are able to lead on with positiveness, and to confirm and deepen the life of man, the sooner we may hope for an effective influence on mankind, and the more perfect will be our victory.

From this point of view let it be shown by certain instances that while the desire for a free Christianity in some of the demands it is compelled to make is accompanied by no slight dangers, it yet bears within itself the ability to overcome these dangers and to turn them to the good.

1. The first point of collision with the old school of thought concerns the place and worth of the individual. We demand more freedom, more self-determination, a more characteristic testimony on the part of the individual. We ask this not only because without it nothing new can develop and persist. We require it, above all, because it belongs to the full inwardness and full sincerity of life, such as a religion of the spirit must demand. But at the same time we do not conceal from ourselves the complication which can arise from such a strengthening of the individual. The individual may sever himself, as far as possible, from all his connections, and think himself all the greater the more he places himself in opposition to them. He can make prominent this differentiation, and thus exercise a repellent influence. Very easily the rank growths of reflection and the subjective reason may choke the capacity for positive production. In such a case the emphasis laid upon individualism will tend to mere negation and dissolution. There is danger that life will be broken into splinters, and disintegrate into innumerable

separate and distinct circles. Easily, then, those may turn against each other who ought mutually to support each other. Who would dispute that the movement for a freer development of religion has often had as a consequence such manifestations? But we emphatically deny that it stands helpless in the face of such dangers or that it cannot, of its own power, overcome them. For these dubious and wrong-headed consequences did not arise from the fact that the movement was originated by the individual, but rather from this, that it did not think greatly enough of the individual; that it stood fast before his first appearance, his proximate existence, instead of pursuing it into those depths where inner connections become evident in the individual and lift him above mere nature. This distinguishes man as a spiritual being, that here the separate life elements do not merely come in contact with each other externally, but that they inwardly unite in a common world, and that the infinitude of that world is able to be present at every single point. It is just this which distinguishes the individualism of mere nature from the spiritual personality. The spirit-filled personality, thus rooted in an inner world, by no means rejects all bonds. It only rejects the bonds that are laid upon it from without. It reinforces, on the other hand, the bond which conjoins it with an invisible order. Such a bond is best to be reconciled with freedom, for the latter is not possible without our recognition and appropriation of the superior powers (*Normen*). Luther grounded his inmost conviction on this direct, unmediated relation with God, and at the same time placed this interior faith in opposition to all external authority. Was he not bound in every deeper issue of his life by this presence of the Divine within him, more strongly bound than was possible by any dogmas and institutions imposed from without? Has not Protestantism, through its intensifying of personal responsibility imbued life far more with moral earnestness? So Kant sought to ground morality purely and solely in man's own nature, but at the same time man grew to him to be the bearer of an "intelligible" world. No one can say of him, the philosopher of the idea of duty, that he in any sense weakened morality by this direction towards "autonomy." Only he who denies an inner world, and its presence in the soul of man, can dispute the position which a free Christianity assigns to the individual as a spirit-filled personality.

2. We cannot summon the individual to a greater independence and more vigorous development without demanding also for religion and life a more perfect transposition of their content into one's own characteristic thinking, without requiring more spiritual illumination, more individual examination and decision. The personality aroused to self-activity cannot, must not, credulously and compliantly accept that which tradition and authority present to it. It must insist upon a justification and basis for that which is to rule over it. Hence we demand for religion, in the second place, an intensifying of intellectual activity. In making this demand, we know ourselves to be at one with the characteristic trait of modern times which conceives of life more from the standpoint of thought, elevates conceptions, ideas, principles, to an hitherto unknown importance, comprehends life more in its totality, and bases the visible world on an invisible one.

But we do not fail to recognize the dangers of such an increase of intellectual movement, and that these may render problematical all gains from this source. There can be no effort after knowledge without the arousing of doubt and uncertainty, without the danger that knowledge shall detach itself from the rest of life, set itself in opposition to it, and seek to produce by its own power alone what it can only accomplish in union with the others. During the past century we have often seen knowledge claim to be the whole of life. Sometimes it would deem itself able to take no account of facts and circumstances, and to create a reality solely by its speculative power. At other times it believed that by merely reconstructing and vividly realizing historic facts it could give a content to life. Knowledge has often, in religion as in all else, evaporated the essence of life. In place of quickening truths we received only pictures and shadows. No department of life suffers more under such perversion than religion, which would open to us a new world and lift us above all human littleness.

But, again, the responsibility for this error lies not in the matter itself, but in man. It lies not in knowledge itself, but in a mistaken employment of knowledge. It is precisely when knowledge thinks greatly of its mission and would press forward beyond all subjective reflection to genuine truth, that it must seek wider connections, must place itself at the service of an inward compulsion and

need, and eventually arrive at the acceptance of basic realities which indeed may be illuminated, but cannot be derived. This is especially true of the truths with which religion concerns itself. For in it all the manifoldness of phenomena is ultimately traced back to the fundamental reality that a higher world attains to a living present in the sphere of the human. The demonstration and development of this fact here controls all intellectual processes. If, then, in opposition to the old teaching we free Christians make a larger demand upon the thinking powers, it can only be because this underlying reality is to be brought nearer to us by intellectual endeavor, is to be inwardly illuminated and comprehended in its entirety. By no means would we dissolve it into mere concepts and doctrines. Thus understood, thinking will not evaporate the content of religion. It will deepen it and clearly disclose its spiritual nature. In so doing it will first bring it to full efficiency and reveal its fruitfulness for the whole of life.

3. With the emancipation of the individual and the more vigorous development of the thought-side of religion, life, for us, is transformed more into our own personal activity, and hence must seem to us more significant and worthy. From this point of view a different attitude towards life, a different valuation of human existence and capacities will be developed than are contained in the traditional types of ecclesiastical religion. The latter is strongly inclined to deny man all individual ability, and to picture him in as dark tints as possible. It often deems itself the more pious, the more it degrades man, the stronger it turns to the light all that is low and base in him. At the same time the total impression of human life becomes more and more gloomy and forbidding. It seems preponderatingly to be the sport of unreason. The world is eventually conceived as a vale of sorrow and tears from which alone the hope and expectation of a world beyond can rescue us. Such a frame of mind may be comprehensible and justifiable for particularly troubled and dark epochs in history, such, for instance, as the downfall and dissolution of antiquity; but to bind mankind for all subsequent times to it, this we, who think more freely, refuse to do for various reasons which conduce to the peculiar interest of religion. We reject it because some faith in our own personal ability and the worth of our actions is indispensable for the full arousing of our powers. We

reject it, further, because we would not make of religion merely a source of consolation for the sick and weak, but require of it also an elevation and ennoblement of our positive and creative activity. We reject it finally because, with such a conception of its nature religion cannot attain to formative influence in the greater concerns and entirety of life, or become a world-power. Easily enough a relapse of mankind into this depressed and gloomy frame may make life unreal or only half real. In contradiction to it we demand a manly, vigorous and joyous Christianity. Such alone will prove equal to the attacks of its opponents, who at the present day assail it with peculiar energy.

But this demand for a more vigorous and joyous attitude in life is attended with many dangers. It may especially lead to superficiality of life and to the weakening of its religious character if it be believed that this change of front towards the positive in religion is possible without a transformation of man himself and without the gain of a new world. The reaction against the depressed and sorrowful mood to which reference has been made has often begotten an easy-going optimism, which dwelt especially on the bright side of life and put out of sight as much as possible its complications and conflicts. We cannot elucidate here how many general considerations gainsay such an optimism. That it cannot be reconciled with religion, and especially not with the Christian religion, does not admit of a doubt. For, if the world as it presents itself to us is sufficient and satisfactory, or if its problems receive their full solution through the natural course of things, what need is there of religion, what need of a new world and a reconstruction of life? Therefore, a free Christianity cannot decisively enough spurn any identification with this superficial optimism. It must sharply differentiate from it its own striving for a more vigorous and joyous shaping of life. Nothing has done more harm to the freer attitude of the mind in religion than this, that it seemed to take the problems and conflicts of human existence less seriously than did the old school of thought.

In truth, this striving for more vigor and more joy may be fully maintained with any approximation to a naturalistic optimism. Religion ever ultimates in the affirmation of life, especially Christianity, which came as a glad tidings from the king-

dom of God to mankind. But this is the difference—and it is a difference of the greatest importance—that this affirmation is not a necessary attribute of life itself, but can only be mediated by a thorough overturn, only through the institution of a new life. This new element, however, is not a work of mere man, but the manifestation of a superior order. How, indeed, could the desire for such a revolution arise if the existing conditions did not appear to be not only deficient in this or that respect but also inadequate in their totality? Hence the Yea of which religion is the advocate contains also an emphatic Nay. Yes, it first attains to full power through the contrast afforded by the Nay. It will, therefore, ever keep in mind this Nay, and in this way will remain sharply differentiated from the unconditional affirmation of life which characterizes optimism. But precisely because this new Yea does not rest on the capacity of man alone but is upborne by all the powers of a new world, it can inspire man, in incomparably higher fashion than the optimism referred to, with courage and joyousness of heart.

4. Wherever, in this way, life in its religious aspects preserves a positive character, religion will also be able to enter into a more friendly relation with the age to which it belongs. It will not look upon a conflict with its age as normal and unavoidable, as the older school of thought has accustomed itself to believe during the last few centuries. This ancient system was formulated in a time far distant from us and entirely different in kind. The form it then assumed can only be perpetuated by a flat contradiction of the development of life in modern times. This makes it prone to see in the latter more especially the problematical and mistaken, and to exercise upon its doings and failures to do a cold and unfriendly criticism. But he who cannot live in and with his age, who is not able to enter into its inner purpose and striving, cannot gain any large influence upon it. He must not be surprised if he is treated by his time as though he were a stranger and is thrust into the background as much as possible. But how can such an isolation content a religion which aspires to influence the whole of human life, to elevate man's spiritual nature in its entirety and to strive for a kingdom of God on earth?

Again, however, great dangers confront us upon the way we recognize as necessary. If the demand is made that religion must

simply accommodate itself to its time and fashion itself according to the demands of the age, then religion will lose all independence and be unable to preserve its most characteristic qualities. It will follow its age in all its transformations until it degenerates at last into a mere matter of fashion. This consideration is strengthened by the peculiar character of our new era. Whatever great attainments the present age has arrived at by intensifying man's consciousness of power and directing his endeavors to the comprehension and control of the world, it cannot be said to possess a distinctively religious character. Its attitude towards religion is rather that of a stranger—yes, even an enemy. Hence it would imply a surrender of religion to this hostile power if it were simply to follow the dictates of its time.

But must a more friendly relation between religion and its time be necessarily sought at the expense of religion? Is there not a way of reconciliation on the basis of the independence of religion? The dilemma may be solved if in religion we distinguish between its spiritual substance and the form it assumes among men, and simultaneously hold apart in the time in which we live the daily doing of men and its higher spiritual content. Essential to the nature of religion is the possession of a truth which is above all considerations of time. Religion has a fixed and enduring character only when it displays a life peculiar to itself,—a life which maintains itself against all the transformations of time and is capable of influencing all ages with superior power. But greatly as this superior life with its fundamental verities overtops all human ability, its full possession and development man can only gain by his own endeavor and struggles. That he is able to do this, that within the bounds of time he is able to appropriate more and more the eternal, this is what gives to the movement of history its real interest and value. This full appropriation, however, can only occur in closest union with the entire, world-historic activity of mankind. This activity is more than an ebb and flow of human opinions and moods. There are fulfilled in it disclosures of spiritual life. The picture of the world grows clearer, man becomes master of his environment, he puts more reason into social life and grows in soul power. All these things together yield, for every age, a state of spiritual activity which is superior to the arbitrary will of man.

If religion, then, would operate powerfully and effectively upon mankind, its doctrines and forms must correspond to this higher spiritual state. So far as our new time is more particularly concerned, the mighty changes it has wrought in the intellectual life of man are apparent, and he must despair of any manifestation of reason in history who should attempt to explain all these changes as the bungling work, the mere delusion, or perchance the malignity of man. But, if religion, thus interpreted, has its justification, then it can only be of service to religion to fully recognize this and to seek a closer relation with its age. Whatever religion may contain of eternal truth will, by this connection, gain greater force and impressiveness. Incomparably better, in such a case, will religion be enabled to bring the age to its own deeper life, to separate in it the true and the false, the abiding and the transitory, and to collect and strengthen whatever of truth and permanence in its day strives upward. We shall thus serve religion if, while upholding its independence, we ally it more closely with its age.

5. All the considerations hitherto enumerated co-operate with each other to change the position of religion towards life in its entirety. The older school of thought is wont to set off religion sharply from every other form of attestation, and to attribute to religion alone an independent worth, while treating all else as merely incidental,—yes, as indifferent. But this awakens serious misgivings in us who hold more modern opinions. For one thing, the other departments of life will resist such an underrating of their claims, and in retaliation be easily induced to turn a harsh front towards religion. On the other hand such a separation inevitably does harm to the content of religion itself, and inclines it to deteriorate into a too subjective frame of mind. Finally, through such a separation life as a whole does not attain to an adequate unity and power. All these things together, therefore, dictate a closer alliance of religion with the rest of life.

But this alliance has its peculiar difficulties. In attempting such a connection religion encounters no small dangers. She does not seem justified in simply placing herself side by side with the other interests of life. She must be more than these if she is not to sink below them and suffer ultimately the loss of her self-dependence. For these other interests possess in human action their characteristic,

clearly defined domain. The very necessities of existence compel us to admit—as in the case of science, politics, etc.—their right and importance. Religion, on the other hand, has no assured home in this visible world and no external compulsion forces men to espouse her cause. Hence it may easily happen to her as it did to Schiller's poet, who found the world already apportioned. The experience of history also shows that wherever religion became a mere factor of the general culture it was not able to preserve for itself an independent position, but soon deteriorated to a feeble and vague sentiment.

Extraordinary conditions must be postulated if religion is to be more closely allied to the whole of life without, in so doing, losing its unique significance. But so, in truth, it is. Our human life is not a work of peaceful construction, according to an assured plan, on a foundation already laid, but is full of problems,—yes, conceived as a whole it is the most difficult of all problems. Evolved from nature man is to rise to a new and higher level, to the world of the spirit. But not only is his own ability too weak for such a task, his very inclination cleaves to that which is low,—yes, there is danger of an entire perversion in which the higher shall itself be drawn into servitude to the lower. From such a moral complication man can only be freed, and culture can only become a real spiritual culture, if man is lifted above his own ability and transplanted into a new order of life free from such entanglements and restrictions. It is religion which represents this complete overturn and makes it fully effectual. In her alone this conflict, and also its victorious issue, come to their complete expression and development. In this religion is charged with a unique mission, without whose fulfilment the whole of life is arrested. In her it first assumes the form of a movement from the whole to the whole. In her the two realms are first clearly distinguished. Through the opening of the new world which religion makes possible to us the whole of life is established, enlarged, and made more inward, and these influences are extended as well to all its special departments. But, if religion thus becomes the inmost soul, the elevating power of life, it will not manifest itself as something exceptional, but even in the development of its own characteristic quality will retain its relation to the whole. Religion makes clearly apparent that its structure

is not so simple as it appears to those who would make all the departments of life subsist side by side on one common level.

Let us now look back for a moment. Point upon point we saw the demand for a free Christianity create new problems. Point upon point we convinced ourselves that the handling of these problems is full of danger, and that to fall behind the demands of the situation may lead to a weakening of religion—yes, to an approach to mere naturalism. At the same time, however, we also saw that a free Christianity is by no means delivered over defencelessly to such aberrations, but can, of its own strength, fully overcome them. It only needs to press forward everywhere beyond the Nay to the Yea, to hold fast to the latter and bring it to full acceptance. Every movement towards freedom is, under existing human conditions, exposed to the danger that many shall believe themselves one with it who do not understand freedom in the positive sense as an uplifting of the life to spontaneity, self-dependence, and self-responsibility, but look upon it negatively as a mere removal of constraint. This negative view will never be able to maintain itself against the opposition,—yes, will ever be inwardly dependent on and subject to the latter. But we saw how, in the domain of religion, freedom is also capable of a direction to the positive; how, point by point, it makes our tasks not less but greater, and summons our whole being to an elevation of spirit. Let us, therefore, leave behind us all that is merely negative; let us definitely break with all which, springing from the tendencies of our time would depreciate the content and power of religion. Thus we shall make it evident that our desire for freedom in no way contradicts the depth and potency of religion but that this depth and power can only attain through freedom its full disclosure. For then, despite all hindrances, we shall win the victory!

REMONSTRANTISM AND THE REMONSTRANT BROTHERHOOD.

BY PROFESSOR H. Y. GROENEWEGEN, D.D., OF LEIDEN.

(Read at the Plymouth Session of the Congress.)

It is the first time, I think, that the Remonstrant Society or Brotherhood has been publicly discussed on American soil. I am grateful to the Committee of the Congress for inviting me to do this.

Many of you will scarcely have heard the name before, and will have been a little astonished that the attention of this international meeting is to be drawn to a not very extended religious organization in Holland of exclusively local importance. And the theologians among you, who, of course, know the name of the famous Leiden professor, James Arminius, and have heard about his resolute protest against Calvinistic dogmatism, will perhaps have asked if the old dogmatic question of predestination is not rather obsolete, and if that violent struggle between Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants which once convulsed Church and State in Holland has not become to-day of only historical interest.

I should not be bold enough to call your attention to the body that delegated me to this Congress and to the religious movement it has represented during nearly three centuries if they had not a special and extremely interesting place in the history of religious life in Holland, and if they were not a very characteristic embodiment of the original spirit of religious freedom and dogmatic tolerance in Protestant Christianity. Let me give you first some historical outlines, then, tell you something about the character of our work and aims.

The Remonstrants got their name from the Remonstrance, a document which contains all in one a petition, a protest, an apology, and a creed. Forty-three ministers offered it in 1610 to the government of Holland. Chiefly they oppose the principle of confessionalism. For they acknowledge but one foundation and standard of true Christian faith and life. This was the word of God, which they,

like every one in their century, supposed to be found only in the Bible as a whole. No human teaching or decree may be equalled with it. Therefore, they refuse to submit to the foreign theology which Calvinists were tyrannically forcing on the Church. They agree with Arminius, who could not find the rude dogma of predestination in the Bible. They also are convinced that the Calvinist system gives what they call an "embellished fatum" instead of Jesus' heavenly Father. And they hold that to be impious and destructive both of religion and morality. In their famous five articles they lay down their conceptions of the holiness of God, the redemption of Christ, and the responsibility of men. But they do not claim supremacy for their opinions, as the Calvinists do. They only vindicate freedom and toleration in religious thought and life on the basis of the word of God. Ecclesiastical unity built on their principles was their ideal. And they hope the government will assure concord and peace by convoking a free national synod to fix a purely religious one.

So the Remonstrants were vividly conscious of representing not simply a dogmatic opinion or a theological system, but a special type of true Christian consciousness and church organization. And they were deeply convinced that it was nothing new they claimed. For it was as well a representation of the essential character of the mighty reformation movement in Holland, which the whole people was still struggling for in its bloody and terrible war, as the direct application of pure Christian ideas to ecclesiastical and political life.

Undoubtedly they were right. Many decades before Luther uttered his powerful words, at least before any influence from either the Saxon or the Swiss reformation could be observed in Holland, the mighty movement of religious revival and purification had sprung out of two sources. The first was a purely religious one. The second was the influence of some religious humanists.

Numerous preachers and popular authors had brought to the people neither Roman Catholic formalism and miracle worship nor a new scholastic dogmatism, but simply the Biblical and practical piety of the gospel itself, as it was understood at that time. To these first reformers or forerunners of the Reformation the dogma of predestination was unknown, as was the ideal of a church built on a narrow, limited confession. Very near to them stood among the

Dutch humanists many scholars and teachers who brought to the very extended class of well-educated and substantial citizens sound principles of moral religious thought and life, with bright and large ideals of freedom in confession and inquiry, of tolerance to different theological opinions, and of a church in which every form of true Christianity might dwell in liberty, concord, and peace. The books of Erasmus, read and admired everywhere, gave an important impetus to humanism of that kind. They not only spread a spirit of sarcastic criticism, as often is said. but also of edifying Biblical religious liberalism. The grand soul of William the Silent was filled with these aims, and the well-known genius of Hugo Grotius, the warm friend of the Remonstrant party, not less so.

But how could such ideas be realized in that century and among that people? Peaceable piety could only be discerned like a lovely melody amidst the brutal noises of war. Liberal statesmen could only prudently try to guide the people on the difficult way to that still unreached goal. And just at the time that the national religious life was beginning to be organized under the care of the government several eminent preachers of quite different principles came to the Netherlands. Disciples of Calvin and Beza came from Geneva, and brought with them, as a new element of religious life, not only their dogmas, presumed to be founded on the word of God, but also the exclusive spirit of their theological and ecclesiastical system, and, still more, that confessionalistic fanaticism which always grows up in days of religious struggle. The preaching of their strong and determined beliefs deeply affected the sturdy people of Holland, threatened with martyrdom everyday. For the building of a national church a firmly formulated belief seemed to be of much more value than free evangelical piety. Did not Geneva give an illustrious example of political and ecclesiastical organization? So an ever-increasing number welcomed this zealous Calvinism as a light from heaven in the darkness and distress.

But the more passionately the Calvinists began their activity, the more stress the old national reformation party laid upon its claims of doctrinal freedom and concord. The exaggerated dogma of predestination roused warm and earnest protests, not only among the professional theologians, like Arminius (Witenbogaert), Episcopius, and many others, but also among a wide circle of truly re-

ligious people of both high and low station. They refused to accept what they called a foreign theology. They would not suffer Christian thought and life to be compressed into a quasi-Biblical doctrine of merely one-sided piety. Why should the idea of God's omnipotence and sovereignty be pressed to an extreme, and his holiness and love be disregarded. Did Jesus teach God as a divine tyrant, a Moloch who destined men to be sinners and damned them for eternity? Does the consciousness of human dependence and weakness force us to overlook that of moral freedom and responsibility? Better than all arrogant doctrines about the mystery of God's government of the world was the maintaining of sound piety. Therefore, no theoretic controversies, or questions to which God himself only could give decisive solution, should be allowed to break fraternal feeling and practical co-operation among the followers of Christ. So it was not the tolerance of philosophical or political indifferentism, placing itself above religious thought as a whole, but that of an elevated religion looking for the real word of God to mankind in all the different words of mankind about God. "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.*" Principles and considerations like these were in the seventeenth century in as complete accordance with the national spirit as they are in ours.

But the spirit of Calvinism found many points of contact in the people's character. The higher classes, mostly educated in the schools of humanist teachers, were for the greater part sympathetic with liberal religious aims. The lower came every day more under the influence of popular preachers, who often were fanatic in speech and given to dispute in the streets and inns. The magistrates at first were mostly liberally-minded, not only by personal conviction and the powerful influence of statesmen like Oldenbarneveldt and Grotius, and burgomasters like Hooft, but also from considerations of practical policy. People needed nothing more than concord and unity, politically as well as ecclesiastically. Catholicism had still power enough in the Netherlands to conquer the young Protestantism, when divided. The Spanish army was on the watch to destroy that nation of heretics if it were split into parties. Therefore, the liberal policy, represented by the most powerful statesman Holland ever had, John Oldenbarneveldt, and the Secretary of Rotterdam, Hugo Grotius,—that man of many interests,—was forced to give

again and again its mighty support to the Remonstrants and their allies, and tried to compel churchmen and people to maintain freedom, tolerance, and unity. Even this was fatal. For it made of a purely religious movement a bitter political quarrel. The pious thoughts of Arminius, the peaceable aims of his friends, became a battle-cry. The noble protest and petition of the Remonstrance was a like a spark in the powder. Explosions here and there, and the fire broke out everywhere. The people of Holland is not easily driven into fanaticism, but, if it is, its fanaticism is passionate and inflexible. The man of the street was systematically excited against the heretical preachers who seemed to endanger the bliss of heaven and against the magistrates who would not suffer ministers to be insulted. Orthodox intolerance refused to take the sacraments from the hand of a minister who did not confess that God created sinners for eternal damnation. An exclusive Calvinism demanded the separation and sundering of church parties. Preachers, even moderate Calvinists, who declared that the controversy did not affect heavenly bliss, and politicians who claimed unity in Church and State, were suspected and hated. As the years went on, the uncertainty increased, the tension grew severer every day, and the struggle became more and more a merely political one. Even foreign politics, for instance that of James I., made its influence felt. In an evil hour Prince Maurice of Orange took sides with the Calvinist party, not because he was convinced of the truth of their opinions, for he declared himself to be a warrior and to know nothing about the doctrinal quarrel, but because Oldenbarneveldt was his political rival, and the liberal party seemed to be inimical to his power as the chief commander of the army; perhaps also because he felt sympathy for the masses who seemed to be suppressed by the magistracy. With a bold *coup d'état* he annihilated his adversary. Oldenbarneveldt, Grotius, and several other leaders were imprisoned. Maurice did not even prevent a shamefully packed jury from sentencing the old statesman to death. And once more a dark tragedy sprang from a mistake.

In these circumstances the party of confessionism and discord called and controlled the synod of Dordrecht in 1619, at which Remonstrantism was condemned and the Remonstrants were cast out of the Church. And the last act of the tragedy was a long list

of persecutions, banishments, etc. In that time the Remonstrant Brotherhood was founded among the more courageous and tenacious ministers, and soon extended to a free union of congregations. During many years divine service could be held only secretly in old breweries and warehouses. Gradually, they were tolerated by connivance. Modest churches were built here and there behind houses, so that orthodox people would not take offence. Most of the old churches are hidden to this day. Removed from official employments, Remonstrants had but little influence on public life. Self-interest drove people to the Established Church. Calvinism for about two centuries gave its imprint to our social, political, and ecclesiastical organization.

Only one thing Calvinism could not do. It could not prevent the old national spirit of simple Biblical and practical piety, connected with anti-confessionalism and anti-clericalism, from vigorously working on, not only in the Remonstrant and Baptist congregations, but also, notwithstanding the supremacy of orthodoxy, in the Universities, in the Church itself, and in many hearts.

Henceforward it was the task of the Remonstrant Brotherhood to teach and to preach the gospel, in fidelity to its old principles of freedom and tolerance. And that is still its task to-day. It has neither confession nor prescribed ceremonies. Its articles of government relate only to the administration of the congregations and the rights and duties of the ministers. Any one can become a member if he declares himself in sympathy with the character of the organization and with the purpose of its work, as defined in the first article of the common discipline: "The Remonstrant Brotherhood has as its aim the promotion of the religious life founded on the gospel of Jesus Christ, in fidelity to its principles of freedom and tolerance."

I venture to say that the body I am representing has fulfilled that task not without honor, though it is as a church smaller than it ought to be. It has given to our people during nearly three centuries several of the best and most famous preachers, whose names, of course, never reach you, but are not forgotten by us. They made their super-confessional Christianity as attractive as possible. At many times and in many cities our small churches have been overfilled. Numerous members of the orthodox National Church have preferred our free and peaceful piety to the exclusiveness and strife of the ruder

Calvinists and their conservative followers, who gave, as our people say, neither fish nor meat. The influence of our literature of instruction and devotion, extending far beyond our small body, was our best revenge for being cast out of the Church. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the traditional orthodoxy became so nebulous that Remonstrants began to ask whether they needed still to be separated. Had it not been their old ideal to have brotherly unity among Christians of different opinions? A project was even made in 1798 to unite all the Protestant churches in a large community. But the time for it had not yet come, and is to-day farther out of sight than a century ago. Too often it is forgotten that in the evolution of religion the characteristic features of historical bodies are more powerful than abstract and often vague ideals. And, since religious dogmatism has arisen again, the struggle for religious evolution has also been renewed, and we have, on our parts, to do what we can for the victory of a piety both free and tolerant.

An important proof that Remonstrantism has not existed in vain has been given in its contribution of a succession of well-known scholars to science and religious thought. After the days of Arminius and Grotius many of these were appointed as professors at the Remonstrant seminary. Episcopius founded the latter in 1633, and joined it to the Amsterdam Athenæum. Now it is in Leiden, annexed to the university. Episcopius, formerly a professor at Leiden, was the eloquent defender of Remonstrantism at Dordrecht. Removed and banished, he wrote a Remonstrant confession, the prologue of which is its most interesting part, as it is a clear demonstration of the but temporary and relative validity of all creeds, and a resolute exposition of purely anti-confessional principles. His successor, Curcellæus, issued one of the first critical editions of the New Testament. Philippus a Limborgh wrote a famous dogmatical work to promote practical piety and peace, and was well known in the whole theological world of the seventeenth century. The versatile John Clericus was perhaps the first scholar who based exegesis on historical criticism, the editor of Erasmus's works, the fellow-worker of Locke in philosophy, and pre-eminent in many other sciences. His successor, Wettstein, founded the study of Bible texts upon the comparison of many manuscripts. Wytttenbach is still well known to all who study the classics. Van Hemert was the

first Kantian philosopher in Holland, and began the work of the renewal of the religious faith in our country. My predecessor, Tiele, of Leiden, founded the study of the history of religions, and was one of the leaders of religious liberalism among us.

So the Remonstrant society stood open to the influence of a free science in Christian life. Almost without struggle the new ideas about Bible and gospel, religion and Christianity, church and divine worship, entered our old congregations. Some of them were a little more conservative, others more radical, according to the character of the ministers. But there was no principle of opposition against an orderly evolution. No wonder that in the last fifty years many members and ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, tired and offended by the troublesome, often hopeless struggle against an intolerant orthodox majority, preferred our organization to one in which the new spirit was always more suspected, or even hated, than welcomed. For the liberal religious movement in Holland, as a whole, it is true, it is deplorable that the so-called modern party has decayed in the National Reformed Church. But our congregations in many places could be its shelter. The number of their members is from two to five times greater than it was half a century ago, and many new congregations have arisen. The last of them I was happy to help found in the old city of Dordrecht, where once Remonstrantism seemed to be defeated forever. And, were we able to offer more financial support. I am sure, in numerous places, we could found new congregations and do still more for the consolidation of liberal religious life.

But, though smaller and weaker than we ought to be, in comparison with the task history has laid upon us, we are ready and willing to do all we can. The past has proved that religious unity in freedom is possible. The present shows Christianity needing the principles we maintained as much as ever before. The future, I hope, will increase in sound historical consciousness our active love for pure religion and perfect liberty.

Rev. F. C. Fleischer's paper, read before the Ministerial Union on Monday, September 30, finds its proper place here:—

MENNONITISM IN ITS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

BY REV. F. C. FLEISCHER, B.D., MAKKUM, HOLLAND.

The great German teacher of philosophical pessimism, Arthur Schopenhauer, has written an epigram in which he tells the story of an ingot of yellow which was rubbed on a black stone without leaving a yellow streak. People then exclaimed, "This is no pure gold!" and the ingot was cast aside among the baser metals. But afterwards it happened that they found the stone, though a black one, not to have been a touchstone. The ingot was sought for again, and acknowledged as an object of true value. The philosopher's conclusion is "*that true gold cannot be assayed save by a true touchstone.*"

This pleasing parable may be applied to the people called Anabaptists, Mennonites, Moravians, etc., whose common fundamental tenets have been most purely expressed by the Mennonites. "In history they are judged almost wholly by their murderers," as W. E. Griffis has rightly observed.* "Their glorious purpose has been hidden under an epithet which is a myth of fancy." This epithet was the opprobrious term "fanatic Anabaptists,"—a vile slander, shrouding in a fog the pure ideals of a people loving peace and truth.

But history has changed front. The assiduous labors of C. A. Cornelius,† L. Keller,† J. G. De Hoop Scheffer,† and others, have restored them to integrity. The affair of Münster, as has been proven clearly, was but an episode, was but the licentious outbreak

*See the *New World*, Vol. IV., Number XVI. (December, 1895), p. 647 ("The Anabaptists," by W. E. Griffis).

†De fontibus historiæ Seditiois Monasteriensis Anabaptistice (1850); Geschichte des münsterischen Aufbruchs (1855-1860); Die niederländischen Wiedertäufer während der Belagerung Münsters, 1534-1535 (1869).

of a fraction of them lapsed from their own principles, imitating moreover, it may be added, their persecutors,—doing unto others as others had done to them. But, for the rest, they were a simple-minded people, closely agreeing with Jesus' teaching and dreaming within their pious souls of the realization of the kingdom of God on earth. Moreover, this ideal invested them with the influence of a broad international religious movement, which in the course of time has yielded riches valued by free Christians in all denominations.

There is no general appellation for the different adherents of this religious movement, if we wish to avoid the mistake and the injustice of their persecutors, who considered them to be all of the same alloy and called them all together "Anabaptists." It is for this reason I have purposed to call them by the name "Baptizers." * I believe this to be historically the best name by which may be combined all these different though affiliated sects. Nevertheless, I have not used this term in my title because it is under the name of Mennonites that they have survived the days of their varying and struggling convictions and of persecution by their oppressors.

II.

The history of the Mennonites is a history of tears and sorrows. Without any restriction it may be stated that they were an *ecclesia pressa*. Prison fever, tortures, decapitation, burning at the stake, burials alive, and drowning decimated their ranks. After all critical subtraction, their martyr roll is probably much larger than that of any other Protestant sect. Even the mercy of their tyrants was merciless as a two-edged sword. Who should revoke his errors, said a decree of William, Duke of Bavaria, would be beheaded, who refused to revoke would be burned at the stake. As doves before the hawk, they flew from country to country. The foxes had their holes, the birds of the air their nests, but they, like their Master, had not where to lay their heads.

Persecuted people do not write their doings. Every record might

* See my article (paper) at the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, held in London, May, 1891 ("Liberal Religious Thought at the Beginning of the 20th Century," London, 1901, p. 209, "The Dutch Mennonite Community").

prove dangerous, treacherous. This is, perhaps, the reason why their earlier history has remained obscure and uncertain. Some writers trace for them an apostolic succession, as does L. Keller, who comprehends Mennonitism (Anabaptism) as one of the phenomenal forms of a spiritual currency as old as Christendom, and of no less genuine significance than the ecclesiastical, dogmatical, clerical currency, though the latter is far more obvious.* Other scholars, more or less hesitatingly, make them successors to the Waldenses. In my opinion the temptation to establish a spiritual affiliation between the Mennonites and the earlier Christian sects is one that the sober historian must resist. The only incontestable result is that in Holland a few indications have been found of sacramentarian heresy which occurred long before the starting of the Baptizers' movement in Switzerland. Probably the late Rev. A. M. Cramer was right in declining to enter into the controversy, remarking that the origin of a spiritual movement is parallel to that of Lake Lemán, which is formed by a number of larger and smaller rivers and brooks.

Their first obvious appearance in history was marked by a bloody scene. It was when Felix Manz was drowned, a young and learned man of a distinguished family at Zürich, but who had committed the crime of controverting in public Zwingli's theses on Christian Baptism and of disapproving of cruel and abominable war (Jan. 5, 1527). Then things went worse and worse. Their list of martyrs was not long in waiting, and within a few years they had an endless oral tradition and a whole library of letters, songs, and other relics of the champions of their faith. No later than 1581, in South Germany and Austria, 2,159 Baptizers had already been strangled. Within the brief space of four years no less than 1,000 Baptists had been murdered in the Tyrol. In the Netherlands and Belgium, then part of the hereditary lands of Charles V., the fires of persecution burned with an intensity displayed nowhere else. In Italy alone the extirpation of the Baptizers was, perhaps, still more decisive and consistent, and ended with the total extermination of the movement. This is the more to be lamented, as the Italian congregations distinguished themselves by a meek spirit and a steady progress, guarding against mere political visions, and,

* See the article of Professor Cramer, D.D., in *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, xliii. (1903) p. 155.

moreover, sober and radical enough to break away from Roman Catholic sacerdotalism and other errors. They stood even nearer to us in their dogmatic views than the Mennonites of the School of Menno Simons himself. Baptism, for instance, was, in their view, a symbol, not a sacrament; the reprobation of infant baptism hardly more than an accessory matter; nor communion anything else than a mere solemnization. In 1550 they had a council at Venice, attended by sixty delegates of thirty or more Italian and Swiss congregations.* The confession of faith upon which they agreed was, of course, very liberal: it acknowledged the humanity of Christ, born of Joseph and Mary, though invested with divine powers; it denied even the beliefs in angels, in the devil, and in hell. Agostino only, the delegate of the congregation at Cittadella, could not agree with such an unprecedented liberalism, and withdrew. Besides these liberal congregations there were also a few of more orthodox confession, which afterwards united with the Moravian Huterites. The apostasy and treachery of Manelfi in 1551 caused the total extermination of these liberal congregations, while the apprehension of Giulio Gherlandi in 1559, who had about him a small band of Baptizers dwelling in fifty-one Italian towns in his neighborhood, had the same effect for the more orthodox congregations.

In consequence of such sad events no traces have been left of our congregations in Italy, nor of those in Poland, Silesia, Hungary, and Transylvania. The Holy Office, and the Pope's secular adherents and executioners, "brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln" (2 Samuel xii. 31).

In those dark days they found at times a safe refuge in certain free towns, as Strasburg, Nuremberg, and Augsburg, and in some independent principalities, such as Hesse, the Palatinate, Alsace, the bishopric of Bâle, and, above all, in Moravia. The last-mentioned country was for nearly a century their Promised Land. Though the Heyducs annoyed them now and then by their invasions, robbing their goods, polluting their wives, and carrying off the men, and though Spanish and Neapolitan soldiers, Wallachians, Croa-

* Each congregation was represented by one or at most two delegates.

tians, and Polanders alternately troubled them and often massacred them in their villages, they maintained themselves, and their congregations increased. In 1662 they numbered no less than 20,000 souls. They lived here in a communistic organization of about seventy colonies, or *Haushabens*, at Nikolsburg, Auspitz, Aus-terlitz, and some other towns. But in the days of the Thirty Years' War they were driven away by force of arms. Robbed of all their goods, they were sent into exile by the Cardinal von Dietrichstein (1621-22). Only a remnant of their once flourishing colonies had survived, and even this remainder perished at the time of the tremendous Turkish invasion of 1665. The "very small remnant left unto them" was sustained for a time by the financial help of the Dutch Mennonites, and found a temporary refuge in the neighboring parts of Hungary; but the very long arm of the Jesuits finally reached them here, as well as elsewhere. In the second half of the eighteenth century the last of them had to emigrate to Russia, and whoever remained was forced to suffer Roman Catholic re-baptism. My friend and colleague, the Rev. J. B. Du Buy, recently visited their descendants in Gross-Schutzen in Hungary, and found them still living in one of their ancient colony-houses (*Habanerhof*). They were greatly pleased at being remembered among the Dutch Mennonites, but themselves knew nothing about the sad history of their ancestors, and the Dechant of the village commended their sincere fidelity to the Roman Catholic Church! "Sic transit gloria mundi!" The poor remainder of the transplanted Moravian Mennonites (Huterites) emigrated in 1874 from Hutersthal in Russia to South Dakota, United States of America, where they founded five churches with about three hundred and fifty members.

While thus in Central Europe the light of the candle was extinguished, the persecution in Holland had ceased in consequence of the breaking of the Spanish yoke. Here William the Silent had inaugurated a long period of toleration. This is the more to be praised since he did so in spite of the advice of his friend and fellow-worker, Marnix Lord St. Aldegonde, and the malice of the celebrated preacher, Petrus Dathenus, who went so far as to call the prince, on account of his indulgence toward the Mennonites, "an Anti-christ and wicked man." The provincial and local authorities also were not seldom in disagreement with his liberal principles, but

the noble prince stood firm, the champion of freedom of conscience. In 1577, "a generation before the birth of the founder of Rhode Island," he answered the opposing magistrates of Middelburg: "We declare to you that you have no right to interfere with the conscience of any one, so long as he has done nothing that works injury to another person, or a public scandal." It has been conjectured that the benevolent feelings of William the Silent were partly derived from his gratitude for the support of two patriotic Mennonites, P. W. Bogaert and D. J. Kortenbosch, who in the year 1572, in a pressing emergency, made up a sum of one thousand guilders, an offering of some of their coreligionists in exile, and brought it to the prince in his camp at Hellenrade near Roermond, refusing any acknowledgment, but simply asking for his friendship. Let this be as it may, it cannot but serve to the honor of both parties, —to that of the prince as well as to his clients.

The ideals of William the Silent were too premature for a general application in his time. As soon as he was murdered by the treacherous bullets of Balthazar Geraerds (1584), intolerance reared itself again. We must acknowledge, however, that it remained an intolerance of small dimensions, never imitating the unheard of atrocities of Roman Catholic persecution.

In 1583 the States-General, the paramount legislative power of the United Netherlands, promulgated the "resolution" that no other divine service than that of the Dutch Reformed Church would be publicly allowed. In 1651, after the Peace of Münster, or the Westphalian Peace, the Great Assembly which had to organize definitively the republican government renewed this act. And, though the magistrates generally connived in behalf of the Mennonites as well as the Roman Catholics, and in favor of others who attended their own religious services, they always had at hand, because of this law, a weapon against them, and occasionally they made use of it. In the province of Holland the Mennonites were treated rather well,—nay, it was even allowed them to be married in their own churches; but in some of the other provinces, as, for instance, in Friesland and Groningen, they lived not without occasional trouble. In the very year of William the Silent's death, 1584, the States of Friesland empowered every Reformed minister "and other person" to enter all sectarian meetings and controvert the

preacher (Mennonite) and his hearers. Too zealous ministers, not always of the highest standing, could not refrain from using their legal power and distressing their harmless compatriots. In general, it may be said that the Reformed ministry, at any rate in Friesland, was not exempt from the eagerness of heretic-hunting. Several Reformed Synods insisted on the States Provincial plainly prohibiting every form of Mennonite service and all travelling of Mennonite elders and preachers. Nay, they would have closed Mennonite colleges and prohibited the building of Mennonite churches! They advocated the taking from the Mennonites their civil rights, and that they be compelled to make oath, etc. In 1601 two celebrated Reformed ministers, Bogerman* and Geldrop, translated into Dutch a pamphlet of Beza, in which the penalty of death was even recommended as the proper punishment of heretics, and quite proportionate to their sacrilegious offences.

The States Provincial, happily, did not comply with these extravagances. They worked, however, in the same direction, though on their own lines. They required, in days of large trouble and war, large sums of the Mennonites,—by way of loan, it was pretended; but it was no free loan, and they paid a ridiculously low interest. In this way they got in less than ten years (1665-72) more than f. 1,000,000 in the two provinces of Friesland and Groningen alone. Of a more inquisitorial character were their measures against the Socinian heresy amongst the Dutch Mennonites. As I have related in my address at the First International Council of Unitarians and Others at London,† the Socinians Ostorodt and Woidowski came to Amsterdam in 1590, and endeavored to enter into relations with Hans de Ries, one of the most prominent leaders of the Mennonites at that time. Afterwards, in 1612, they tried to win the Dutch Mennonite congregation at Dantzic in Prussia. Though they could not succeed with Hans de Ries, their doctrines won the acceptance of other Mennonite ministers, such as Jacques Outerman, of Haarlem, Nikkert Obber, of Amsterdam, and others. For this intercourse the Mennonites had to pay dearly. Socinianism was looked upon as little better than Paganism by the leading Reformed ecclesiastics; and soon the Mennonites were said to be

* The same who presided over the famous Synod of Dordrecht, 1618.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 215.



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indocti Sociniani, as the Socinians were called *docti Mennonitae*. Not later than 1611 a judicial inquiry was ordered to hunt out Socinian books and documents among the Mennonites at Franeker. In 1722 the Deputed States of Friesland required all Mennonite preachers to make a Trinitarian confession. All but one refused, from which it is not to be concluded that all but one of the Mennonite preachers were Unitarian in 1722. Far from that, but, as true Mennonites, they reprobated the imposition of a creed, whatsoever creed it might be. Their passive opposition succeeded in abolishing the odious law. It was suspended at last. The base dealings, however, of the Dutch Reformed minister Van Issen at Knype, in 1735, had bad consequences for two Mennonite preachers. And when the Frisian Mennonite Society, presided over by the celebrated Joannes Stinstra, of Harlingen, interested itself for them, a shower of pamphlets was discharged at this venerable man. If only the affair had stopped there! But their endeavors did not end until Stinstra was made the victim of their intolerance. The 13th of January, 1742, he was arbitrarily dismissed, and remained out of office until 1757. A similar persecution distressed the Mennonites at Blokzyl in the province of Overijssel, whose preacher, Jacob Hendriks, was imprisoned in a subterranean vault, where a Reformed minister, the Rev. Balk, and his daughter, tried to disturb the cursed Socinian's mind by knocking and thumping at the door, by yelling, and by other tremendous noises. After his release the poor man had to submit to still another injustice,—the public sale of all his furniture.

The despotism of the States Provincial was only surpassed by some of the local magistrates. Here economic jealousy united with dogmatic disapproval, for a great many Mennonite "burghers" had grown rich by honest trade, and their material success procured them as many enviers as rivals. It was for this reason that Mennonites were excluded from some guilds. The Brewers' Corporation at Deventer rejected even the son of one of its own officers, legally appointed by the municipality, in 1684. That of the Drapers seems to have resisted even the intervention of the King Stadtholder William III., 1691. The town governments not seldom co-operated with their burghers. The municipality of Sneek prohibited in 1601, under the penalty of a fine, Mennonite meeting and preach-

ing. The Rev. Barend Jacobsz, disobeying the ordinance, had to suffer the public sale of his household goods. The municipality of Leeuwarden prohibited the Mennonites from keeping shops, and banished three of their preachers (1608). The magistrate of Groningen proclaimed a compulsory ordinance like that of Sneek, and if the town government, proud of its autonomy, had not opposed itself to the still greater violence of the States Provincial, they would fain have gone further than they did (1601). A few years later, 1608, the Stadtholder William Louis of Nassau,—for the rest a sincerely orthodox man,—together with the States-General, interceded in their favor, happily with success.

Notwithstanding all these trials the Dutch Mennonite community maintained its position, and though, we must own, destitute of new creative power, yet a great many of the congregations enjoyed a flourishing condition. Some of them even grew proverbially rich: let us trust they were rich also by the blessing of the Most High. Persecution ceased. More satisfactory relations between the Dutch Reformed Church and the various sects were gradually established. The French Revolution finally concluded this process of growth in liberal opinion, breaking a great many old customs and brushing away the traditional reverence for secular and ecclesiastical despotism. The new constitution provided for freedom of worship and equal civil rights.

III.

The preceding pages treat of the sad fate and of the spiritual defeat of Mennonitism as a self-conscious international movement. The Baptizers of the sixteenth century, in Switzerland as well as in Holland and elsewhere, were not only martyrs, but also missionaries, not only a persecuted sect, but also a propagandist one. Several new Mennonite currents forced their spiritual blood into the arteries of Europe. The appearance of Felix Mantz and his friends, of Melchior Hofmann, Menno Simons, Dirk Philipsz, David Jorisz, and others had an undeniable missionary character.

The same cannot be said of the history which is to be related in the following pages. With the end of the sixteenth century Mennonitism ceased to be an international *movement*, though

its international character has in some sort been preserved until the present day.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Swiss magistrates of Zürich and Bern tried to unite the Mennonites with the Reformed State churches. Their ill-success in these efforts impelled them to new persecution. The town council of Bern, which had rejected in 1616 a motion proposing to hire out the Mennonites as galley slaves, was converted to this injustice in 1671. The Republic of Venice hired six of them for two years. This scandalous contract caused a real panic. The weaker minds may have lapsed. The stronger characters saved themselves by fleeing from the scene of this hideous persecution. This "natural selection" obviously is the reason why the Mennonites generally are such a stubborn and conservative people.

The magistrates of Zürich compelled some of our "defenceless lambs of Christ" to serve in the French army. Those of Bern tried in vain to get rid of them by the aid of the Dutch East India Company. The directors of this mighty trading company, with nearly sovereign rights, did not even reply to the hideous proposals of Bern. They had no better luck when they deported fifty-six Mennonites to the Carolinas. As soon as they had reached the Dutch frontiers, they were delivered from their chains by the prudent and effective measures taken by our Mennonite minister at Nymegen, the Rev. Hendrik Laurensz.

The Dutch Mennonites raised in those days large funds for the aid of their brethren abroad, and mainly by their help the Swiss Mennonites succeeded in settling in Hoiland, Germany, America, and other countries. Of a somewhat different character was their emigration into Russia. The government of the Empress Catherine II., desiring to people the large desolated provinces taken by force of arms during the last Turkish war, invited the Prussian Mennonites to settle in South Russia. As they had no absolutely safe abode in Prussia, they complied with the invitation, and in the spring of 1788 the first Mennonite caravan left their native Prussian soil to become subjects of the Russian crown, though with the privilege of free worship, a gift of fertile fields, and other favors. They settled in Retschka Chortitz. New settlements followed when Paul I. ascended the throne and confirmed the privileges of the Mennon-

ites. The threatening glare of the torch of war, lighted by the French Revolution and by the warlike dealings of Napoleon Bonaparte, then drove a great many of the wealthy Mennonites of Central Europe to settle in the safe regions of far-off Russia. Several flourishing colonies were established on the banks of the Molotschna and throughout the southern states of the empire, a few of them even to the east of the Ural Mountains.

Led simply by emigrant desires, in 1683 a Mennonite colony settled in America. They came from Crefeld, were partly of German, partly of Dutch origin, and landed at Philadelphia, Pa. They were, strictly speaking, not the very first Mennonites in America; for in 1662 another colony of Dutch Mennonites had settled in New Netherlands, at Hovkill, near the banks of the Delaware, but two years later Sir Robert Carr had surprised the settlement and destroyed it.

These Crefeld Mennonites called their settlement Germantown, a name which led to some jokes on the ironical metaplasm Aermantown (Town of the Poor). They lived in very good relations with the Friends, their new countrymen. This kind intercourse may have induced the Society of Friends to vote a sum of six hundred guilders to the assistance of the Mennonites in the Palatinate, in 1709. This did not, however, hinder the Mennonites of Germantown from protesting against slavery. They had not yet lived five years among their new countrymen and protectors when they sent in their appeal to the monthly meeting of the Friends. "Would any of you like to be treated as you treat negroes," they asked, "to be sold and made a slave for life? How many when sailing fear to meet a Turkish ship, lest they be captured and made slaves. But in what does your conduct differ from the Turks? Nay, it is much more hideous, since you pretend to be Christians! This being so, we protest against the deportation of these people, thus unwillingly stolen and sold." The Friends were uneasy and troubled by this protest, and sent their intrusive guests from pillar to post. Is not this the manner with many good people who fear that they will be troubled by their own principles, if acted up to consistently? The Mennonites had finally to permit themselves to be ignored.

The Mennonite pioneers in America had to make head against

innumerable difficulties. Before the coming of Willem Rittinghuysen,* belonging to a Dutch family of paper-makers, they even lacked paper. In 1708 there was no Bible to be had among them for the pulpit of the First Mennonite Church at Germantown. When the Second Church at Schieback (Shippack) had been founded, one of the preachers of this new congregation, Heinrich Hunsicker, often came over on horseback to preach at Germantown, and brought his wife with him on the same horse.

But they stood firm, and gradually increased. Several new colonies came over. In 1709 a few Palatine Mennonites joined with them. The Swiss persecution sent over many others. In 1727 they numbered five congregations with sixteen preachers, in 1770 in Pennsylvania alone forty-two congregations with fifty-three pastors and fifteen hundred members.

Meanwhile their principle of non-defence had repeatedly to stand the test of the invasions of the French colonists and of Indians, and still more in the days of the Revolutionary War. The wind blew from every corner in those days, and neither the English nor the Independents knew how to value or even understand their neutrality. Moreover, a party among the Mennonites would not take part in the Revolution against the "legitimate authority." After the treaty of peace these legitimists saved their consciences by emigrating to Canada. New troubles arose from the Civil War. The Mennonites of Virginia were forcibly enlisted in the army of the Confederacy. Their passive opposition succeeded, however, in securing them exemption from military duties by the payment of a fine of \$500.

In the course of the nineteenth century Mennonites of nearly all countries of the Old World crossed the Atlantic, drawn by the great attractions of America, cheap land, and political and religious freedom. In 1820 a great many Swiss Mennonites emigrated. Between 1836 and 1856 those of the Palatinate, Hesse, Bavaria, and Baden came over. A Dutch company of settlers left Friesland in 1853, in order to escape military duty. For the same reason thousands of Prussian Mennonites left their native soil, and emigrated in the last quarter of the century. The American Mennonites raised several funds to assist them, to a total amount of \$100,-

* His descendants called themselves in English Rittenhouse.

ooo, and guaranteed a sum of \$96,000 advanced by the Canadian government, which money was paid off a few years later. Collectively, there are now dwelling in America more than 100,000 Mennonites, with more than six hundred organized congregations, which is as many as are in Russia and even more than are in Holland.

A few Mennonites are scattered all over the world by the influence of the cosmopolitan time we live in. These are found everywhere, in East and West India, South Africa, Brazil and elsewhere. But they are in want of organized churches, and are being lost to the Mennonite community.

IV.

Our esteemed friend, the Rev. James Harwood, rightly states in his "Message to Mohammedans"* that "much may be gained for the cause of Truth, as well as that of Goodwill, if persons, who remain attached to their own Faith, can be induced to judge of other faiths in the spirit of justice, and perhaps even of appreciation." He judges the present time to be "eminently favorable for making such an endeavor." Mennonitism, too, has been obviously favored by this spirit of the age. Despised in former times, it has been extolled almost too greatly in our own. I have already noticed this fact in the beginning of my paper, and I should like to show it more amply here.

The Rev. Griffis, whose able paper in the *New World* of 1895† deserves to be mentioned a second time, pours on their humble heads a very cornucopia of sympathy. The Anabaptist movement is, in his opinion, "the seed-bed out of which has grown nearly everything which free and unpolitical Christians value most to-day." He extolls the Anabaptist soul, which "transmigrated into thousands upon thousands of those Christians who helped to make Republican Holland, the English Commonwealth, and the American Republic." "This soul," he says, "is marching on in all human society. Its incarnations are independent fraternities of churches. One of its noblest embodiments is the Constitution of the United States. It will have even grander births in centuries to come. As a fact confessed and

* James Harwood, B.A., "A Message to Mohammedans," London, B. F. U. A., 1903, p. 1.

† See above, p. 308.

gloried in, the main body of their belief is now held probably by a majority of Christians in the United States!"

Professor Troeltsch, one of the most prominent German historians and philosophers of the present time, judges hardly less favorably the spiritual influence of the Baptizers' movement.* He commends Mennonitism partly as the renewal of Apostolic Christendom, relegating mediation by Church, Dogma, and Scripture to individual religious institutions, partly as the cradle and origin of modern life. Out of their doctrine of the inward light modern religious subjectivism has developed itself. Hence our psychological, empirical theology, considering religious traditions as causalities and symbols only, and valuing dogmas as secondary causes, being themselves the product of religious sentiment, as its first cause. The true basis of religion consequently is individual conviction, leaving room for the most different forms of expression. From their doctrine of the priesthood of all believers resulted the idea of religious equality and freedom and the emancipation of woman, though not yet within the domain of social and political life. From the Baptizers' movement originated Independentism as well as Congregationalism, claiming that the State, as a mere outward institution for the purpose of civil government, has no right to interfere with the inwardness of religious sentiment or the individual conscience. By the English Revolution and German Pietism the Baptizers' movement was made an agent of great importance in the history of civilization. Under this notion the religious doctrine of Schleiermacher is but a philosophical explanation of the Baptizers' ideas about the nature of Religion and Church. The Protestantism of to-day stands more near to Sebastian Franck than to Luther himself.

There is, I venture to believe, much to be deducted from this eulogy, though I do not deny that the eye of a stranger possibly sees us more clearly than we ourselves. Allow me, however, to reduce it to its true dimensions.

The Mediæval Roman Catholic Church had developed the dogma of its divine institution. It was believed that all valid religious truth came to mankind by the mediation of the Church. More-

* Troeltsch, "Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche in der Gegenwart," i. 4 ("Die Christliche Religion"), B. G. Tuebner, Berlin und Leipzig, 1906, 304 pp. and foll.

over, the Church held the keys of Heaven and the treasure of the superfluous good works of Christ and his saints at its disposal. The eternal as well as the temporal bliss of mankind being submitted to the Church, it ruled the Mediæval community, and left no part of life outside the range of its regulating power. The Pope was, of course, deemed the Sovereign of the World. All civil government being subordinated to the Church, they had no more glorious mission than to uphold the Papal Supremacy and to maintain the ecclesiastic jurisdiction.

Living behind a Chinese wall of self-adoration, the clergy did not discern the signs of the times. Barren scholasticism and worldly life lost for the Church its power on the souls of men. The need of reformation grew more and more apparent. By what influences this process was brought about I need not detail.

In this state of things every social class worked on its own lines at the cost of the ecclesiastical supremacy. Several governments curtailed the papal authority. Francis I., King of France, claimed the right of approving bishops. Henry VIII., King of England, ruled the Church by the agency of Cardinal Wolsey. Ferdinand I. and Isabella had no less subordinated the Spanish Church. The Popes, however, accepted their humiliating situation for fear of being submitted to the mercy of the Councils. On the other hand, the scientific world, either humanists or theologians, weary of a double bondage to Aristotle and to the Church, welcomed the revised independent philosophy and theology of their long-hoped-for redeemers. The mutual influences exerted by these higher ranks of the community, the ruling and the educated class, resulted in consolidating the Roman Catholic and the Protestant National Churches of France, England, the German principalities, Denmark, Sweden, etc.

Meanwhile, quite silently, a lower class, the later so-called Third Estate, arose. These men had never racked their brains in the maze of Aristotelian or Thomist philosophy. They knew nothing about the value of the pagan culture, decayed long centuries ago. Their indignation was simply aroused by the extent to which the Church had allowed itself to become paganized and conformed to this world. They upheld the teachings of Holy Scripture against the traditions of the Church, represented by such a corrupt hierarchy,

"the right of private judgment against the dictation of ecclesiastical authority, the individual responsibility of every human soul before God in opposition to the papal control over purgatorial punishments, which had led to the degradation of venal indulgences."* They maintained the inwardness of faith to be the sole way to eternal life, without disregarding the value of works and evading the extreme dogma of the total corruption of human nature. They believed "that Christ said what he meant and meant what he said," and, trying to take Jesus seriously, they strove for the purity of a stainless religious community. To these men the New Faith and the Scripture were what the study of Ancient Culture and the New Theology were for the educated. True, their convictions have been modified by the results of learned inquiries: they have been compelled often to recognize the majority of the great Reformers. But the right of thinking and of believing for one's self was not surrendered thereby. Narrow-minded and illiterate in part, they sometimes seemed to be stubborn, but they were not unreflective or inaccessible to new ideas. It is this middle class we meet in the Baptizers' movement, whose religious convictions found their most elaborate exposition in the doctrinal writings of Menno Simons.

The peculiarities of Mennonitism, both its organization and its disorganization, are obviously connected with this origin. Mennonitism spread itself wherever a thriving and relatively free middle class existed,—in the Swiss cantons, the Netherlands, the free imperial cities, and the Hanse-towns of Germany. In other countries their propagandist ardor did not succeed.

Their individualism was one of the results of their origin. The middle class, proud of their recently acquired civil rights, accustomed to manage their own affairs,—the town government, the corporations, and the town militia,—would not allow their individuality to be wronged. The Dutch Mennonites, especially those called the Frisian and the Waterlanders, did not even like the name of *Mennonite*, for fear of being judged spiritual partisans of Menno. They called themselves *Doopsgesinde*; i.e., maintainers of adult baptism. In their manifold doctrinal struggles they did not even allow neutrality: every one had to think for himself and to stand by his party. The congregation at Zierikzee, which would not choose

* Henry Sidgwick, "Outlines of the History of Ethics," London, 1892, p. 154.

between the Frisian and the Flemish Mennonites, was scoffed at as "stationary people" (*Stilstaanders*), and finally was excommunicated by both parties. The Rev. Jan van Ophoorn, who for the rest acted in sober earnest, ridiculed the Mennonite individualism by casting out successively all Frisian and Flemish congregations and ministers, and at last even his own congregation, remaining with his wife alone as the Good Shepherd's true flock. A certain writer of the nineteenth century has enumerated thirty-eight different Mennonite sects, but, as we now know, a complete list would be at least twice as long!

Mennonite individualism caused a number of doctrinal and ceremonial differences between them. By some sections the Lord's Supper was solemnized by foot-washing,—a ceremony which is still used by a few Mennonite congregations in Germany, Russia, and America, and which was practised in former times by certain Dutch Mennonites, not only at the Lord's Supper, but also at the welcoming of delegates of other congregations. Some of them had no audible prayers at their public worship, prayer being practised in its true nature as a secret speech of each individual soul to the heavenly Father. Even in so large and important a congregation as that of Leiden it was not until 1672 that the ministers prayed audibly.

It cannot be denied that Mennonite individualism incidentally degenerated into a petrifying affection for insignificant, exterior peculiarities. At Sneek, for instance, a Frisian town, there existed two different congregations in the eighteenth century. Lysbeth Hessels, who had changed her mind and wished to pass from one congregation into the other, was only allowed to do so on condition that she would change her red-speckled neck-cloth for a blue one (1747). At the same time a member of the congregation at Hengelo was censured because he wore a periwig, and a lady at Borne was threatened with exclusion from the Lord's Supper on account of her unusual cap. The congregation at Dantzic in Prussia was in those days deeply moved by the question whether it might be allowed to wear periwigs, and even appealed for the mediatorial aid of the Mennonites in Holland to decide this matter.

But the bright side is by no means to be overlooked. A brief comparison makes clear what I wish to say. The Lutheran Church restored the old Consistory, depriving the clergy of the right of

ordination and excommunication, and so paved the way for the union of Church and State under one head. The Reformed churches allowed to the secular governments the *jus circa sacra*, and lived to regret that the State had incidentally subordinated the Church even in spiritual concerns. But Mennonite individualism did not suffer any other meddling of the State with their affairs than in temporal matters.

Another beneficial result of Mennonite individualism has been the reprobation of any binding creed, every confession of faith being considered as a quite individual utterance of a man's best self. This basis of religious individualism enabled the Mennonites to follow the progress of the times. Nothing but their own backwardness prevented them from introducing what was attractive in the new or from abolishing what was decrepit in the old.

The decidedly orthodox character of the confessions of some of the Mennonites, in the age in which we live as well as in former times, cannot be denied. But Mennonite orthodoxy is ever a harmless one. It does not disapprove of individual departures in faith. It does not shut the gate to development. The most incredible surprises are not impossible. The Mennonites in Russia, South Germany, and America are for the most part rather orthodox: they fear our new theology (our higher criticism, as they call it) as a seducing Satan's work. Nevertheless, the gate is already being battered down, and there is indeed no reason why it should be considered impossible that within a century or less they should adopt liberal theology as thoroughly as do the large majority of Dutch and West German Mennonites.

Here it may be added that Mennonitism, though during more than three centuries rather ostracized, never hesitated to extend the hand of brotherly love to other denominations. Dutch Mennonites not only helped quite generously Swiss, German, American, and other brethren of their own faith or origin, but also Huguenots and others. And this by no means scantily. In 1685 the Waterlander Mennonite congregation at Leiden collected at one divine service no less than 2,189.17 f. on behalf of the French refugees. Three years later they collected again at an ordinary service nearly another 1,000 f. for the same purpose. The guilder then was worth more than a dollar now. "Ex ungue leonem!"

Six years ago I introduced the Mennonites to our First International Congress as a community of religious radicals. This characterization receives its historical explanation by my remarks to-day. The Reformation of the sixteenth-century middle class was based on the same principle as the Reformation generally. The Smalkaldian articles of 1537, for instance, as well as the writings of Menno Simons, accepted what our friend, the Rev. Charles W. Wendte, six years ago, called the *American theory* concerning the relations between Church and State.* They recognized no less the sovereignty of the Church, the priesthood of believers, and the authority of Scripture. But only the religious middle class, self-conscious and self-regulating within the walls of Mennonitism, was to prove itself consistent with these principles.

As we find Jesus "the great type of practical faith," it needs hardly to be said that the religion of this middle class of people, who "took Jesus seriously," was of a practical kind. Their opponents could not appreciate this peculiarity. The Archbishop of Cologne denounced them as "Protestant Jesuits" (1672). Ubbo Emmius, a celebrated historian, yet full of sixteenth-century Reformed prejudice, charged them with weak integrity. A Lasco only acknowledged their honesty and probity. In truth, their charity was at once generous and thoughtful. When, in former centuries, one of the inmates of the Mennonite Old People's Home at Leiden died, the officers (deacons) of the congregation were obliged to attend the funeral. In my own congregation, at Makkum, this unwritten law of brotherly love and piety has been maintained till the present time. Sick people formerly were attended by the lady members of the congregation, at Leiden and elsewhere, according to the list which the deacons made for this purpose. At present our larger congregations have arranged for district nursing.

Drawing to a close this survey, I hope to have pointed out the morsel of truth which is to be acknowledged in the eulogy of our recent panegyrists. Wishing to meet the question fairly, we must concede, however, that the virtues we found were not so much the results of special Mennonite principles as they were the particular merits of the social class to which our ancestors belonged. That

*See "Liberal Religious Thought," etc. (First London Congress of Unitarian and Other Religious Liberals, 1901), page 79.

these virtues are no longer our private property, but are more and more adopted by others, is but one of the signs of the developing democratic tendency of the present age.

Is Mennonitism destined to take part in the furthering of this tendency? Will our Mennonite spirit "have even grander births in centuries to come," as Rev. Griffis expects. It remains to be seen, though I must confess my unbelief. For accomplishing such a task Mennonitism should be a missionary church. But it has ceased to keep alive the propagandist ardor of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the very stimulus of such missionary ardor fails, for it is no longer possessed by any dominant idea.

It shares in this respect the fate of nearly all historical churches of the time. Missionary churches, in the proper meaning of the word, are not in harmony with the age. The great spiritual currents of the present day go beyond the churches.

Happily, this does not matter much. The Spirit of God works on its own lines; is not confined in the prison of human organization. God himself is building up his kingdom, which is based on eternal truths,—truths which are not to be undermined by the changing order of human society. The fundamental truths of life will endure forever, whatever may happen.

"Our little systems have their day,
They have their day and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of thee,
And thou, O Lord, art more than they."

Tennyson.

If it is so with our spiritual systems, it is all the more so with the churches embodying those systems. Consequently, we acquiesce in the fading away of many outward peculiarities. For beyond the boundaries of denominational devotion we are touched by the eternal unity of religious aspiration in the sensitive heart of mankind.

THE BURDEN AND BLESSING OF TRADITION.

BY PROF. DR. MARTIN RADE, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MARBURG.

In tradition the past speaks to us. The past of our race appeals to us in the uttered, written, and printed word, in existing custom and valid law. The man of to-day is compelled to determine his attitude toward this tradition, whether he may wish to do so or not.

In the tradition which speaks to us of the past of our religion there lies both a burden and a blessing for the religious man of to-day. We will treat first of the burden of tradition.

I.

How many who would gladly be religious and earnestly desire to be Christians are afraid of this burden! Others drag it along and groan beneath it. "Woe to thee, that thou hast forbears!"

For the Catholics, according to their own express declaration, the only proper attitude toward ecclesiastical tradition is one of submissive acceptance. By means of it they prove the genuineness of their faith. It is indeed said of Protestantism that it has rejected the Catholic Church's principle of tradition. But no one can really be a member of a Protestant church without having the claims and influence of tradition brought home to him in various forms, as doctrine, cult, custom, or law. Those parents in Bremen who had their children baptized without the use of the formula, "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," and afterwards lived to see the Senate declare these baptisms invalid, so that they were compelled either to have their children rebaptized or allow them to remain outside the communion of the Christian Church, are a striking example of this in recent times.

What makes religious tradition burdensome and oppressive to the mind of modern men?

1. First of all, it is the *strangeness* of tradition which is felt. Numerous customs, opinions, etc., do not seem strange to our mind or foreign to our mode of feeling, although they have been handed down to us by tradition, because they live in us and we in them. But every tradition may become a burdensome yoke to us, in less or greater degree, as soon as we perceive that it has come to us from a world which is not our own present world; and from what ancient, distant, and strange time has not a large part of that which the Church submits to us as religiously valuable and necessary descended!

Under the supremacy of the dogma of inspiration the Bible appeared to our fathers to be a timeless book. In every word of the Bible the eternal spirit of God spake to man of things which indeed concerned this mundane world also, but which happened in the main under quite different conditions from those under which we live. The thought that in the Bible story we also have to deal with *history*, and that in these Biblical books we also have to do with the works of human historians, did not enter their consciousness.

To-day, as ever, the devout man hears the voice of God speaking in the Bible. But he knows well that it did not fall from heaven all complete, and that it is not *one* book, that it is not a collection of sacred oracles, which it is only necessary to open in order to draw upon stores of superhuman wisdom. He knows that the Bible contains a whole literature to which writers the most different have contributed throughout a period of fifteen hundred years (1500 B.C. to 150 A.D.). True, this literature possesses a certain inner unity, and to grasp this is highest gain; but what impresses the modern reader first of all is the manifold difference and variety in the spirit of these writers, and the strange and foreign nature of their material. The customs and manners, the language and mode of expression, the æsthetic feeling and conception of the world, which he finds in these writers, are all strange and foreign to his mind. Indeed, how could it be otherwise at this distance of centuries? Whoever possesses sufficient naïveté to close his eyes to all these things may live on very comfortable terms with the old faith, but the number of such Christians is perceptibly and steadily diminishing.

The Old Testament gives most offence and is the greatest stumbling-block in this direction. When sun and moon stand still at the command of Joshua, all our ideas derived from the Copernican

astronomy, according to which the sun actually stands still, or relatively still, are contradicted. Even if we translate the occurrence into the terms of the Copernican view of the world, so that Joshua's command had regard to the earth instead of the sun, even then this wonder story remains absolutely foreign to our way of thinking. We simply cannot put ourselves in the place of those ancient narrators and hearers whose conception of nature allowed them to accept the story without even a shrug. To keep within the limits of the familiar and well known, we will mention here only the story of the floating iron (2 Kings vi.) and the narrative of the creation. It is true that it is just these stories whose ideal content is clearest, so that, in spite of all difficulties, it may be easily discerned in all its greatness, even by the dullest apprehension; but the strange, foreign, exotic element is still there, and there are many who never get beyond it. Worse by far are the moral difficulties. That a prophet should be allowed to curse twenty-four little boys and deliver them to be consumed by bears because they called him "Baldhead" is contrary to our moral sense and ethical feeling. For that very reason this story (2 Kings ii. 23) is no longer told in the schools, as it was in my school-days. And, in reading the beautiful 137th psalm, is it not like receiving a blow in the face to hear that touching vow of loyal allegiance, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning," followed by the vengeful malediction upon Babylon,— "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones." But the whole history of Israel is full of such moral difficulties. It tells of the blood of children shed at the command of God; and how often do we not read that at God's command whole cities and peoples were "devoted" or "accursed"! There are those who do not mind or are not troubled by the presence of such stories in the Scriptures, and who can make light of such difficulties. There are those who think they can set everything right by harmonizing these statements with our moral sense in a superficial way, as a silly and over-subtle science of apologetics has tried to do only too often; but, after all has been done and said, how strange and foreign all this still seems to us!

In the New Testament we indeed breathe another atmosphere. Here everything seems more familiar and friendly to us, thanks not only to our early instruction, but because the spirit of these Script-

ures is a still living spirit to-day, because this life-giving spirit continues to animate and vivify our own generation. But let the neophyte open the Revelation of John, and its riddles and enigmas will press upon his mind with alpine weight, or, if he does not take them seriously, they will repel him. Paul is probably tolerably intelligible in great part even among the men of to-day; but he has trains of thought which mock and defy our efforts to comprehend them without the help of learned commentators, to say nothing of such genuinely rabbinical passages as Galatians iv. 24. How much there is that is strange and foreign to us in the circumstances and traditions of the primitive Christian community, and in the phenomena in which the life and spirit of that community uttered and expressed itself! such as the speaking in tongues (1 Cor. xiv.), the women with faces closely veiled (1 Cor. xi. 4, *ss.*), the community of goods, the multitude of miracles in the Acts and the Gospels, mostly, it is true, of a more spiritual character than those of the Old Testament, though still including the raising of the dead, walking on the sea, the feeding of five thousand, the cursing and withering of the fig-tree. Finally there is the Sermon on the Mount, acknowledged to be, together with the parables, the highest and purest efflorescence of the teaching of Jesus. How much there is here which gives us pause by its utter foreignness of spirit! I will mention only the saying about the right and left cheeks, and the admonition, "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away,"—a precept which judicious charity alone often forbids us to follow.

What is true of the Bible in this respect is also true of the liturgical tradition of public worship, of the dogmatic tradition of the catechism, and of every form of venerable doctrine, ceremony, and form.

2. The second weakness of tradition is its uncertainty.

Men have indeed tried, here by an infallible institution and there by an infallible Scripture, to make up for this deficiency; but, despite all, tradition has ever revealed its own unreliable and uncertain nature.

It cannot be denied that a fact which I have seen with my own eyes, and have had opportunity to prove, is one thing, and a fact of which I simply have the historical knowledge, that some one else

claims to have seen and proven it, is quite another thing. That which is given in tradition, we may believe, was once a present actuality, was seen, heard, and experienced; but in the very moment when it became of the past, when it became only the report of eye-witnesses, and very soon only the report of that report, it lost immensely in reality and reliability. Formerly, little attention was paid to this. A naïve historical method controlled the selection of events, and what it chose to transmit was accepted as the authentic tradition; the naïveté of the presentation was met by an equally naïve and uncritical willingness to accept what was presented. The entire history of antiquity and of the Middle Ages is under this indictment: faithful reports, upon which one may depend even to-day are found side by side with monstrous fables. There came the time when men became cognizant of this unreliability of tradition: criticism arose. Laurentius Valla, the humanist (-1457), destroyed the legend of the "donatio Constantini"; and others, such as Hutten and Luther, profited by his instruction. Flaccius, the Lutheran, sharply assailed the papal view of history, and Gottfried Arnold, in the interests of pietism, unmercifully turned the conception of church history, which scholastic orthodoxy had worked out, topsy-turvy. Criticism at first subserved a polemical interest; dogmatic bias and prejudice opened the eyes of men to the weak points in a hostile tradition. Leibnitz was the first to introduce regular methods and scientific canons into historical research: by rejecting all unfounded traditions he showed the necessity of investigation and of a consistent use and dependence upon the original sources throughout. Leibnitz died in 1716: the eighteenth century developed great skill and learning in the discovery of isolated facts and events and the connection between them. Upon this rests the fame of the theologian Semler (1725-1791). But it took another generation to see the larger, more coherent view and the vaster connections. Lessing, Herder, Goethe, and Hegel were the pioneers: under their leadership the sifting of details proceeded all the more freely and thoroughly. So in the nineteenth century we saw the rise of a new and heretofore unknown science of historical investigation and presentation. Two schools may be distinguished in Germany: the Niebuhr-Ranke school, which has made good its claim to undisputed leadership in the work of exact research, whose prime inquiry is always and every-

where, "What did actually happen?" and the Heidelberg school, founded by Frederick Christopher Schlosser, whose most brilliant representative in recent times is perhaps Treitschke, which freely passes its ethical judgment upon that which has been, and always strives to attain a unitary conception of the whole. These two schools supplement and complement each other in the most fortunate manner. To these may be added a third school or tendency which takes into consideration the economic foundations of human society in the various stages of historical development. There is much justification for this, though a one-sided emphasis has been put upon it. The Frenchman Taine and the German Lamprecht deserve special mention in this connection. The universal endeavor was to get back to the oldest and most reliable sources of tradition, and so a grand and commendable emulation in the discovery and publication of original sources accompanied the rise of the new science of history. The active participation of church historians and of the historians of religion in this great activity in the field of profane history was inevitable: such names as Ferdinand Christian Baur, Hase, Weizsäcker, Wellhausen, and Harnack will suffice to indicate this.

The task of giving a positive estimate of the significance and the vocation of historical criticism we must reserve for some future time. Our present concern is to point out one of its fatal consequences. The layman, who could not keep up with all this learned research, has become confused. At first he probably rejoiced in the scholarly work of one great authority or author, and was ready to swear either by Rotteck, Gervinus, or Leo. But very soon he was overcome and oppressed by a sense of uncertainty. The authorities arrived at different results. They pointed out the inconsistencies in the old tradition, but they contradicted each other even worse. In the place of that which had been reported there came endless questions and ever new problems. What was there still left? What could be depended on? Can science deceive, or is it her rightful business to resolve everything into merely relative truths or into a universal scepticism, replying to every inquiry, "It may have been so, or it may have been otherwise"? Where shall we look for the facts? And what was Christianity, this historically developed and established religion, founded on and boastful of facts, and yet without rock-bottom facts on which to posit its claims?

It is incalculable how much unrest and uneasiness has been produced in the minds of religious people by this destructive and undermining work of an historical criticism against which even the sacred tradition of the Church has not been able to assert its complete assurance. Many cherished opinions might easily be surrendered, but on others the very heart's blood of faith depended.

Let us picture the situation to ourselves by means of illustrations taken from the story of the Reformation. The early biographies of Luther relate that Luther entered the monastery in 1505 because his friend Alexius had been struck by lightning at his very side. A more critical history teaches now that one of his friends, whose name is unknown, met with some great misfortune about that time, whose precise nature is also unknown, although one source reports that he was stabbed. All that remains of the old story is the admission that Luther did indeed experience a severe thunder-storm, which came upon him suddenly like "a terror from on high," about fourteen days before his entrance into the monastery. The old simple story is discredited; but what does it matter?

Secondly, we have been taught that at the Diet of Worms, in 1521, Luther acted most courageously and stood his ground like a man, at last crying out, "Here I stand: I cannot do otherwise, God help me!" Criticism declares that it is doubtful whether Luther ever really spoke these words. After Luther's examination the session of the diet was dissolved amid considerable tumult and confusion. Luther called out something; but who understood it, and who preserved his words? Nevertheless, it is impossible to deny that the old report may be true.

Thirdly, in regard to Luther's death in 1546. Catholics have lately essayed to prove that Luther committed suicide. Other Catholic investigators have themselves contradicted this assertion. We may affirm that critical historians have unanimously refused to accept this precious historical find of a partisan school of history. But is not the mere fact that such an attempt could be made at all most significant? Are the facts concerning Luther's death so uncertain? May not this professed discovery contain a grain of truth after all? And, if so, how could Protestantism meet the situation? To what extent are we dependent upon historical opinions of which criticism, apparently, may deprive us any day?

We have purposely refrained from illustrating the uncertainty of tradition from the Bible. Nor do we intend to do so now. The doubts concerning the historical content of the Bible are as innumerable as its contents. Nothing is any longer certain. Even the historical existence of Jesus has been questioned. But we wish rather to point out another example of special significance. The evangelical churches have as their foundation certain symbols. The three oldest of these are called œcumenical; that is, universal symbols, creeds recognized by the whole of Christendom. They are the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. Historical science is now a unit in declaring that none of these creeds can be called œcumenical in the strict sense of the word. The Athanasian Creed has nothing to do with Athanasius (fourth century), and is post-Augustinian, originating in the sixth century, and was never used in the Orient. The Nicene, or Nicene-Constantinopolitan, Creed was formulated neither at Nicæa in 325 A.D. nor in Constantinople in 381; and, even if adopted in Constantinople, the synod which met there was not œcumenical, but simply oriental. The apostles had nothing to do with the origin of the Apostles' Creed. In its original form it belongs to the second century, and its present wording dates from a much later period. Once again we are constrained to ask, If such historical errors have been brought to light in regard to documents with such abundant sanctions as these ancient creeds, what is there that still remains firm? Does religious faith depend upon the work of the historical critic? Does it stand or fall with the results which criticism has already accomplished or is still to accomplish? Is that the value or the meaning of tradition?

Who can bear the weight of such uncertainty? Go to, let us cast off the burden! But hold, that cannot be; for

3. Tradition asserts its tyrannical sway over us, whether we will it or not, and this from our very first breath. Without weapons or defence the child is exposed to the influence of the tradition which presses upon him in home and school, and from the whole environment in which he grows up, regardless of whether it be a religious or an irreligious, a conservative or a democratic tradition.

Individual experience, freedom of faith, living in the Eternal as an ever-present reality,—this is genuine religion. But now she forces herself upon the mind of youth in the most tyrannical way, urging

the acceptance of doctrines only half understood, and demanding to be appropriated by mechanical memorizing, according to the prevailing methods in home and school.

But tradition also exerts the same tyranny over the life of the adult, in various degrees, according to his station and manner of life. Both in the state and in society certain privileges and opportunities depend upon our attitude towards tradition. In Germany, at least, the demand for the production of a certificate of baptism or of confirmation is usual in purely civil affairs. One cannot aspire to certain offices nor look forward to a career unless he is able to show that his attitude towards church and tradition has been correct and respectful.

Was it always thus? Well, it has even been worse. In the seventeenth century not only the pastors, but all state officials, all university teachers, including even the fencing and dancing masters, were obliged to subscribe to the Lutheran confessions. In many countries this obligation continued in force for all faculties of the university until the beginning of the nineteenth century. What did it matter, then, *in praxi*, that the Lutheran confession itself declared the Holy Scriptures to be the *norma normans*; i.e., the only authoritative source of pure doctrine, so long as the confession itself, as the *norma normata*, was the real law, according to which one must be judged and the norm to which one must conform. It was in order to preserve and protect the correct tradition that Chancellor Crell was beheaded in Dresden in 1601 and Servetus was burned in Geneva in 1553.

In 1519 Luther burned the canonical law in Wittenberg, and thereby declared war against that law in the name of religion. Not that religious communities have no use for laws and fixed traditions in the maintenance of outward order. Law arises of its own accord wherever men seek to live together. But it is another question whether the law of the jurist is still equal to its task where the innermost sanctities of the human soul are concerned. But, it may be said, law does not seek to regulate faith: it simply holds to precedent and tradition. Just so, but it strengthens these, so that through the support of the law they gain quite a different power and influence than they would otherwise have.

Since when does this union or alliance of law and tradition exist

in Christendom? We can give the exact date. It is since dogma was completed and became valid law in the exact juridical sense. It was on the 27th of February, A.D. 380, when the Emperor Theodosius issued the following decree:—

“We command all peoples that are subject to our benign rule to live by the religion which the Apostle Peter delivered to the Romans; *i.e.*, that they believe in the one godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, of equal majesty in the one, holy, adorable trinity. They who follow this decree shall be called Catholic Christians; the others, who shall be as fools and madmen in our eyes, shall be branded with the shameful name of heretic. Their places of meeting shall not be called churches, and to whatever punitive judgment of God shall befall them, there shall be added also such chastisement by us as we shall determine and as the will of God may indicate to us.”

At that very time the moral, social, and scientific or scholastic compulsion which tradition already commanded was reinforced by the compulsion of the law of the state. From this time on Christian governments accorded privileges, protection, and preference,—honor and riches to some, and disfavor, persecution, martyrdom, and death to others, according to their respective attitudes towards tradition. Even more, they fixed and determined the tradition. And, as this edict of Theodosius still stands at the head of the *corpus juris* from which our jurists derive their knowledge of Roman law, so even to-day, despite all progress and freedom of faith and conscience, the delusion that the political power has the right to intervene in matters of faith is still deeply rooted in the minds of many of our jurists and rulers. Wherever this happens, tradition or conservatism is the gainer. For law is in its very essence the determination of precedent and tradition.

Tradition, we repeat, wields a manifold and wide-spread power, which bears no relation to its content, and which is felt as an oppressive tyranny, even where the content of the tradition is good. In this latter case this content would command an entirely different kind of recognition and acceptance if the evil appearance of intellectual compulsion did not rest upon it. What glorious reading and noble lessons we may find in the evangelical confessions of faith, if we read them for edification, as the preachment of the Fathers or as

witnesses of a past spiritual life! But how unbearable they become as soon as they are set up by law as a standard to control the understanding of faith to-day!

We have said enough of tradition as a burden. It is, as Harnack once said concerning the letter of the emperor to Hollmann (in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for March, 1903), "The weight and burden of a long history, full of misunderstandings, of stiff formulæ, which stare us in the face like swords, of blood and tears, press heavily upon us and weigh us down; but in it a sacred inheritance is also contained for us."

II.

The benefit and the blessing of tradition will best be seen by considering its educational value, its social value, and its intrinsic value.

1. Its educational or pedagogic value. We have spoken of the tyrannical sway which tradition and precedent wield over the growing, developing human being, through the home, the school, and the factors in his environment. But that which we have here recognized as an inescapable constraint is, nevertheless, also a benefit and a blessing. How can it be otherwise? And do we really wish to have it otherwise? In that case we would have to disapprove of, and give up, all education of children in general.

Wherein lies that which is essential to all education? Simply that we do our part to give our children what we already have, to transmit our intellectual possessions to them. This kind of transmission plays the principal rôle in all forms of education; and, the more completely such education can hand down the spiritual and ethical treasures which we possess to those that come after us, the more highly we think of it. Shall every man that comes into the world make an entirely new beginning, without profiting by the experiences and achievements of those who have lived before? What superfluous labor and unnecessary exertion this would imply! How it would hinder all progress in culture! Look back as far as we may, let thought travel backward into time as far as possible, yet we will never find men anywhere compelled to make such an entirely new beginning out of nothing, as it were. We cannot even picture to our-

selves in imagination the protoplasmic mental condition of beings so entirely dependent upon themselves and so entirely self-created. On the contrary, when we reflect upon our position in the present, and realize how completely we, with all our burdens, stand upon the shoulders of our forbears, we are filled with a deep and heartfelt sense of gratitude. "What hast thou that thou didst not receive?" (1 Cor. iv. 7.) This is particularly true of our religious possessions.

Tradition, and the act of passing on traditions and precedents, is therefore something natural, moral, necessary, and beneficial. For wherever and whenever there is any vital religion, just because it is vital, it possesses the tendency to transmit itself from one generation to another. One of the natural laws of the spiritual world is at work here. Even the atheist bows himself beneath this law, in his desire to hand on his atheism to those who come after him.

Therefore, the means which the Church uses for the transmission of her spiritual treasures to others, by religious instruction and various forms of divine worship, cannot be made a matter of reproach to her. A vigorous tradition will create the forms necessary to itself. We Protestants value instruction as the simplest and surest method of transmitting tradition. It has indeed been said that religion cannot be taught; and it is perhaps for this very reason, and because this is true, that the transmission of doctrine so easily becomes a burdensome task. But, if doctrine is extant in a church or plays an important rôle in a religious faith, why should it not be imparted to others? We may see to it that this is done in the right way, and, if this is not the case, we may take in hand the work of improving existing methods; but that the extant, accepted, and recognized doctrine or teaching of a church should be handed down to the following generation is a matter of course, and its transmission is a benefit and a blessing.

Custom takes the child into its lap to be fostered and filled with the inherited wisdom of the past. They who have drunk deeply of this stream of wisdom in their youth are to be accounted fortunate, especially when the time comes when they must go forth into life and be thrown back upon their own strength and resources.

The young man ripening into maturity and intellectual self-dependence makes a twofold use of this inheritance of traditional wis-

dom. One part he grasps more and more firmly and holds more and more securely. He appropriates it to himself and earns it for himself (according to the saying, "Thou must earn what thou hast inherited from thy fathers, before thou canst possess it"). The other part he rejects, either laying it aside gradually and imperceptibly or making a sudden and violent break with it. In either case tradition has been a benefit and blessing to him. Two cases are typical of the relation of sons to fathers,—the son who in his simple, homely, friendly way grows up into and adopts the customs and opinions of his father, and the son who, through constantly increasing friction, culminating in a sharp and direct contradiction, works his way through to an entirely different point of view from that held by his father. It is almost impossible to say in advance which of these two is most indebted to his father, and which received the greater benefit from the tradition to which he was born.

In any case the existence of the individual in absolute independence of tradition is impossible. We are like men standing in a row and passing bucket upon bucket along the line. The buckets are filled with the water of tradition, and whether as passive or active, good or bad, zealous or slothful members, whether we are being educated or are educating others, we all find our place in this long and endless succession.

2. Although the social character of tradition is already apparent from what has been said concerning education, we feel constrained to go still further in pointing out its value for human society.

Societies have their rules, states have their laws, and both are supported, held together, and carried safely through many crises by their history. Religious communities, such as have been called into existence by the great historical religions and confessions, live upon the memories which are cherished in common, and especially the memory of their origin. It is true that all piety that has genuine value, all vital religion, is a life in the present,—in an eternal present or a present eternity. But, the more religion is of this kind, the more it would be dissipated into pure individualism and subjectivity if it were not for history, memory and tradition. It is possible to conceive of religious communities without traditions; that is, in the moment of their origin. Then everything is comprised and compacted into the To-day, into the enthusiasm of the moment. But to-morrow the

present has already become past, and to-day has become yesterday. To-morrow the faithful will already live upon that which existed yesterday. The disciples of Jesus, even while they had the Master with them, were not entirely without such a yesterday: each one cherished the memory of his call, and all together kept green the memory of their meeting together and their common store of recollections of the Master's spoken words, of every act of his that they had witnessed, and of the whole of that strangely altered world whose atmosphere they suddenly breathed. Even Jesus himself was never without such a heritage, which he had received from the past and which he handed on further; namely, Moses and the prophets.

How the events of the beginning become fixed as tradition, and how their memory is cherished and perpetuated, is a question which it is impossible to answer here. It happens in different ways in the various Christian congregations and confessions. But in all of them the regulated order of divine worship renders a great service in this respect. Even that which is incomprehensible or only half understood is handed on from generation to generation as a common possession, and has its binding effect, such as the Amen, the Hallelujah, the Kyrie, and the formula, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The sacraments—baptism and the holy communion—are instruments of tradition, and are especially effective means of fixing the minds of men upon the recollection of the origin of the community. The hymns which are sung from the hymn-book, the sermon, and—to recognize its true worth here again—religious instruction of every grade and kind, all co-operate towards the same end. A church or religious community without tradition is an impossibility, and does not exist. What has greater cohesive power and holds people together more than the festivals of the Christian year? And what would these ecclesiastical feasts be without tradition? It would be well also to think of the Bible in this connection as the common possession of all Christians.

Since the egotism of the individual continually exposes human society to the danger of disintegration, every form of association is to be welcomed, and therefore also the religious; and, since such association is impossible without tradition, it follows that religious tradition must be a benefit and a blessing. It supports the weak, binds the

recalcitrant, and attracts the young. We are inclined nowadays to ascribe everything to personality, and not altogether without justice. But personalities pass away, while traditions remain. Personality also survives in the tradition, if the person has been great enough. This leads us to speak of the third way in which tradition becomes a blessing.

3. Its essential value. The value of tradition in itself, simply on account of its content, entirely apart from its educational, cohesive, or any other incidental effect.

The Catholic Church expressly recognizes tradition as the source of its life and truth, and through Vincent of Lerinum she has set up a glorious ideal of catholicity,—“*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est*” (that which has been believed always, everywhere, and by all,—that is the true and genuine tradition). Unfortunately, the difficulty of fixing upon anything which would really and fully meet this criterion is too great. So the Catholic Church leaves the decision concerning such matters to an infallible authority, and this decision the faithful Catholic must obediently accept.

The churches of the Reformation, as already stated, have rejected tradition as the source of saving truth, and stand entirely upon scriptural ground. But this is possible only because the Holy Scriptures themselves include a tradition of inexhaustible fulness. They could well renounce the danger of extra-Biblical tradition, because in the Bible itself the religious experience of the past, concentrated to a degree as in no other literature, was handed down. In it, as nowhere else, they found the word of God. What more did they need? Everything else was but the work of man, which could only confuse and pervert. And, indeed, the religious or spiritual power of the Bible has proved itself inexhaustible until this day. The preacher who preaches to his congregation all his life out of the Bible and about the Bible can bear witness to this, as well as the simple layman who opens its pages to satisfy the immediate needs of his heart. In the midst of all that is problematical, strange, and uncertain, which one instinctively lays aside or cannot help criticising, there wells up ever anew an astonishing fulness of that which is permanent and vital, and which proves its own intrinsic worth.

Moreover, there is nothing that stands in the way of making room for the extra-Biblical tradition, even on Protestant grounds. The

churches of the Reformation have refused (the Reformed Church even more decidedly than the Lutheran Church) to exalt the work or words of the Church Fathers to the rank of articles of faith; but, nevertheless, they have been glad to feel themselves one in historical continuity with the mediæval church, and to use the witnesses for this uninterrupted historical tradition in support of their own position. We have already spoken of the fact that the theology of the creeds and confessions rests its validity on the Bible. Suffice it to say that nothing hinders us from drawing upon, recognizing, and appreciating all the wealth of the religious tradition of our own ecclesiastical past, and all the wealth of religion in all times, in a way which we have never done before, and thus to allow the power of this tradition to work in us as never before. And this may be done in such a way that no thought or event may be taken by us from tradition and given a place in our own life, in obedience to any outward compulsion, but simply because we feel and comprehend its value for us. It rejoices the heart to hear of a generation that has self-confidence and believes itself capable of doing something, and whose keen, adventurous optimism essays to create something new. But the consciousness of weakness and limitation soon comes. Then the need for support and supplementation begins to make itself felt; and where can both these be better found than with our fathers? Are we ashamed to learn of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, or Herder? Why then be ashamed to learn of Luther, Augustine, Paul, Jeremiah, or Isaiah? For Christian piety especially a return to the sources always means a wonderful quickening: just as, in the story, the giant Antæus was strengthened by touching his mother earth. As regards this Christian piety, it has been demonstrated again and again that Jesus Christ abides through all the changes of time as the real source of its power. Let no one say in contradiction that we must look forward and not backward; that religion, like all other spiritual or intellectual attainment of the race, can only progress by forward development or evolution. What a confusion of ideas! Most assuredly we must move forward. History does not walk backward in crab fashion. But the future yawns before us as an abysmal void, as empty space still waiting to be filled. We must fill this void with our own bodies and souls, with our own doing or not doing, our hoping and willing; and the religion which has no ideal aims and ends with which to peo-

ple this uninhabited time-space in advance, is dead. Nevertheless, even while she strives towards the future, religion can live only upon the past; and the wealth, as well as the persistence of its power and virtue, depend upon the content of the tradition which it brings with it. Therefore, as Christians, we will always continue gratefully to accept, as our motto, "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day and forever" (Heb. xiii. 8).

But, if we must look to the past, why not look also to Buddha, Zoroaster, and Confucius?

We may well admit that Buddha, Zoroaster, and Confucius represent the most valuable traditions for the Buddhists, the Parsees, and the Chinese, respectively. As long as they draw upon these original sources of their religion, it will continue to live. But the attempt to elevate Buddha to the rank of a real prophet for us is most artificial. Those who earnestly desire this will have to put superhuman powers into the attempt, and for these we cannot give them credit. For us also Buddha is a bit of world history, a part of humanity's past; but he does not possess the significance of a tradition for us. No historic past of our own speaks directly to us in him or through him.

The more cultured a man is and the broader his intellectual horizon becomes, the greater his ability to appropriate, out of the spiritual treasures of all times and nations, whatever may be to his own profit. The masses of men must always be dependent upon one definite tradition. All Christians should rejoice in the tradition to which they have been born, and gladly recognize its advantages and superiorities. Herein lies the strength of a conservative education. It at least brings tradition close to the minds of the rising generation. And, despite all tyranny, foreignness, and uncertainty, this is no common blessing, provided, of course, that this tradition has a content which makes it worth while.

But even he who has been emancipated and become intellectually free will, for the sake of this content, bathe in the stream of tradition again and again,—henceforth, more than ever, in order that understanding, heart, and will may thus be renewed and strengthened. As Goethe says,—

"Der Strom in dem ich bade
Ist Ueberlieferung, ist Gnade."

III.

To the present generation tradition is both a burden and a benefit a bane and a blessing. There arises the task of thrusting aside the burden as much as possible, in order that the benefit may come to its full expression and exercise its rightful influence.

1. This is a task which must be comprehended and solved in practice in the churches and religious congregations. The despotism of established law, by means of which tradition exercises its harsh rule, must be destroyed wherever it comes into contact with the real inner and tender secret of religion; namely, personal feeling or experience or personal conviction. True, it is impossible to consider every individual demand or to treat with tenderness every super-sensitive feeling. In every sphere, wherever individuality has developed, there is bound to be a tension between particular needs of the individual and those fixed conditions under which alone community life is possible. A tension also exists at the same time between the time-spirit which desires to create something new, that it may fill the void of the future, and the spirits of the past which still live, though they be dead. These tensions are wholesome and, thank God, cannot be entirely done away with. But the purely beneficial effect which they should have is frequently prevented by the way in which the *jus* interferes in the wrong place. *Jus* (law or doctrine) is always the codification of that which has become or that which has been. But the individual desires to have a religion which is a matter of present experience. He has no objection to the existence of tradition or to its use in the support of his own religion, but desires unconditional freedom in his use of it. He would not be disturbed in his relations to God by any legal claims or requirements. Therefore, as far as the state is concerned, it gradually becomes a matter of course that, as Frederick the Great said, every one within its borders "may be saved in his own fashion." But the various churches and religious communities will be compelled more and more to seek the forms in which their tradition may perpetuate itself without the aid of legal compulsion. They can do this, provided they have an honest and joyous confidence in the content of their tradition. For then they will know that it can hold its own by virtue of the

spiritual power which it exercises over the minds of men through its intrinsic worth.

Herein lies a great and unmistakable duty for the evangelical church law. If it cannot accomplish this task, then men will be compelled to throw it into the same flames with which Luther burnt the canon law of the pope.

2. In the second place there arises a problem for theological science. The fundamental relations between faith and history, piety and tradition, must be investigated and comprehended in entirely different ways than heretofore. For one hundred and fifty years—ever since Herder—it has been the vogue to discuss this problem. Some of the best and finest work of our theologians has been applied to it, especially in recent times; but we must confess that hitherto no one has found a satisfactory solution. Historical investigation sometimes speaks as if it could draw up out of the past whatever may be necessary to faith; and, on the other hand, dogmatic theology often speaks as if it had already found the magic spell which will enable faith to remain entirely indifferent to all the discoveries and results of historical criticism. If revelation were simply a matter of ideas, everything would be plain and simple enough. An idea effectuates itself by its own truth and perspicuity. The more clearly it has been thought out, the more it towers above the times in which it first came to light. One can think it over again and thereby prove it and possess it. But in the great religions, between which our choice must be to-day, we have to deal, not simply with ideas or opinions, but with facts. They have a history and an historical origin. They are history. One cannot get beyond this by such wisdom as that of Lessing's "Nathan the Wise." (The wisdom which Lessing puts into the mouth of his Nathan is usually misunderstood, to boot.) Neither can we give fresh currency and vitality to that other saying of Lessing; namely, that "accidental historical truths can never furnish the proof of necessary truths of reason." Necessary truths of reason, such as Lessing had in mind, we no longer recognize in our day in matters of faith or questions of religion. Neither do we wish nor any longer try to prove our faith by accidental historical truths, in the sense in which Lessing uses these words; and, finally, historic truths are not as accidental, after all, as Lessing thought. Lessing, who has so often helped us to a newer, worthier, and



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truer estimate of history, so that he deserves a great deal of credit for the rise and development of the new understanding of history, is still mentally involved, with his declarations concerning necessary truths of reason, etc., in the viewpoint of the rationalism of the eighteenth century, which, in most other respects, he has so victoriously transcended. In this Herder was more advanced. To him God spake through history. He understood better than Lessing that religion is not a summary of doctrines and revelations, does not consist in the impartation of doctrines, but rather that in dealing with religion we are dealing with a fact which can be made the subject of contemplation and emotion. History itself is this great fact of revelation. She consists "of seed-germs, hidden and sowed in divers ways, which contained much that could only be developed in the course of time, and often only after a long lapse of time." She also certainly holds in her bosom religious representations and ideas; but, above all, she awakens emotions, immediate certainties, and springs of action.

Schleiermacher also travelled this road of the historical understanding of truth, and here we have found the right way. Our reason is not equal to the task of freely producing a religion, even though we designate it by the title of the "religious reason." We have only historical religions. These are capable of further development. As surely as they have history behind them, they also have a history before them. If we try to construct a new religion out of "necessary truths of reason," this new religion will resemble the old as much as the Homunculus in Goethe's "Faust," manufactured in a chemical retort, resembled a real, living human being. No, the real question is simply how the historical past is connected with the present, with that which happens and lives and ought to be in our present. The question is, what meaning, worth, and effectiveness the fact of former times may have on the generation now living? of how much real worth are the traditions cherished by the congregation or religious community for the transmission and handing on of these values and forces? to what degree must the imagination of the individual co-operate, in order that the experience of former generations may be reproduced in him? For the old orthodoxy all this was much simpler. For it the great redemptive acts—for instance, the atoning death of Christ—were events which had significance in the first place only

for God. God changed his judgment upon sinners on account of the atoning death of Christ, and for the same reason also his attitude towards them. And through the operation of his Holy Spirit God gives to every one who opens his heart to him the benefit of the fruits of this acceptable atoning sacrifice of Christ. This gift of salvation or bestowal of saving grace is absolutely a thing of to-day, a present event. The agents are the interceding Christ of to-day and the Holy Spirit, equipped and armed for work to-day. The Bible, in so far as it is taken into consideration as the instrument of this work, is looked upon as the word of God spoken to-day, timeless, eternal. In this kind of orthodox dogmatics the problem of how to make the right connection between that which has been, between the historic fact and the present need, cannot even arise. The connecting link is God. He is and remains the real subject of that which has happened in history, as well as that which happens to-day. But in the very moment when in the course of time this is recognized as mundane, as human experience, the gravest psychological and epistemological problems arise. It is no reproach to theological science when we say that she is still at work upon these problems, and will be at work upon them for some time to come. It is certain, however, that the subject-matter and the idea of tradition must be subjected to renewed investigation.

We will not close, however, with this interrogation, but rather with a positive statement, which every reader can easily test and prove. It reads:—

There are two ways in which tradition may be used aright. They are the way of criticism and the way of faith.

We commonly hear these two—criticism and faith—spoken of as irreconcilable contradictions. They may appear to be disassociated or even hostile, but that is simply a confusion of ideas, or, oftener still, a pure delusion; for, in reality, these two belong inseparably together in the use of tradition.

Faith is confidence. But how can we place complete confidence in any person or thing without, at the same time, withdrawing the same from other persons and things? In this manifold world of contrasts and differences it cannot be otherwise.

Criticism is judgment,—an independent, well-grounded judgment, founded upon authentic and well-proven principles and con-

scientious labor. Criticism pushes aside much that is doubtful and untenable in order to penetrate to that which is genuine, fixed, and permanent. She is not here to deny. The negations are simply the chips and shavings which must be made to fly in order that the beams and rafters of the new structure may be beautiful and strong. She works for the sake of the affirmations which must ultimately result from it all.

Thus do criticism and faith fraternize. The one cannot exist without the other. They are two sides of the same thing, the two poles of one and the same transaction.

It can easily be shown that the much-reviled historical criticism cannot exist without faith. It is true that criticism apparently begins in pure negation. To doubt is her first duty. She mistrusts every tradition. "They say that this was so and so. Perhaps it may have been quite otherwise." She seems to regard nothing as too sacred or holy, neither the form (the text, the letter) nor the content (history, coherence, meaning, or tendency). To the uninitiated the excess of critical zeal with which critical science sometimes goes to work may often seem barbarous and ridiculous. As a matter of fact, the individual investigator may be guilty of mistakes and exaggerations in many cases, but they are quickly corrected by his fellow-workers and fellow-students. Science is continually revising and correcting its own conclusions. But the really important matter is this: the critical investigator, even by the use and application of the most exact methods, can never arrive at any positive result unless he can make up his mind to believe. In the last resort he must believe, he must place confidence and trust in some source or report or supposition or commonly accepted theory; in short, in some positive result. If he cannot do this, he must sink into absolute scepticism. Such a scepticism may be ever so clever or intellectually brilliant, it may put on all the airs of erudition and masquerade under the cloak and name of science, but it is not science. If the scholar wishes to write and present history, or if he wishes to reproduce and describe the history of whole periods, and finally ends, perhaps, with the purpose of treating the entire history of the human race as a whole, then faith or belief must accompany him step by step, in order to fit him for his work and enable him to create. He must have faith in that which has been, or at least may have been.

On the other hand, even the uneducated do not accept the traditions of the past without criticism. The Protestant refuses to accept the Catholic view of history, and the Catholic rejects the version of that history commonly accepted by Protestants. In this case, where the approved methods of scientific criticism do not suffice or cannot be accepted, it is precisely faith itself which exercises the criticism. In the same way faith and criticism walk hand in hand in the case of the patriot who rejoices in the history of his fatherland, and also in the case of the Social Democrat who studies economic evolution in the past, according to the scheme of Karl Marx, in order to acquire hope with regard to what the future shall bring forth.

Let no one say that, if we approach the subject in this way, all historical knowledge will resolve itself into subjectivism and partisan stupidity. This danger really exists, and it is the earnest duty of science to meet it. But in what other way can past become future, in what other way can the power with which we came in contact in tradition be made fruitful for our doing, hoping, and striving, unless it can be thus subjectively appropriated? Those profound words, "The just shall live by faith," also apply here.

Let faith do its utmost, its highest and best, that criticism may become the more active and efficient. For often faith is in advance, and criticism must laboriously overtake it; and then, again, criticism has the advantage, and faith must make haste to keep up with it. But these two are destined to keep step with each other, and neither one will ever reach the goal without the other.

The fact that criticism is stronger than faith in the science of to-day does not prove anything against faith. For the science of to-day is simply more criticism than faith, as she knows very well herself. But knowledge or science is not the whole of life. It is a part of life, as certainly as criticism is a part of life. But life itself is faith. We live by faith much more than by knowledge.

And if one, animated by religious faith, should bring to life, through the power of his mind, by his desire and sympathy, anything that once has been, so that it lives anew in beauty and energy, nothing can hinder him. Only it must really be his own personal act and possession. Criticism, which always cries, Halt! in the presence of every reality, must then treat it with respect. This truth furnishes a

support for the quiet security of simple faith in the midst of the breakers of the storm-tossed sea of criticism.

This process cannot go on without some friction and tension. But there is no other way to live. We live by inspiration and expiration. And tradition is the atmosphere which we breathe. That moment of time which we call the present is too short and too poor for us to live thereby. Happy is he who has found in criticism and faith the right use of tradition. What more does he need for the equilibrium of his soul?

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

Held in King's Chapel, Tuesday afternoon, September 24, Rev. Franklin C. Southworth, president Meadville Theological School, presiding.

MR. SOUTHWORTH.—The International Council is an institution in which men gather together in the interest of religious freedom, from lands widely separated, to compare notes on matters of common interest. Its purpose has been to talk rather than to act. But the fact that it occurs to us to meet together as a band of preachers, theologians, educators, thinkers, and workers, who are seeking to unite pure religion and perfect liberty, is a clear indication that the union of these two is not yet complete. Now the American type of mind is essentially practical. When it discovers a new idea, it does not stand off at a distance and contemplate or admire it. It seeks rather to harness it to a more or less definite task and set it to work. That is why we have here in America such a variety of religious sects. The foreign guests who come to our shores are apt to be bewildered by this multiplicity. It seems to them to be somewhat of an indication of eccentricity and instability of character, or the lack of ability to work together for a common purpose. It is, however, not that at all. It is rather our national characteristic that, when we find a good thing, we like to have our neighbors share it. Americans are pre-eminently endowed with the missionary spirit. Moreover, when there dawns upon the mind of a philanthropic American a new religious idea, he not only wants his neighbor to share it, but insists that his children shall share it, too. Hence our growing interest in religious education. For that reason there have been founded here in America the denominational school and the denominational college; and, if our friends from across the Atlantic look upon these institutions as the breeding-place of sectarianism or as foes to progress, they make a serious

mistake, for these institutions have been a most important instrument in the work of religious education, and are at present our chief recruiting-station for the Christian ministry. The problem of education on this side of the ocean is a somewhat serious one from the fact that it has had to do for many years not only with our own children, but also with the sons and daughters of Europeans, who are coming to our shores in constantly increasing numbers. Inasmuch, then, as our visiting brethren have had something to do with forcing this problem upon us, it is fair to call upon them in turn for help in solving it.

It seems to me, furthermore, that the time has come in the history of this International Council when we may address ourselves to the question whether it may not take some practical step in inoculating the youth of Christendom with the cosmopolitan spirit in religion for which the Council stands. Two years ago, when we conferred in the city of John Calvin, it was as if an invigorating breeze from the very summit of Mont Blanc had penetrated the recesses of the halls in which we met, dispelling the mist of local prejudice and the dust of insularity and provincialism in which all of us are apt more or less to live, and giving us a new and brighter vision of the snow-capped heights of tolerance and spiritual sympathy which beckon to us from afar. Now may we not do something to make this vision perpetual and to impart it to others who have not yet seen it? I suggest that as one of the topics for discussion at this meeting. We are trying at Meadville to make a little contribution to the solution of the problem. Through the generosity of a Boston woman we are sending from year to year, on the Cruft Travelling Fellowship, to the centres of theological learning of Europe, one of the brightest of our graduates, to sit at the feet of Pfeleiderer and Rade, even as we have commissioned students in the past, and expect to commission them again, to visit Oxford and listen to the voices of Carpenter and of Jacks. But it is a poor rule that will not work both ways. We Americans may impose a pretty stiff tariff on certain commodities of commerce, but we impose none as yet upon students of theology, and we are vain enough to believe that, as our students have been freed from provincialism by study in Europe, so would the ends of this Council be promoted if students from Germany, Switzerland, and Hungary would come to us for a residence of a year or more at one

of our American institutions of learning. Let your young men from Europe see how it seems to get out from under the shadow of an ecclesiastical establishment and to come into the atmosphere of one of our expansive American institutions. We know that their coming would be a good thing for us, and we have faith to believe that it would not be bad for them.

During the past year an interesting beginning has been made in an international exchange of pulpits between England and America, the benefit of which has already been felt far beyond the limits of the parishes directly interested. I submit that an interchange of professors among our schools of theology ought to be equally possible and would be equally beneficial, and that such an exchange would make for international comity as well as for religious fellowship.

These questions may be considered, however, as in a way incidental to the theme to which we are to give our immediate attention. As representatives of an international movement in the direction of religious freedom, I have to invite your attention to the representative of an association which has done more than all other associations in America combined during the last five years, in behalf of religious education. This association was conceived in the mind of one of the most distinguished educators of our generation, the late President Harper. He was its founder and for some time its directing force, and he laid the foundations so deep and broad that it has grown stronger rather than weaker since his death. The executive head of that association is with us to-day. He is the best man we could think of to invite to speak to us on the Future of Religious Education. I have the honor to introduce to you Rev. Henry T. Cope, of Chicago.

THE FUTURE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

BY HENRY F. COPE, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO.

The popular extension of educational privileges has in these last years been accompanied by the development and elevation of education ideals. Education has come to mean the training and development of the *lives* of *all* into harmony and fulness of living, completeness of character, and perfection of service as individuals, as children of one great family and one great Father.

The development of the educational ideal has been accompanied by the development of the religious ideal; it has become both practical and spiritual, personal and universal, free and bound by natural law. Its purpose has become identical with that of education. To the realization of the fulness of life, personal and social, it brings the dynamic of the spiritual. In the light of this new day, religion and education are evidently inseparable; religion is the motive and energy of the largest ideals of education; education, the pathway to the highest in religion. This is what the modern movement for religious education means. And it therefore seems worth while to discuss: first, the service of the present movement for religious and moral education; second, the effect of this movement on the processes of religious education in the future; third, the means by which the promise of the present is to become the fact of the future.

I. THE SERVICE OF THE PRESENT MOVEMENT FOR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

This movement is manifest in a deepening discontent, a growth of honest inquiry, and an eager reception of new principles and plans. The movement was born of deep convictions fusing into a glowing vision,—the conviction of the educators that general educa-

tion was not bearing its fruitage in character, of the religious leaders that education was, at least, an important method in religion, of the scientists who demanded the recognition of the reign of law, the absoluteness of truth, in the moral and the spiritual realms. The vision was that of the day when every force making for the development of life shall work in harmony to bring men to the fulness of their powers, the possession of all their heritage, and the privilege of all their service, and when this shall be the common and supreme aim of all those who serve both in the name of religion and in the name of education, and when the methods used by all shall be those which life dictates and truth discovers.

The first definite service of this movement was in finding and defining itself so that it passed from an indefinite dissatisfaction in individual minds, accompanied by spasmodic efforts at improvement, into a clearly declared, unified expression of need and determination for reconstruction. Perhaps the largest service which the Religious Education Association has rendered has been in thus bringing together those leaders and workers in ecclesiastical, educational, social, and cultural institutions who were meeting their problems separately, and binding them together in one comprehensive organization for fellowship, interchange of thought and experience, mutual co-operation and stimulus, and for organized, unified service for, and inspiration of, all the agencies of religious and moral education. Without intending to suggest that the whole movement is due to the Religious Education Association, it may be acknowledged that a great deal already has been done by that organization, not alone in definite, concrete things, as through conventions, conferences, publications, exhibits, etc., but more in suggesting improvements, inspiring and aiding the workers in religious education and the agencies therefor. The result has been the stimulation of public opinion, provocation to thought, to inquiry and examination, leading to dissatisfaction, realization of need and square facing of the problems involved, with honest endeavor to solve them. More careful thought, skilled planning, scientific study, and elaborate experiments have been given to this problem, more helpful schemes have been worked out, and more valuable literature produced in the last four years than in the preceding forty. The examination of any bibliography on the subject will establish this fact.

This movement is resulting already in giving a new content to the word "religion." Hitherto "religious education" has meant, to the average person, instruction in Biblical lore or in theological dogma. He was religiously educated who was a walking warehouse of spiritual or sectarian information. The Sunday-school was regarded as the sole agency for the religious education of the laity, the theological school as the sufficient agency for the religious education of the clergy. If this movement meant no more than increasing the efficiency of the Sunday-school as a miniature theological seminary or even making more alluring and thorough the curricula of the seminaries themselves, its interests would be confined to a small group. It regards religion, however, as a matter of much greater breadth than the Sunday-school, seminary, and pulpit. Religious education means the development of the whole life. It esteems nothing that makes for the fulness of life as non-religious. That which makes education religious is not the nature of the material of instruction, but the aim and ideal which inspires the educator. Conic sections become sacred when regarded as contributing to character; soteriology becomes not only secular, but sinful, when contributing only to sectarianism. When religious education comes to mean the nurture and leading of a life into its fulness under the inspiration of those ideals which have proved of greatest worth in character determination, then men come to think of religion as, subjectively, inspirations and ideals, and, objectively, morals and ethics. It may be that one of the most valuable contributions made by this movement will be the relieving of the word "religion" from its sectarian, speculative, and theological odium and translating it into terms of life and character. For all the practical purpose of every-day life religion and ethics will be regarded as synonymous, and the plain thinker, the average man, will use the word "religion" with the connotation which now belongs with morals and practical righteousness. It is bringing the phrase out of philosophical abstraction into living reality.

Following this will come the adjustment of religious activities to the changed emphasis in religion. Once begin to really educate men in the art of living, the change in emphasis does not pause at individual ethics: it passes on to deal with society; the *new emphasis in religion becomes socially ethical*. As soon as men learn to live, they

find that living is a problem never individual, always social, and, in rough terms, religion becomes the art of living with others. Individuals and social groups trained in this art will produce institutions and agencies fitted to perform their social services, and these will be religious agencies because dominated by the aim of social character and inspired by spiritual ideals. Religious education will become therefore socially ethical.

The movement must create new standards of life. It should assert again the dominance of the ideal. We will cease to measure men as great or small by their incomes: they will be measured by their offerings of personality to society. The age of things will pass: the age of men and thought be ours. The greatest need of our day is religion, that sense of higher values that in every age has made men and women count not their lives dear to themselves, that interpretation of all life in the light of the infinite, which, after all, even in our day, makes a sentence from Emerson or Jesus mean more than a check signed by Morgan and causes a little brick house in Portland, Me., for example, to be worth more than a Montana millionaire's palace.

Our problems—strikes, trusts, graft, divorce—are the errors of an age that has not learned to live. Suppose the science of morals had kept pace with the science of medicine in the last twenty-five years, or with the science of mechanical engineering, would we have had in all the splendor of our material prosperity such exhibitions of spiritual bankruptcy as we have seen of late? In vain is all our mechanical and material, our practical and technical, increment unless to bind all together and hold all steady for the eternal glory of man by integrity, honor, and high spiritual ideals. With all our getting we have failed to get wisdom. It is the getting of just this wisdom, seen by seers of all the ages, for which religious education stands in our day: it is the wisdom that sees life in all its relations, that seeks life in all its fulness, that will solve our problems when by its light men have learned to live.

The movement for religious education should bridge the chasm which many have fearfully anticipated between the hold of the moral obligations of the old theology and the impetus of the spiritual ideals of the new. There was a time when the fear of torment tormented large numbers into moral conformity. It is true that as yet the

higher ideals have not gripped the popular conscience. It is well that compulsions should pass; *but moral impulses must take their place*. Old beliefs have, in many instances, lost their power, and old leaders their prestige. What shall fill the gap? If under the dominance of that which we now regard as error communities were kept respectable, in what way shall they now obtain those impulses which will lead them to righteousness? We recognize that the possession of the most complete mental cabinet of crystallized and catalogued theological encyclopædia will avail nothing to hold the life true and clean, apart from the love of truth, devotion to ideals, and fellowship with divine and heavenly souls. It is the business of religious education to lead men who have escaped from the bondage of traditions and ineffectual laws into the liberty of the law of life, into living by those impulses, aspirations, and powers that shall redeem society by restoring the individual to all that he has lost as the child of the Most High.

The movement for religious education is creating new bonds of union and setting up new alignments among the scattered forces seeking these ideals. It sets up a standard to which all can come. It commits religion to the educational and scientific method; it brings men into the fellowship of truth; it sets all in one direction, facing the facts. It gives to all this high spiritual service of the leading of our fellows to fulness of life. In philosophy and practice we may differ, but in this we are wholly at one.

There are already signs of the effect of this movement in the deepening and broadening of the popular conception of general education. It moves from instruction to education, from the utilitarian to the ideal conceptions. Character becomes the aim instead of the curriculum. The strongest supporters of the movement are among the school men in city schools and universities. Parents are demanding more of the schools than recitations and examinations. Experiments in the schools as social centres indicate the trend toward a larger mission. Church and school and social forces come closer together as the unity of their aim becomes apparent. Leaders in higher education are setting the individual in right relation to the institution.

It may be thought that all this is but a dream. It is not: it is a vision, a rough sketching of a few of the fruits that are already

seen in the flower, and some almost in perfection. No one who has attended the great conventions of the Religious Education Association can doubt that the ideal, cultural forces are being made manifest in a new personal unity: the fellowship and liberty of these meetings is no small part of their charm. The demand for institutes and conferences from almost every State in the Union the general unrest and wide-spread search for better ways; the steady stream of letters of inquiry coming into the office of the Religious Education Association, asking as to the new materials and new methods; the rapid creation of a new literature, particularly in text-books and methods; the changes taking place in many institutions, some of them of the most conservative type; the demand upon the Religious Education Association for more help, personally and through literature; and the eagerness with which its materials, volumes, journals, and gatherings are received,—are among the things that point the new day.

II. THE EFFECT OF THIS MOVEMENT ON THE PROCESSES OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

If we regard education as the training and development of a life, by the discovery of self, by adjustment to the whole of environment, into full personality and service, religious and moral education is the inspiration of this growing life with those ideals which have proved of greatest worth, and the training of this life to the expression of those ideals in personal conduct and social service.

The actual processes of religious education will, first, be scientific both in character and content. Religious education cannot differ essentially from any other department or type of education. It deals with the same person, with the whole of the same person, for the same purposes, and upon the same principles. It does not seek to train the heart, the conscience, or the soul, as something separate from the rest of the being. The faculty psychology has gone to the attic. Man is a unit, and, therefore, education is unitary. Whatever we may be ecclesiastically, we must be unitarians pedagogically. Man is not a tenement or an apartment house, wherein one flat may be depraved, while another is soundly pious. Religious education will therefore be unitary within itself and

with all other processes of education. It will reach the whole life; it will concern itself with all that concerns the life; its reach will take in the playground as well as the hymn-book, and the doings of the gang of boys in the make-believe robbers' den with at least as much concern as it once bestowed on Daniel and the lions' den.

Within the church the *various activities will be co-ordinated into* a progressive scheme of education, its schools and meetings providing for the impression through formal instruction and through worship, its activities within and without affording opportunity for expression and for laboratory work. It may be that the church will receive a new vocation: she will not be regarded as a tinker of the souls of men, but as the educator of men and the constructor and savior of society. She will see her work as a whole, with a new coherency.

The work of religious education will be unified through all its agencies. First, amongst those agencies specially for its purposes. There will come a standardization of the curricula, a recognition of standards in methods. There is no reason why Sunday-school grades should not be as uniform as public-school grades; there is no reason why standard text-book materials should not be produced suitable to all schools and such that the pupils would never in the least be ashamed to compare with the books used at public schools. Such material is now being produced. There is no reason why we should not find definite standards for courses of study in the churches in a field much wider than that of the Sunday-school. As the churches become, as they must, the spiritual universities of the communities, they will get together and secure unity in their work. Absolute uniformity there never can be, especially as the plans of instruction are subject ever to the purpose of inspiration.

There will result also *unity with every other educational agency*. For example, the church will recognize and give credit for the religious work of the schools, the schools will recognize and give credit for the educational work of the churches. We shall see in the public school a mighty force for religious education. The Bible will not be taught formally in the schools, but the spirit of religion will more and more permeate them. We need to recognize the religious motive of the public school, its altruistic purpose, the self-devotion of its workers, the religious values of its disciplines, its

power in the determination of habits, its service to the æsthetic nature, and its important function in training human beings to live together in society. Economy will suggest the correlation of all the educational forces, the home, playground, library, press, club, fraternity, business college, university, and school. When we begin to catch the breadth of education and fully understand in how important a sense it is all deeply religious, then we shall have taken the first great step toward inspiring the educational leaders with the religious ideal. It is not that they are now doing an irreligious or an unreligious work, and need to make it religious: they need to catch the vision of the religious significances of their present service.

The result of such a co-ordination of these agencies will be the absolute reign of the educational and scientific method. It will not be a science which excludes the spiritual, but it will forever exclude the false and the meretricious. Religious education will realize on the labors of the servants of education. The experts in pedagogy and the specialists in psychology have already entered this field, and there is no sign of greater promise than the new literature which they are creating. There is a scientific seriousness and thoroughness in these pieces of work and in the investigations which are now under way that is full of promise.

The educational spirit will mean absolute honesty with the materials of instruction. Children will not be taught that which afterwards they must endeavor to unlearn, or later seem to be compelled to give up the eternally true because it has been inextricably and essentially woven with that which is now seen to be false. The painful struggle we have known against our own prejudices, the torture we have endured in order to escape, ragged and torn, from the prison walls built by our early instruction, is an experience our children must be spared. Religious education must be religious in character; that is, holy because absolutely honest, reverent because reasonable, faithful because fearlessly facing the facts.

It will be no mean result of the movement for religious education that the normal method of the salvation of humanity shall again prevail, when from first awakening of life there shall develop the consciousness of one's right as the child of God, when the nurture and development of the whole life into fulness of character shall

go steadily on through the combined and harmonious operations of all the forces that touch the life co-operating with the powers within, when the necessity for the spasmodic reform and revival shall have passed, and men shall think of religion not as something extraneous and occasional, but as essential, all-inclusive, infinite, when our children shall actually and continuously receive the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

It will be no small gain when we are able to send our children to Sunday-school without fear that they will be led away from divine and eternal beauties or be twisted and dwarfed in mind and heart. The formal agency of the church for the religious instruction of the young must be organized as an educational institution. It will have a comprehensive, unitary, graded course of study, based on the student's interests, needs, and developments; it will be so organized as to provide for the regular steady advancement of the pupil; it will provide efficient, adequately trained teachers, suitable material equipment, and every facility that modern educational science affords.

Sometimes, impatient with the Sunday-school, we cry, "Away with it! it cumbers the ground." But the new type of school is coming into being. Its organization is educationally sound; its work is co-ordinated to the public schools and college; its course is not theological; it is homocentric rather than biblio-centric; its purpose is not the production of Biblical critics, but the perfection of character.

Patience but for a few years, with diligent endeavor to help every school reach such ideals and with painstaking labor to provide the right materials and trained leadership for them, and these schools will become, under the combined spiritual and educational impulse, worthy agencies.

But, before these things can come to pass, certain definite things must be done. The church must train a teaching ministry: provision must also be made for those whose work will be exclusively that of religious educators, who will guide all the nurtural activities of a church or a community. A new type of man is coming into the ministry,—the man who will face the facts and adjust himself and his work to them. With such men and under the impact of this movement the churches will become the *communal expressions, through definite service*, of religious aspirations and ideals; they will be the

adequate and efficient agencies of formal religious education and the power inspiring with spiritual ideals all the educational agencies of the community. Three things such churches will do: give instruction in religious truth, give impression of religious ideals, afford opportunity for their expression in personal and communal service.

III. WHAT ARE THE MEANS BY WHICH THESE CHANGES ARE TO BE EFFECTED?

First, by agitation; awakening the public mind; stirring up the conscience of our people to a sense of the need and value of religious education. It is good to have our most cherished institutions ridiculed, if the process leads to beneficial reconstruction. Our people must realize the grave national danger, the danger indeed to the race, if we continue our one-sided methods of education, training men to efficiency in making a living and neglecting the art of living. We need the voice of prophets in popular religious education.

Second, by education; clear, patient teaching of just what religious education means; educating the leaders, teaching the present teachers, slowly giving to all the new ideals, leading them into the liberty of the truth, converting college presidents and even seminary professors, training the new type of minister and public leader.

Third, by assistance. We must stimulate the best men and women to make experiments, work out plans, conduct definite pieces of investigation, and produce material. We must make that which has been produced available to all workers, be ready to answer all inquirers, and aid all who are meeting the actual, practical, next-to-the-ground problems. The cry for help, for materials, instructions, and directions, stirs one to the depths. Here, on one hand, are the seekers after the right way, and, on the other, those who have direction, assistance, and inspiration for them. But it takes money to bring them together. Money is needed for institutes, for the printing of literature, for bureaus of information and exhibits. We are obliged to refuse to help simply because we do not have the means. A great need of this moment is money to set men to work, to produce material, and to make the material already produced available to the leaders, teachers, ministers, and workers.

Fourth, by promotion,—promoting the right types of local organ-

izations, whether of churches, in groups of the cultural forces of the community or in the institutions of learning, bringing together men and women with the newer ideals, forming local centres of religious education; by conventions, institutes, addresses, and correspondence, by the curriculum of literature, by every means within our powers as individuals and through appropriate organizations, stimulating thought, directing endeavor, determining plans, conducting experiments, fostering organizations, leading them to the larger vision, helping them to build in the unity and liberty of truth, on the firm foundation of ascertained fact, the glorious fabric of faith.

These are the things of a new day: we must be willing to blaze the way, be willing to work often with inadequate tools, to dwell for a while in rough-hewn log cabins. Pioneer's work must meet frontier conditions. The all-important thing just now for the future of religious education is not that we may have immediately the most modern machinery and conveniences, but that we shall be loyal to our ideals, that our light may not grow dim, that we may not be "afraid of that which is high," nor fear to tread new paths, nor fail to blaze them boldly and make them plain for other feet. We are coming to a large open space, a clearing, where we shall find that others have been cutting trails to the same place; and all together will see together. They will confess that education without religion results only in degrading materialism, that religion without education issues only in slavish superstition, and all shall rejoice to see the religion that is in education and the education of men in religion.

SOME REMARKS UPON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONVERSION.

BY REV. P. H. HUGENHOLTZ, JR., OF AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

During these last years a new shoot has grown on the tree of the comparative science of religion. To you, American scholars, theologians, and psychologists, we are indebted for the initial culture of this shoot. By such scholars as Professors Starbuck and James, Leuba and Pratt, the psychology of religion has been introduced into the sphere of theological science. Thus they have brought about a very desirable and necessary evolution in the study of the science of religion. Some years ago religious scientists confined themselves principally to the history of religion, to the ideas and notions, the forms and ceremonies, in which the religious sentiment expressed itself, but the sources of religious faith and life were scarcely explored. Now, under the guidance of your eminent leaders and pioneers, they try more and more to obtain access to these sources from various directions. Their illustrious example has been followed by different European scholars, as Emil Koch among the Germans, Ribot and Murisier among the French, Luigi Valli among the Italians, Höffding among the Danish psychologists, and lately a *Zeitschrift für Religions psychologie* appeared in Germany, with a doctor of medicine and a Protestant pastor as joint editors.

Two different methods are employed in order to reach this end, the biographical method and that of research. Thus Professor James in his highly interesting book, "Varieties of Religious Experience," tried to penetrate the inner life of great historical personalities, such as Saint Paul and Francis d'Assisi, Saint Teresa and George Fox. So Dr. Starbuck and Dr. Pratt sent their interrogatories about religious experiences and ideas to persons of different ages, sex, and opinions. Both methods have their advantages and their drawbacks. The biographical method recommends itself by its objectivity and versatility. The biographies of eminent religious men

and women can be quietly studied, critically explored, and compared with one another. But they have this drawback, that the life of a religious hero or prophet reflects itself in the mirror of the biographer, who beholds it from his particular point of view and through his own spectacles, so that some biographies teach us more about the mental attitude of the biographer himself than about the object of his study. How totally different, for instance, are the impressions which a Froude and a Norton received from the lives of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh!

The other method applies directly to the living objects of research. Men and women, especially young people, are examined about the awakening and the development of their religious life. But here the difficulty occurs that religion develops itself more or less instinctively and unconsciously, so that it is very difficult, almost impossible, to many a man to give account even to himself of the birth of his religious convictions. Moreover, many people do not easily open the gates of their inner sanctuary. You Americans are accustomed to live in houses of glass. You are interviewed about all kinds and conditions of sensations and opinions. We Europeans, especially we Dutchmen, are more reticent in this respect: our natures are reserved, and it requires both tact and deep knowledge of humanity to penetrate into our inner life. Those who reveal themselves more easily are more or less exceptional natures. And so the pathological and sensational sides of religious life are better known than the normal experiences. The religious mind that waiteth upon God is often shy and timid. You have to penetrate it by the Röntgen rays of silent observation and daily intercourse. A syllabus of questions enables you to observe the exterior phenomena of religious life, but you need a great intimacy with the person whose soul and character you wish to know thoroughly. In order to understand and to appreciate fully the answers you get, you need a profound acquaintance with the character, the surroundings, and the circumstances of the object of your research.

Nevertheless, we have "to row with the oars we have." And so it seems to me that the biographical and the experimental method must be used conjointly, whenever possible, and should complete each other. Submitting some remarks about the psychology of conversion to your kind attention, I will try to follow this twofold way.

In his interesting book Professor James draws a distinction between the religion of healthy-mindedness and the religion of the sick soul, quoting these words of Francis W. Newman: "God has two families of children on this earth, the once born and the twice born. The once-born see God not as a strict judge, not as a Glorious Potentate, but as the animating Spirit of a beautiful harmonious world, beneficent and kind, merciful as well as pure. The twice-born are vexed by the anxieties of their accusing conscience and by the temptations of the devil: they walk in the dead of night till suddenly the light of the divine grace pierces through the clouds."

This contrast indeed exists to a certain extent, but it is not so strong as it may seem superficially. The once-born, too, know in their lives a certain period of deeper communion with themselves, of a certain awakening of conscious religion, while the apparently sudden conversion of the twice-born has been prepared gradually and silently. So we perfectly agree with Starbuck's conclusion: "Conversion is in its essence a normal adolescent phenomenon, incidental to the passage from the child's small converse to the wider intellectual and spiritual life of maturity." So the deliverance of the soul from the fetters of sensuality and egoism, the awakening of the higher life, can be compared to the bursting forth of the beautiful petals from the bonds of the imprisoning calyx. Says James, "When the new centre of personal energy has been subconsciously incubated so long as to be just ready to open, 'Hands off!' is the only word for us, it must burst forth unaided."

So conversion apparently sudden and miraculous can be explained from the subconscious or subliminal life, or from a set of trans-marginal memories and impressions crossing at a certain moment the threshold of conscious life. Saint Paul, for instance, was converted, according to the account in the Acts of the Apostles, suddenly and miraculously by Christ's appearing to him in the clouds and saying to him: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." But, psychologically, this wonderful vision was prepared by his manifold meetings with many Christians, and last, not least, by the stoning of Stephen, in which he was concerned, and the quiet death of this heroic martyr. The apparently sudden conversion was indeed a process prepared long time before in his inner life. The impressions which he had got on

several occasions, and which had sunk beneath the threshold of his subconscious life, crossed it at the moment of his conversion.

Therefore, the question presents itself how conversion, either sudden or gradual, has been silently prepared by the first religious impressions the child has got.

Here the well-known theory of Hippolyte Taine, the eminent French philosopher, presents itself to mind. According to his idea three factors govern the literary development of all great authors,—*la race, le milieu, le moment* (the race, the surroundings, the moment). Perhaps the ingenious author has overestimated the influence of these three agents, but at all events they have a great influence on the religious evolution also. In the first place, the hereditary influences. In a generation in which religious traditions are predominant, the children, as a rule, will be under their influence. To how many applies the word of Saint Paul to his pupil Timothy! "I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, and in thy mother Eunice, and, I am persuaded, in thee also." Augustine never would have become so eminent a prince among the Fathers of the early Church if his pious mother Monica had not sown in his heart the seeds of fervent piety, which, long choked by sensual passions, yielded at length their fruits of righteousness. On the other hand, Luther would not have been vexed during his whole life by the fear of God and the devil if the narrow Roman Catholic faith of his parents had not roused that fear in his mind.

How great is the influence of the surroundings, the milieu, on the childish mind! The best pupils of our Sunday-schools and classes for religious instruction come, as a rule, from families where a conscious religion purifies and warms the home atmosphere. How many times, on the other hand, in my long pastoral practice, I have had the sad experience of finding that a child whose home offered only narrow and absurd religious ideas, later on, by reaction turned his back on all religion and changed anxious superstition for radical unbelief!

The moment, lastly, the period in which the younger generation grows up, has a mighty influence on its religious life. In this respect the present generation is in an unfavorable condition. We older people found the religious truth more or less ready prepared for us: the faith in a personal God, an all-sufficient Saviour, a personal

immortality, was imprinted on our childish mind. From the belief imposed by authority we had to form by storm and stress our personal conviction, but at all events the foundations of our faith were already laid. Now the younger generation grows up amidst a multi-colored mixture of tendencies and opinions rushing in on each other. Theosophy, Christian science, spiritualism, socialism, anarchism, and how many other isms crowd in upon the youthful minds, exciting the imagination by their sounding catchwords and causing a babel-like confusion in many brains. The simple faith in a moral order, in a divine will, in the kingdom of God coming not with observation, offers little in comparison with these big phrases. So many a young man has to go through a period of doubt and so-called unbelief before attaining peace of mind.

I am sorry to say that I cannot apply to Holland what Dr. Pratt in his interesting book, "The Psychology of Religious Belief," testifies from America: "As a fact, we find our friends and neighbors, of all degrees of education and intellectual ability, almost to a man accepting God as one of the best-recognized realities of their world and as simply not to be questioned." On the contrary, we find many agnostic and unbelieving people among our countrymen, not from indifference, as a rule, but from sincere and honest doubt.

It is a pity to observe how many parents unconsciously prepare this period of storm and stress for their children by totally ignoring the need for religion in the childish mind. Some of my pupils told me that they got the first impressions of God and religion not from their father or mother, but from a nurse or a maid-servant, and oftentimes such a person, herself knowing only an angry and dreadful God, awakened in the childish heart only fear of a heavenly tyrant. Others fill the head of their children with incomprehensible Scriptural passages or hymns, and compel them to attend Sunday after Sunday long and tedious religious services, so that the only impression of religion they get in their youth is one of weariness and disgust. By way of reaction a period of entire unbelief follows very early in the life of many a child.

A very distinguished and religious woman told me that in her twelfth year she professed her unbelief in God, and refused to repeat any longer the daily prayers that were taught her.

So a boy of fourteen confided to his teacher: "Every fortnight I

have to go to church with the whole family in procession. There I often think, 'How many children are sitting here who hate it as much as I do!'" One must needs grow bad from such a religiosity.

I myself in my youth was so crammed with Bible lessons and religious services that, having become a student at Utrecht University, for a whole year I never entered any church, till after a long struggle religion revived in a higher form in my heart and became the light of my life.

On the other hand there are children who already rack their brains in infancy with the question of the personality of God. Two little boys of four and six held this conversation in bed:—

Bob (four years): "Tell me, John [six years], do you know how God looks?"

John: "God does not look at all. God is a Spirit."

Bob: "What is a spirit, John?"

John: "That I don't know, either, but it is something very fine, much finer than a man; for, when you pinch grandfather in his elbow, you feel a bone, but, if you pinch God in his elbow, you don't find any bone at all."

The gradual awakening and growth of religious impressions is sketched very well in this confession of a young man: "I was a very pious child, but in my heart I felt a certain fear of God. When I heard you say that Jesus called God 'Father,' it made little impression on me; but I liked to hear the history of Jesus very much. My fear disappeared, of course, as I grew up, already before my twelfth year, I suppose. Doubts troubled me sometimes, but positively unbelieving I have never been. In my secluded life here [as an engineer in a far country] I have felt grow up into adoration and unutterable love the great emotion which I felt as a boy when I heard you and other serious people pronounce the powerful word, God."

From these observations follows the conclusion that a gradual transition from lower to higher life, from a selfish and sensual existence to a life of abnegation and self-denial, cannot be too early promoted by education. Therefore, religious habits in the family can be of high value. Misused and awkwardly applied custom can hinder the growth of spiritual life. Daily prayers and Bible lessons, mechanically and slavishly repeated, are wearisome to many a childish

soul. They may be the cause of a misunderstanding and dislike for religion in later life.

In many a childish mind an inundation of Bible texts and hymns washes away the germs of natural piety. I know several young men who call themselves infidel as a reaction from the surfeit of dogmatic religion they received in youth. But, on the other hand, custom, intelligently and cautiously followed, can be the channel through which the stream of religious life flows. The first impressions and habits are decisive for later life. "The child is father to the man," says Wordsworth. Has not the well-known word of Horatius the same meaning?

"Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu."

"The dish will long keep the smell of the food with which it once was imbued."

So a childish prayer, not formally imposed, but uttered spontaneously, can be the first expression of religious desire. Therefore, it should not be limited to physical wants in the first place. Grace before and after meals, as a rule, is a mere form and a worthless ceremony.

It often happens in a family where grace before and after meals is a mere ceremony that some one asks, "Have we said grace already?" "Yes, we have," says another one. "Oh, I did not know."

A sharp boy, dining with a family as a guest, had to say grace after dinner, during which no drink had been offered to him. "Heavenly Father," he said, "I thank you for the dinner. Drink I did not get. Amen," giving in this manner a gentle hint to his hosts.

Prayers should be connected rather with moral needs and spiritual desires. When the child goes to bed with the knowledge of having been naughty and having caused sorrow to its parents, it is the right moment for putting into its mouth a prayer for pardon and strength to be good.

Nature, as a rule, makes little impression on the childish mind. There are exceptions, it is true. Some of my pupils told me that at the age of about eight years they looked up to the starry sky with the idea, "Beyond these stars God is sitting on his throne," or that a beautiful landscape suggested the question, "Who has made this wonderful world?" Usually, however, the cosmological argument

does not occur to the childish mind. But the sense of shame and repentance, of guilt and contrition, may awake early in the childish heart the dawn of a sound conversion.

Moreover, the teacher of religion should impose on his pupils no system of dogmatic rules, sharply defined and immovably fixed,—stones for bread, indeed!—but simple principles and religious beliefs forming the foundation of the building which the growing man has to raise in himself. A deep respect for the voice of conscience, for the categorical imperative, *Du sollst* (You ought), must be the basis of that spiritual temple which gradually arises in every religious mind.

If these first moral principles are supported by the moral authority and the spiritual superiority of the teacher, they will exercise a mighty influence on the childish mind. Not *what*, but *how*, you teach is the great question. Every teacher who speaks with real conviction and warm enthusiasm, “quem pectus disertum facit” (whom the heart makes eloquent), will conquer the heart of his pupils, especially when his instruction concerns the highest life of the soul.

For the rest the religious development of young people must be governed by the principle, “diversity of gifts, but the same spirit,”—one spirit of holy earnestness and profound piety, one thirst after truth and righteousness, but at the same time the utmost liberty and the deepest respect for individuality. There is not one way, but many ways, to the heaven of celestial peace and blessedness. You can reach God by the intellectual, the mystical, the ethical, the practical road, each following his own path. The heavenly Father has many sorts and conditions of children, and each needs to be educated according to his personal talents and temperament. You cannot desire, says Lessing in his “Nathan der Weise,” “dass allen Bäumen eine Rinde wächse” (that all trees should grow the same bark).

So the once and the twice born, the mystical and the intellectual, the theoretical and the practical nature, each in his own way comes to God, the everlasting and ever-flowing source of spiritual life and love.

DEPARTMENT OF PRESS AND PUBLICATION.

Held at the Unitarian Building, Wednesday afternoon, September 25.

This conference of the editors and publishers of liberal religious papers and periodicals was one of the smallest meetings of the week, but was of interest and value to those who took part in it. Rev. Frederick A. Bisbee, D.D., editor of the *Universalist Leader*, presided, and spoke as follows:—

REMARKS OF REV. F. A. BISBEE, D.D.

In this, one of the smallest departments of this great Congress, I invite you to the consideration of a theme of largest importance.

The secret of commercial success lies very largely in the manner of putting the goods upon the market. However great the merit of a commodity, invention, or idea, it comes to its own only when it reaches the people whose need it is designed to supply. Production becomes potent through wise distribution. The mediator is essential to both God and man. I rank the religious journal chief among the instrumentalities for the spread of religious truth and inspiration, and, amid present conditions, vital to any religious propaganda.

In this country we have, approximately, 900 religious periodicals, reaching about 5,000,000 subscribers, and, according to the newspaper standard, read by 20,000,000 people. My impression is that during the last quarter of a century the number of journals has slightly increased and the number of subscribers considerably decreased.

During the last half-century there have been marked changes in the character of these periodicals. Once they were religious with a miscellaneous annex: now they are mostly miscellaneous with a religious annex. With the multiplying and cheapening of papers and magazines appealing to every department of human life the

religious journal has been driven to various expedients to preserve its very existence, and in some cases committed unintentional suicide by abandoning its own familiar and chosen field of service in its search for material success, or secured the material success only through the crucifixion of its religious purpose.

It is not necessary in this presence to argue the importance of the religious journal. We all know it, and, knowing it, look with keen anxiety upon what seems an impending eclipse. We naturally face reluctantly so gloomy an outlook. And yet why should present conditions shake our confidence or daunt our courage? If we are dealing with the things of eternity, only the verdict of eternity can influence us.

Yet I acknowledge that we face some very serious problems, though I am not at all pessimistic regarding the ultimate outcome, providing we endure to the end with singleness of aim. And I am disposed to look these facts fairly in the face with you to-day.

The religious journal is losing ground. There are not half a dozen self-supporting religious papers in America to-day, and not one making money. What are the reasons, and what are the remedies?

I am going to suggest one reason as primary to all others, and containing a potential remedy. I do not believe you will all agree with me, but the conviction is upon me and strengthens with observation and experience.

The religious journal is the composite pastor of a conglomerate parish. Its problems are but the problems of the local pastor multiplied and made more intricate. The editor preaches to an unseen and unresponsive congregation, and does pastoral work by proxy. The practical policy of the religious press does not differ from that of the modern pulpit in cultivating a diversity of interests to such an extent as to defeat any specific purpose. I am not in the critic's chair, but in the confessional. I only note the facts to which we have all been driven seemingly, however unwillingly,—the fact that we have pushed the distinctly religious interests, to foster which we are called into being, farther and farther back in our papers to make room for the so-called "live topics" of secular life, devoting our conspicuous columns to the same class of editorial work we find in the secular press, until we have destroyed the very reason for our own

existence. The primary purpose of the religious journal is to foster religion: all else must be merely incidental. In proportion as it departs from this purpose does it cease to have reason for being. When we suffer or encourage the crowding of the specifically religious into the obscurity of small type and narrow columns to make room for the superficially "interesting," we are not only disloyal to our holy purpose, but, I firmly believe, are committing slow but certain suicide.

People will value our words and work no higher than we do ourselves, and, if we thrust religion into a secondary place, we must expect them to do the same. Why should any man subscribe for a religious journal which is but a poor imitation of a secular paper costing only half as much? How can any man be expected to sustain a religious paper which is not religious? And this is my contention: that religious journals have failed because they have ceased to be religious, and run after all sorts of idols and passing fads and fancies, and mixed into business of every other interest instead of minding their own and magnifying it until none should pass it by. I would contend for the primacy of religion among life's interests; that religion shall have its rightful place and true valuation; that religion is not an annex or a product of some other life-quality, but a vital entity, independent and in the end sovereign, to which every life in the ultimate test of experience acknowledges allegiance.

I was impressed with the statement of Dr. Eliot, in his opening address as President of this Congress, that "we should not make *unreal* distinctions between the sacred and the secular," but there is a *real* distinction which we cannot afford to ignore, and which Dr. Gordon emphasized when from the same platform he insisted that "religion is an independent and momentous fact,"—a fact which stands in relation to all other facts of life, but to-day we are magnifying the "relations" and obscuring the fact. There is a world-full of good things and worthy objects well deserving attention, but regal among them all stands religion, but because we have despoiled her of her crown we ourselves are fallen.

With this but passing suggestion of primary reason and remedy, I turn to some practical considerations of immediate interest, which I shall little more than catalogue, leaving them for discussion.

The age is indifferent to organic religion, one of the fruits of what I have already pointed out. The age is not irreligious, but, where

it once received its supply from the single source of the pulpit, religion now flows in through many channels. Every newspaper of note has its religious department, and religion is more frequently than ever the dominating note of literature, but organized religion must now appeal where once it commanded.

It is an amusement-loving age; it has gone pleasure-mad in spots. The satiated tastes must have piquant sauces.

It is a hurrying age, and forces growth. It cannot wait for the old man to die, but wants its inheritance now to spend in riotous living. It wants to get rich quick, to get healthy quick, to get education quick. It is immediate, and cares not for the future. It solves all its problems with fads.

What is the religious journal to be and to do in such an age? It must adjust itself, but without sacrificing its ultimate purpose.

The fact is we have come into a time when the religious journal does not, perhaps cannot, receive its normal support from the individual, and yet never was there a time when its ministry was more needed or could be made more efficient. Never was there a time when the Church had such need of its service, for, instead of people coming to the church, the church must go after the people, and its best messenger is the church paper: that never tires and never fails, but every week goes into the home as a reminder of church obligations; and it appears to me that under present conditions the wisest thing any church can do is to subsidize in some way this most efficient missionary. And, speaking from my own experience, I can see how all the problems of my own paper could be solved in a day if every one of our churches were to subscribe for a certain number of copies, to be placed at the disposal of the minister, to be sent where they were most needed. This would insure a better paper, and in return revive the interest in the local church and the general cause.

Another dream I have had, but which may never be realized, is that in the great centres, where there are a number of religious papers published, we might some time learn a little wisdom of the world, and do away with all of our little mechanical plants, where we work under such limitations, and combine in an establishment which would do our work better and cheaper.

But, brethren of the pen, there is no chief among us to-day; no one may furnish all the copy. We are here for mutual conference

and help, here to face our problems frankly and courageously in the confidence of a fellowship which should be closer, and I leave with you for consideration the interests of this greatest instrumentality for religious advancement and human good,—the religious press.

A general discussion followed.



PROF. JEAN RÉVILLE, D.D.
PARIS, FRANCE



PROF. G. BONET-MAURY, D.D.
PARIS, FRANCE



DEPARTMENT OF COMITY AND FELLOWSHIP.

Meeting held in King's Chapel, Wednesday, September 25, 3.30 P.M., Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago, presiding.

Mr. JONES.—Friends, the hour fixed for this meeting has arrived. We are here to find out what we are going to do about it. We have been delighted to find how much akin we are. Our friends have crossed the seas and climbed the mountains to get here. They have crossed the deeper seas and climbed the higher mountains of race prejudices, theological animosities, sectarian distrust. They have come and found themselves in delightful accord. They have found themselves one in the strength and joy of comradeship and fellowship.

If I understand the object of this section this afternoon, it is to inquire whether this experience is to be only a delightful spasm, only a talking-fest, only a tea-party in religion. We know that there are great tasks awaiting us. We know that there are great problems unsolved, and we know in our moments of frankness that, as the battle is now carried on in many sections and on many points, it must be a losing battle. Despite all the congratulations and all the surprises of these days it still remains true that the minister in religion is the last to yield to the spirit of the age which calls for co-operation and combination. The industrial world does learn at least the wastefulness of competition. The industrial world has learned the economic value of combination. Now we have to investigate, sometimes with microscopic instruments, to find the names and the things that keep us apart in the great realm of religion; and still these microscopic differences, these antique traditions, these obsolete names and fancies, obtain effectually when we face the great tasks of the world. Universalist, Unitarian, Quaker, Congregationalist, find themselves in this presence thinking the same thoughts on man, duty, destiny, do they not? They are learning to speak with great confidence their affection for the Man of Nazareth and their loyalty

to the great Missionary to the Gentiles. And still if you go to any cross-roads here, touch any New England village in its purity and its power and study it on its religious side, you are apt to find its weakness and its imbecility.

I am reminded of a story of Father Taylor, who landed in one of these New England villages on a winter night, and the deacon who took care of him stopped to count the spires,—“One, two, three, four, five, six, seven spires.” Said the deacon, “Father Taylor, the Lord has come into this place: see seven churches here.” “No, no,” said the old prophet, “the Lord has gone, and the devil has come. You may be sure there is war all along the line in a place of this size that tries to maintain seven churches.” He had entered into the higher secrets of faith and the higher meaning of religion.

What are we going to do about it? Are there not some things that we can do together that we now try to do with great loyalty apart? Is this international body going to scatter and go to their homes without feeling that they have received a high commission, a charge to carry out in their respective places? Here we talk of peace: how much can we do together as ministers of religion to bring about the disarmament of nations? We see the pain and sorrow and waste that comes from the bitterness of race prejudices. How much is this International Congress going to do towards levelling up their constituencies into the harmonies they talk about, into the fraternities they expound, and the brotherhood they believe in, when they go to International Congresses? Those are the problems. I am not here to discuss them, I am simply asked to **make** the wheels go round; and I hope that there will be many wheels to go round this afternoon on this line. But it would be ungracious in me to spoil the clear argument and the wise statement that the gentlemen have prepared to give us who are to follow me.

The first speaker fittingly is the Chairman of the New York State Conference of Religion, Dr. J. M. Whiton, of New York.

THE NEW SPIRIT AND ITS RISING TIDE.

BY JAMES M. WHITON, "THE OUTLOOK," NEW YORK.

The New York State Conference of Religion, for which I have the honor to speak to-day as one of the co-operating bodies in this Congress, was organized a year earlier than this Council and on the same basis, with the same motto, and with the same inclusive fellowship,—a fellowship more inclusive than any other in our State,—including Jews on absolute equality with Christians in our Executive Committee, in all our meetings. We meet in Jewish synagogues just as freely as we meet in Christian churches, and among all the members of the State Conference of Religion I know none who are more enthusiastic in its promotion and in the principles it stands for than some of our friends in the reformed wing of Judaism. And the New York Conference brings you greeting to-day and salutation on the New Spirit and its Rising Tide.

That a Copernican revolution has taken place in religious thought during the last half-century, none can be so deeply conscious as those of us who have long memories. It is one of the advantages of a long life that one can cover the time between the day when the builders rejected the stone and the day when it was made the head of the corner. The revolution has been from the distinctively mediæval to the distinctively modern conception of the way and the working of God in this world. The New Spirit thus arising, as "the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns," has drawn the old-time disputants together, to see eye to eye and join hand to hand, by its substitution of the scientific temper for the dogmatic, and by the precedence it secures for religion above the philosophy of religion.

I wish I had time to say what this suggests to me respecting that which is still the goal of hope for many of us, the reunion of the divided sections—not divided now so far apart as formerly—of the historic church of New England, the church of the "Mayflower," the church of the Winthrop colony that settled Tri-mountain, where we stand, in 1630. It is coming. Some of you will live to see it.

"Religion unites where theology divides." We lift to Heaven our prayer, Thy will be done. This prayer is the symbol of the profoundest unity, compatible with many diversities of formulary and form. Jew, Mohammedan, Brahmin, Christian, lifting that prayer together, feel alike, "We are many: we are one."

Look at our gold or silver coins. Read on one side the national Confession of Faith, *In God we Trust*, placed there in May, 1865, by Act of Congress, one month after the Republic had emerged with victory from its four years' fight for life. Read on the other side the national motto of our forty-five States, so diverse and sometimes discordant in their local interests, *E pluribus Unum*,—one in their attitude toward the world, like the cloud that "moveth altogether, if it move at all." Here the political world has realized the ideal that is still beckoning to the religious world, of which a glimpse and a foretaste is presented in this Congress. Here we have to-day an *E pluribus Unum*, with the confession of faith that makes us one: *In God we Trust*, the true and ultimate "Formula of Concord."

Important as it is that men should think alike,—and they will think alike in religion as in astronomy, in degree as the Copernican revolution succeeds in diffusing and popularizing the regulative ideas of modern as distinct from mediæval thought,—the concord of wills is more important than the concord of intellects. Psychologically and practically, the man is centred in the will. Apart from the will, the whole man is not carried into action, however he may speculate, philosophize, or feel. To effect anything in the world, religious unity must be a unity of wills. The central aspiration of the religious spirit that trusts in God is to link the human will with the divine for the fulfilment of its prayer, "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth."

Right here appeared to us in New York the point of urgency,—to affirm the unity of the religious spirit in the supreme interest of the religious will. That is to say, of real religion as distinct from mere religiosity. God's will can be done only as men can be got to do it; and they must be got to do it. Behold, then, the present riot of selfish greed and libertinism and fraud and lawlessness which demoralizes so large a part of American life to-day, and reports our national shame throughout the world. That no such moral crisis is looming up in other lands, no one will affirm. Bishop Gore, of the

Anglican Church, said a year ago "that, paradoxical as it sounds, Christian people do not yet understand what Christian morality really is," as distinct from the morality of custom. The New York Conference has been saying this for years. Are the churches and synagogues, each holding its own fort separately, able to roll back the threatening tide? If it is high time, as was said twenty-five years ago, to call out all the moral reserves, the most potent voice is the voice of religion. But it must be raised with a will all along the line by every regiment and brigade,—not as Methodists or Unitarians, Episcopalians or Jews, but rather as simply religious men, united in the supreme passion of religion to suppress all iniquity by the enthronement of God's righteousness in human hearts and human laws. And, in confronting the present moral crisis, religious men may well adopt the saying of the author of "Ecco Homo": "No heart is pure that is not passionate; no virtue safe that is not enthusiastic." Unity can come only so. It is just in the flame of enthusiasm for the furtherance of the moral government of God and the enthronement of the righteousness of God that our differences are fused together in the unity of the forward movement.

I have interested myself largely in the deeper problems of religious thought, with the result of a growing consciousness of unity with others who approached the same from different points of prepossession or prejudice. But the conviction has also grown that the vast majority of men will for a long time care little about the agreements which we work out in the science or philosophy of religion. Not these will bring men to trust in God, or to do the will of God, or to strive for the righteousness of God in the unity of a spiritual morality and a thoroughly ethical religion. For this result the religious unity that we proclaim and exemplify, and the religious liberalism which fosters that unity, must crystallize in forms of will and act as well as in forms of statement: it must be dynamic against concrete wrong and wickedness, militant not only against superstition and priestcraft and popery, whether Roman or Protestant, but still more against all unrighteousness, social or personal, and all the economic wrongs that still defraud multitudes of our laboring people of their rightful share, not so much of property, but rather of *opportunity* to lead normal and wholesome lives. With the normal aspirations of these disinherited ones the cause of liberal religion must actively identify itself; for the

ultimate test of religion is in what it can do to humanize and to inspire the lowest ranks of the social body.

This practical world of ours is ever demanding of the prophet a sign: "What sign showest thou? What dost thou work, that we may see and believe?" We do well to trust in God and confess sonship to God. We shall do well to remember the ancient word: "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." Only so can the Son of God manifest himself as such, and make his epiphany complete and convincing.

Mr. JONES. Parliamentary bodies have a way of unloading themselves from a mass of detail and confusion that comes from too much elaboration by moving the previous question. That clears the deck and gets back the first issue. Our Quaker friends a long time ago moved the previous question in religion. When scholars were confused and dazed over the question, "What readest thou?" they said, "What thinkest thou?" When ecclesiastics were entangled in their ropes of their own weavings, they moved the previous question and asked, "How feelest thou?" If you and I agree upon the text, look inward, and perhaps you will have a little revelation on your own account and get a good ways on the strength of that revelation. I know not why it is that too often in making up our catalogues of Liberal forces and Liberal men these Friends who have so effectually moved the previous question and carried all of us nearer to the heart of things are left out. I am glad that in this program this afternoon there is provision made for a representative of this fellowship. He does not represent this fellowship, all fellowships, our fellowship, but *Fellowship*. Henry W. Wilbur, of the Society for the Promotion of Friends' Principles, will now address us.

HENRY W. WILBUR, OF PHILADELPHIA.

The great trouble in all matters when we undertake to discuss the question of fellowship is that we give altogether too much time to our denominational fences. We give too much time to the possibility of burning these fences. It is not necessary to burn them. If we keep on in the even tenor of our way, the tooth of time will

eat them up anyway, so we need not worry about that. It is not necessary to drown individuality in order to remove our differences: we may remove our differences and maintain our individuality, and the test of the whole matter comes largely in our ability to do exactly that thing. The principal thing that we need now to line up the Liberal forces in behalf of the things that ought to be done, and ought to be done from our standpoint and with the spirit which we can put into their doing, is that we shall co-operate in spirit rather than to attempt to form a paper fellowship or a great religious trust which shall put all other opponents out of business. What we want is not the great religious trust which shall swallow up all these individual expressions of human thought and human truth, but such a fellowship of spirit and of feeling as will make us unite our efforts along certain lines in our own individual ways and aiming at the common result.

We shall never make very much progress, however, until we get a different notion of what we call broadness. To many of us broadness is simply a frothy sentiment which does not mean very much except for dress parade purposes. It very often happens that our broadness has become narrowness; and how often has that narrowness been our condemnation! Real broadness makes us able to take in, in the study of the sweep and swing of things, a fair recognition of the good and grace that there has been in every religious system which the world has ever seen that is fundamental to the consideration of the whole proposition, and to be able to see that every one of these systems has made some contribution towards clarifying the atmosphere and towards bringing us a little bit nearer to the thing for which we all aim, and that is the establishment of the real brotherhood among men. We do not have to break up our family lines in order to attain a fellowship and a united spirit in a neighborhood, and we do not need to break up all our religious lines, if that is the right word to use, in order to be sure of having comity and fellowship in the religious world. The whole thing is a matter of spirit.

There has been a germ of truth lurking in the midst even of the world's mythologies. When men groped their way darkly, and in that groping saw a divinity in every flower and a spirit in every grove, they were simply doing their best to make an apprehension of the

larger truth which has come to us of the universal pervading, resident divinity. What they wanted was a resident divinity, and they got it by chopping divinity up. What we want is a resident Divinity which is united and lives and breathes and moves in the world of His creation and inspires all hearts to the doing of His will.

There was the germ of a tremendous truth in the postulate that was made during the old Deuteronomic reformation in the times of King Josiah, when what now seems to us the foolish geographical proposition was laid down—very logically, to be sure, as far as it went—that, inasmuch as God was one, he could only be worshipped in one place, and that place was Jerusalem. There was a germ of truth in that. God is one, and he can only be adequately worshipped in one place, but it is not Jerusalem nor any other place on the map. The only place where God can be worshipped is in the individual human heart. There, there he sets up his holy shekinah, and there are just as many holy shekinahs as there are human hearts in the universe.

Let us be able to see that truth which will tend toward that broadness which will land us where we ought to be,—in the midst of a genuine brotherhood.

But possibly we may test the whole matter more clearly by trying to find out the particular contribution to the great range of broad fellowship we have individually made to the world's progress. And what I say now is not to magnify a very weak and meagre and poor denomination, but simply to point a moral and adorn a tale.

The Religious Society of Friends managed to behave itself fairly well for nearly two hundred years in substantial unity, but after a while that demon of theological doctrine which has gnawed at the vitals and the spiritual fibre of our race from the beginning crept in, and we quarrelled and we divided. But for eighty years the branch of the society which happens to be represented here to-day has been more and more making a somewhat substantial contribution to illustrate the fact that there can be genuine unity of spirit in the midst of great diversity of individual opinion. We have among us a number of very excellent people who believe in the Virgin birth, in the Trinity, in the literal resurrection, and all of the postulates of evangelical theology. We have a still larger number who do not believe in any of them, and we have a still larger number who don't care

a copper about them, who give them no thought, who do not consider them vital to the building of the right spiritual life. But in the midst of all this we have reached the point where there is absolutely no theological quarrelling, and a historian, not of our faith, has recently declared that it is a common thing to hear absolutely diverse opinions in the same meetings for religious worship. That is a fact, and yet in the midst of all that we maintain a reasonable degree of fellowship and unity and harmony, and have reached a point where one man never feels himself called upon to antagonize another man's thinking. That seems to me to be a distinct contribution on a small scale towards the development of that spirit which, when it becomes universal, will have settled the whole matter.

The reason why this position has been reached is simply this: that it has dawned upon us somehow or other that our entire business is to seek to interpret the message and carry out the mission of Jesus Christ. And that can be summed up in a single sentence,—to bring the kingdom of God among men. What we may think about a thousand theological principles necessarily has nothing to do with bringing the kingdom of God among men, for "the kingdom of God cometh not by observation," neither does it come by much speculation, neither does it come by wrangling or contention, but it comes in attempting to get the fruits of the Spirit among men. So, therefore, as exclusive as we have been in the years that are gone, we are beginning to approach at any rate a certain degree of broadness in feeling that, if the whole world were made up of Quakers, it would be a somewhat sombre and unsatisfactory world after all, that diversity of opinion and of method, both of worship and of living, has some merit. And we are beginning to see in the midst of our protest and our testimony against formalism that possibly there may rest behind form and ceremony a measure of the same spirit which beats beneath our formless and creedless little communion. And it is this fellowship of the spirit which we must have, which we will have if we try for.

I believe that the message of the time to-day to Liberal religious people is simply that they may be inspired to do about half as well as they know how. We have reached a splendid position regarding many things, very delightful to ourselves. We—the Quaker and the Unitarian and the Universalist—believe in the immanent

God; believe, as Clement said in the second century, that "the Creator hath filled the universe with the seed of salvation"; believe with George Fox that a measure of the seed of God has been planted in every human soul. We believe that, the whole of us, but we are a good deal like the small boy in the Quaker kindergarten. The teacher had a way of taking the little fellows when they became obstreperous, and keeping them off by themselves and telling them that, if they kept still, they would hear something inside of them telling them what was right to do. So she put this little fellow behind the screen, and went to him in about fifteen minutes and asked, "Well, John, what is it?" And the little fellow said, "It's a-talking all right, but I ain't hearing it." That is the trouble with many of us Liberal people. We believe in the spirit inside of us, we know that it is talking all right, but we don't hear it.

Now what do we owe—what do we owe as Liberal people—in the direction of a united fellowship and a wide comity in the midst of the perplexing and complex civilization in which we find ourselves? We need simply this: to learn that where in some places some of us are too weak to do a thing alone, by using a vulgar term heard on the street,—by "pooling our issues,"—not by pulling down our fences, but by pooling our issues, by uniting our forces in an effort to put light where there is darkness, physical light where there is physical darkness, we may do something in that direction, for the broadening outlook teaches us that we shall never bring the kingdom of God among men in the midst of a submerged society divided into classes and clans and prejudices and hatreds. The kingdom of God can only be brought in the midst of society by establishing an absolute conception of the common brotherhood and the universal Father. We all of us like to believe that and to talk about it, and it is all very pleasant to us that the best of men are the sons of God and our brothers; but the simple fact is that the worst of men are the sons of God and our brothers just the same. And, until we get able to see that, all of our broadness will amount to nothing. And to see and to feel it and to know it, in the midst of the civilization of which we are a part, would let a great amount of daylight into most of the economic and public questions before us for settlement to-day.

Then, again, we have given altogether too much time, some of us, to doing missionary work among the poor. The Liberals to-day

in this country ought to organize a world-wide mission to the rich. That is not as nonsensical as it sounds. What I mean by that is simply this: that, ever since the world began, the people at the top of society have set the pace for society. Half of the speculation and the fraud, half of the extravagance and the folly, half of the pride and hatred, which consume our American civilization, is because of the constant effort of those at the bottom to ape those at the top. If there could be brought to bear upon the spirits of the men and the women in this country who really set the pace a single conception of the simplicity and dignity of the genuine religion of the Master, it would pull down two-thirds of all the class barriers we have in the world, and would help usher in the common brotherhood more quickly than anything else.

Half of the splendid impulse in our civilization, half of the splendid zeal of our humanity, is consumed in our time in the vulgar display of the rich and in the not more vulgar effort of the poor to keep up with them. And to make it perfectly plain that society needs reforming from the top as well as from the bottom is one of the concerns regarding which the whole Liberal Church might profitably and successfully unite their individual forces and forget for the time being their individual fences. There is scarcely a neighborhood represented in this meeting this afternoon that does not present a concrete example of some of the things that could be done in that community to make life more worth the living.

The kingdom of God can never come among men while half of the world confesses that it does not know how the other half lives, and is glad of it. The kingdom of God will never come among men until those who have seen the precious delight and felt the moving of the Spirit, and know what justice is, have helped to make the moving of the Spirit and justice the common heritage of their neighbors in the community where they dwell. These are the common things regarding which we could very easily unite.

Again, and possibly last, we could unite in demonstrating a fact against a fiction. For all these centuries we have been chopping ourselves up as men and women into sections, dividing ourselves into intellectual and moral and spiritual and physical beings and dealing with them piecemeal. The new revelation, the larger light, the completer liberty, is involved in the conception that man is a solidarity,

that the wisest philosopher that ever lived cannot tell where his body leaves off and his mind begins, cannot tell where his mind leaves off and his spirit begins. We have got to learn to deal with men as men, as a whole, not talk about these things being intellectual, these things being physical, and these things being moral and these things being spiritual. We have got to learn that there is more of the grace of God in some communities in taking education into them than there is in giving them tracts; teaching them to so deal with the forces of nature that they shall be able to get out of them the largest amount of life and liberty, and the greatest amount of real comfort in the world which they inhabit. First that which is natural, and then that which is spiritual, if there is any division at all.

The time has come when the message of the Liberal Church has become more practical than any message that ever came to the world before. We do not have to run the universe, we do not even have to tell the Almighty how to do it: we can trust it to Him. We do not have to solve the mysteries, for it is very few mysteries that have been solved since you and I can remember. Modern science, with all its splendid discoveries, has left the great facts and mysteries concerning the origin of life as dim and dark as they were when it began. But it has given us a theory of the universe. The message of the Liberal Church to-day does not solve the great eternal mysteries at all, but it gives us a rational theory of the spiritual universe. It gives us a complete and universal Fatherhood; it gives us a general brotherhood, a common kinship, and makes us able to see that because of this general kinship and this common brotherhood it becomes us to so listen to the moving of the Spirit upon the waters of our lives that out of our lives shall come that helpful concern, that applied Christianity, that religion put in practice, which shall make men better equipped on their physical side, make them better equipped on their intellectual side, make men better equipped for all things of this world, making them fit to live here before we provide for them large relations in the kingdom of heaven yonder.

Mr. JONES.—You expect me to so run this meeting that we can have three or four more twenty-minute speeches in the next half-hour. Is Dr. J. H. Asbeck, of Pittsburg,* in the room? He represents

* Dr. Asbeck, to his great regret, was prevented at the last moment by illness from attending the Congress, of which he was a member.

the German fellowship and the German Evangelical Church. His name is on the program and he is expected to speak.

One of the first graduates of Horace Mann will next address you, the man on whose shoulders fell to a degree the mantle of that great prophet, a man who represents a fellowship which has tried to move the previous question in Christian terminology, which refuses any other label than that of the word "Christian." Rev. Dr. J. B. Weston, of New York, will next address you.

REMARKS OF REV. J. B. WESTON, D.D., PRESIDENT OF THE CHRISTIAN BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, STANFORDVILLE, N.Y.

I began to write some things for this occasion, but I do not dare look at them. This subject is one to which I have never needed to be converted, for I was born that way; and I am heartily glad to have lived to see this meeting at which representative men and women of broad sympathies, of earnest purpose, of consecrated endeavor, meet together to consider the interests of intellectual liberty and practical action. For what is thought good for unless it is coined into action? What is the use of liberty in thinking unless it is coined into activity in doing? What is the use, as yourself just said,—what is the use of this convention if it is to be merely a liberalized tea party, to be reproduced two years hence, simply with another tea party? We are here for inspiration; but what is the use of inspiration unless that inspiration means something solidly done for the cause that inspires us?

I say, sir, it is a gratification to me to enjoy this meeting and to be a humble part in it. Beginning my life in the northerly part of Maine, where the pines grow tall and where the air comes fresh and free over the northern mountains and the broad forests, I was born a free man. And that spirit of freedom has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength. And enjoying, as you yourself have kindly remarked, for six years the daily association in school life with that great hero, Horace Mann, every element of liberty, every enthusiastic purpose for the welfare of mankind, was made the stronger thereby, and that has been my life. And so it needed no conversion on my part to come into harmony with the spirit of this convention.

I stand, moreover, as you have kindly said, as the representative of a body that has in itself some peculiarities. Our body came into existence as a protest against ecclesiastical domination, and in assertion of liberty of religious thought and speech. The early preachers of this gospel were prophets of God. They felt that they had a message, a message from God, and, as it did not accord with the dominant spirit of their times, the ecclesiastical authority commanded them to speak no more in His name. But, like the apostles before them, they said, "Whether it is right for us to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye: we cannot but speak the things which we have heard." And they went with the message of God, believing that God was the Father of all, that Jesus Christ was the Saviour of all, that the message of salvation was to all, that God was no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feared Him and wrought righteousness was accepted. They went with that message, and in that spirit they have lived. We call ourselves simply Christians, as you said,—not by any arrogation, not because we are the only ones or the exclusive ones, not because we are a special part by ourselves, for we are only a part of the universal whole. We belong to *a* church—not *the* church—that is as broad as the mission of Christ.

Mr. Chairman, you belong to our church, and you cannot help it. These brethren belong to our church, and they cannot help it. Whenever you are working to build up humanity, whatever you are doing to deepen religious thought and bring spiritual conviction into men's hearts, whenever you are doing anything to bring the reality of the Fatherhood of God into human hearts, whenever you are doing anything to create in human souls the aspiration Godward, whenever you are doing anything to make the conception of humanity broader and the welfare of man more intense, you are working to build up our church. You are working in our cause. For we believe—as you do,—that the great agency in the world for the welfare of mankind is the inborn Spirit of the Son of God. The agency for doing away ill, for solving the moral questions, for levelling up what is down and levelling down what is up, bringing men onto a common level,—that is the spirit of Him who is Father of all, the spirit of Him who came to be the Redeemer of all. Representing such a body, we are glad to be here.

And we look forward to greater achievements. There is going on at this time on the other side of the water a Hague Conference in which representatives of different nations are meeting together to consult in the interests of peace, of national harmony, national co-operation, the welfare of the world. We are another Hague Conference on our own part. We are the representatives of another class of workers in the human world. We come from the different nations, as they do. We come from different faiths, as they do,—not a different faith, for faith is one, faiths are multiple. The little faiths here are different, but we come from the one grand faith. I was glad to see on the vice-presidentship of this Association such men as Robert Collyer and Oscar S. Straus along with Charles E. Jefferson and George A. Gordon, representing I care not how wide extremes in one sense, but all one in the pulsations of humanity that bring us here together.

This, then, is a milestone of progress, and I believe that, as the last Hague Conference when it adjourned had settled some things, and this second Hague Conference has grander things to contemplate, and I believe the next Hague Conference will have still grander things to accomplish, so, when the next session of this body shall be held, it will have larger achievements already attained, a broader work to do, a grander courage, a higher faith, a stronger combination of holy zeal and earnest determination to work for God and man.

Mr. JONES.—The next speaker I am instructed to call upon is the man who stands in Dr. Munger's pulpit in New Haven, pastor of the United Congregational Church, an old neighbor of mine in Chicago,—the Rev. Dr. Haynes. Is Dr. Haynes in the audience? *

Mr. JONES.—Rev. Charles F. Carter comes in the line of Haynes's succession, and is invited to address us.

* Rev. Dr. Haynes was a member of the Congress and attended its sessions, but was called away by unexpected duty and could not address the meeting as he had promised.

REMARKS OF REV. CHARLES F. CARTER, OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, LEXINGTON, MASS.

I am glad to be in this fellowship, glad to have a man call upon me, really, who intellectually, and in many ways perhaps, stands at such a different point of view, because I rejoice in the movement that is represented by the gatherings this week, and one rejoicing in that finds it incumbent on him to give the reason for that faith. Surely, in the past we have somewhat overworked—greatly overworked—the thought of diversity and the importance of our differences in thinking. We are getting away from that decidedly. We are coming to a sense of unity. I raise the question whether there is not also perpetual danger in overworking the principle of identity touching unity. We must remember that the two are not the same, that we are not striving to think alike. We are striving to get at the truth, and, if the truth brings us together, then indeed we do rejoice. But in the presence of this great word which we are using and rejoicing in, this word “unity,” I believe we need to use two or three other words, in order that the sharp meaning of it may not be obscured, in order that we may not run into that mush of sentiment which Emerson abhorred in matters of feeling, and that we may not run into a sense of identity of thought in place of organic unity. Dr. Gordon, I believe, has stated that in this era of theological thought there has been this overworked principle of identity. I believe we need to remember that. And the three words that I would bring into this fellowship this afternoon are these:—

First, the word of a growing discernment. I do not think it is nearly so important for us to think alike as it is to realize that there is an essential truth in what the other man is thinking. It is quite as important for me to understand the other man as it is for him to understand me. And it is quite as important for us to cherish different thoughts as it is to come to sameness of thought. But, if we differ, what is of absolute importance is that we emphasize this word “confer,”—get together and try to understand the spiritual significance attaching to the other man’s point of view.

I doubt not that it would be easy and a congenial task before such a gathering as this to set forth some figures from the Norse mythol-

ogy, Siegfried, Parsifal, and to win our mutual recognition of the great spiritual ideal involved and illustrated in those figures. Would it be as easy a task for me to win your recognition to the great spiritual principles involved in the doctrine of the Trinity and in the service rendered by Athanasius to the spiritual progress of mankind? I believe the temper in which we should hold ourselves should make as easily possible the one as the other. And, when I speak to an assembly of recognized and established Orthodoxy, I want to feel that the spirit in them makes possible the presentation of ideas under the name of Channing or Theodore Parker, that they may with equal readiness respond to the spiritual significance involved in those interpretations of Christianity. So we seek for a widening insight, a spirit of discernment into all the interpretations of the spiritual life that have been given. We emphasize the spirit of conference, and, doing this, we emphasize the spirit of respect for the other man. The thing in which the sects have failed lamentably seems to be just that. They respected very much their own individual opinions, and have stood for the right to maintain those opinions. Now the obverse corollary of that demand for personal liberty is an equal respect for the other man, and that is the spirit we need to show, moving on in this great and splendid stream of progress.

I rejoice in the emphasis that has been given touching this movement and its bearing on practical affairs. I believe that out of this great sentiment of an organic union and a vital fellowship we are hearing a fresh challenge. We are going to try to keep our thought in its proper place, and we need fundamental thinking to-day, and never did we need it more. We need this emphasis on the will and the feeling,—the will that brings things to pass. All truth, brings men into closer connection with the Spirit of God, gives them really more practical inspiration, and the challenge of the sentiment in which we gather here teaches us to go out into the world, to look the needs of men squarely in the face, and address ourselves to that social reconstruction which must be the proof of the vitality of our inspiration. There are two things for us to do who feel the unity and the quickening of this fellowship,—first, to keep pure the inner fount of the personal life, to keep open that channel of connection with the divine; and then under that inspiration to

go forth and try as we may, and wherever we may, to reconstruct the conditions of the lives of men, so that life here on earth shall be fairer and diviner.

Mr. JONES.—Rev. Charles G. Ames will now speak a word to us.

REV. CHARLES G. AMES, D.D., OF BOSTON.

I asked brother Samuel Eliot what is going to be the big word of this Congress, liberty, truth, or life. He said: "Our brethren from abroad will make it liberty, for they have not yet won it. With us, liberty has been won, and our business is to ask what we shall do with it, what use we shall make of it." It is in that spirit that the speaking this afternoon has brought the general subject before us. We have a measure of liberty, we have a measure of power: the question is about our duty and our responsibility.

Some things are still difficult, nevertheless, and I for one am afraid of programs laid down in advance of the readiness of communities to receive them, because once there was a time in my youth when I thought that I was going to take hold of this world and help bring it right around. In trying to do it, I have had some awful jarring, and the world hasn't got around yet. The reason why The Hague Conference this year seems likely to dissolve without agreeing on a treaty of arbitration is because the governments represented in that conference are not ready for it. They have some guns and they think they may want to use them, and they hold back. They have questions between themselves and other nations which they may not want to submit to arbitration, and they hold back, which means that the nations are not yet ready for universal peace, and it will not come until they are ready. I do not know whether Providence is ready for the millennium or not. Some of us think we are quite ready for it, but it does not come, and it will not come next week, perhaps it will not come next year, but it is coming all the same, and it is coming when it is due. I have faith enough that the world is run on program to believe that it will come at the right time.

I believe, nevertheless, that it is possible for you and me and other

members of the community who see a good thing in sight to help make that the universal, common blessing of mankind. We need not wait for the whole world to come around, we must begin where we are, and in the solution of social problems the place to begin on the part of these housekeepers is to begin in the kitchen. The place of the employers is to begin with their employees, the place of the employed is to begin with their employers, and, as soon as the spirit of justice is between any two, it will spread; and, when it is established between many, it will soon become the common law of mankind.

I do not know, but it seems to me that the human race is not yet sufficiently human to realize its own best possibilities. The hardest problem we religious men ever have to deal with is why such a Father as we believe in should have such a family as we are. It seems as though He ought to do better, and He is showing us how to do better, and the very fact that we are dissatisfied with ourselves, even if it leads us to be dissatisfied with His management, is a good sign. We are calling in question what is, because we are coming in sight of what ought to be, and all these things are hopeful. If Mr. Jones, as he intimated in the outset, has his definite work planned to lay before us this afternoon before we part, I shall listen with all my ears; but I am not looking for any definite program by which we can realize our ideals with the general consent of mankind on any considerable scale, even in the most advanced communities of the world, for the most advanced communities are still very far from being well along. We are living before the sunrise: there are signs of light in the east, but the full daylight is not here. That there is light in the east means much to all of us. I once asked General Armstrong what possibility there was of any serious improvement in the condition of the colored people of the South. I asked him first, "What we hear about their ignorance, their degradation, their sensuality, their dishonesty, their laziness, is it true or is it overstated?" He said, "You cannot paint it dark enough: it is worse than anybody ever spoke of." I said: "What hope, then? They are multiplying at the rate of a million every few years, and all our schools are getting hold of a few thousand at the most." His face lighted up with great joy and hope, and he said, "When you see the first streak of dawn in the east, you know that daylight is going to get the best of

darkness." And it is in that spirit that we go back to our work,—not to our rest, not to our tea party merely, but to our work.

Mr. JONES.—This has been an interdenominational program. Is there not some brother from across the seas who will make it an international symposium? Let us have a voice from across the Atlantic. I introduce to you Rev. Arthur Heron, of London.

REMARKS OF REV. ARTHUR HERON, OF LONDON.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thought it unseemly that I should sit down there and hear no voice from across the Atlantic, so I thought perhaps it would not be out of place if I heard my own voice. I have come with a good many more, and have had a wonderful experience as for the first time I have seen this great continent and this great city. I have been inspired at the sight of this country, its wonderful natural phenomena, and I have been inspired more by the sight of the wonderful way in which this great people have subdued this great country in a remarkably short space of time. There is all the vitality in the American people which I had imagined. I shall go back again confirmed in the view that I had from reading and from interviews with other men, that you have on this side great forces, great vitality. We English, I believe, are getting rid of our soreness that we were so defeated a great many years ago. For my own part, I cannot help feeling glad for it continually. I am not at all sorry that a foolish king and a conceited minister were set aside by the men of Boston and the New England States many years ago, because that started going this great nation which has such a wonderful destiny before it. I think that one could not have an international congress of religion in a better place than in this new country, where, although there are so many problems and so much that one has to mourn in the way of evil, yet there are also so many signs of dawn, as our friend has said; so many signs that men are giving all for the sake of the work of God in their land, and are determined to keep aloft the ideals that the fathers and teachers of religion long ago set forth in other lands.

I am glad that I am able to be here this afternoon at this Department of Religious Fellowship, because I believe this to be the most important of all branches of the work of this Congress. As I understand it, it is the real object of this Congress that we come to know one another better. We come from various parts of the world, and are placed here in Boston in these inspiring buildings, among these inspiring people, that we may commune on our various difficulties, on our various problems, and give one another our various ideas for the solution of our problems.

A recent speaker said that we had not across the water perfect liberty. I think there are many of us on the other side who have perfect liberty, and who would deny the right of any one to take it away. But we can see that both in our own land and in other lands there are many who have not perfect liberty. It may be that you think that in this land there is perfect liberty, but I feel that there are many signs of a want of it, in religious thought and in other ways. Men are not enslaved, perhaps, by government and by churches which have all the influence of long standing, but they are enslaved by other things. They are enslaved by the current religion, and are not able to escape from it. I have seen signs even here in Boston that there is a kind of slavery to Unitarianism which must be escaped from. I will tell you what I mean, and I say this in all seriousness. There is too great a tendency to think that we are the people. I speak as a Unitarian and as one in sympathy to the full with Unitarians. But we did not want to have here a Unitarian Congress. Your American title for the Congress, as a Congress of Religious Liberals, was a grand and a broad one. It was one that really stood for comity and for fellowship. But, when I read my program here, I read "A Conference on Possibilities of Closer Co-operation among the Organized Christian Fellowships represented in the Congress." Well, I had hoped that the idea of the members meeting here might be rather broader than that. Why should we all be Christians that unite to do the work that we want done? There are in this conference many who are not Christians, and I would that we should banish from our program these sectarian terms which have the effect of excluding many from the conference whom we would wish to see here; because my experience is that in the work of religion there are many in the world to-day who

will not allow themselves to be called Christians, but who will yet co-operate with all that is best in the work of Christians or of Unitarians. What is it that we want? Do we want men to agree with us in our thinking? Then let us turn ourselves into a society for philosophic argument, and let us convert them by the best arguments which we can bring against their theses. What do we want? Do we desire that they shall all share our views? Then we must go up and down the country preaching our views and seeing no other views. No, we desire that men should be free in their attitude toward religion; we desire that they should apprehend the truth which makes free. But we do not think that we have all the truth. We believe that truth is very broad, much broader than anything that we have attained. Why not, then, unite with our fellow-men, not on this platform of a common Christian belief, but of a common religious need, of a common spiritual aspiration, and banish from our thoughts and minds the idea that we shall get men to agree exactly with us in intellectual matters or that we have attained the truth? I believe that, when we take this idea strongly, we may have this union of action without uniformity of thought. Then we shall go forward in our battle against the evils that are in the world. Why is it that the churches are to-day so comparatively impotent in their fight against evil? It is simply because they place so much stress upon the theological. We must not fall into that danger. We must unite to place the stress on the religious. While in our own minds we give the theological its right emphasis, yet we must also give the religious its necessary and its far greater emphasis. And then we shall get men of all shades of opinion, who are earnest in their moral aspirations, to unite with us in this great work of saving the world.

Mr. JONES.—I think you would like to have me ask the Rev. Mr. Puddefoot, Field Secretary of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, to say a word before we part.

**REV. W. G. PUDDEFOOT, FIELD SECRETARY, CONGREGATIONAL HOME
MISSIONARY SOCIETY.**

I don't think you are orthodox here, for the Scripture says, "Lay hold suddenly on no man," and you have taken hold of me without warning. I am in hearty sympathy with all that has been said, and it is a grand thing that we have in our minds. This church itself shows a good deal of unity in diversity. I have been looking at your little cherubs, and your orthodox stained glass windows, and your Apostles' Creed, which I don't believe the apostles ever saw.

It is pleasant to be here, and find this spirit of unity. I went to Philadelphia a little while ago to a meeting of a committee on which there were several denominations represented, among them Congregationalists and Presbyterians and some United Brothers. I told them that if I could get unity I would be willing to be called a United Sister. What do I care for the name? I have seen a church, by virtue of necessity, made up of seventeen denominations. There were not enough of any denomination to make a church, so they were forced to unite. I was at the dedication of that church, and it is a marvellous church. If we could only get people to unite without forcing them, what a great thing it would be! The little committee I spoke of had seven denominations represented on it, and there were five ministers on it. One of them told me he was a Seventh-day Adventist. Another man among them thought that the two tables of stone were the tables that the apostles talked about when they said they could not serve the tables because they were free of the law.

I was glad to hear my brother who spoke last,—my countryman, although I came here thirty years before he did. We have more freedom to-day in England than you have in the United States. I don't believe I could speak my thoughts so freely here as I could in Hyde Park. I have seen the time when a man might talk against the king and kaiser, and I would like to have seen the man who would have dared to put him down.

Some one has said that there are tens of thousands of men and women who stay out of their church in order to save their religion. There is truth in that.

One evening, where I was speaking, a young woman burst into

tears, and said, when I asked her what was the matter, "Oh, my, I am a hypocrite, Mr. Puddefoot." "I don't believe it," I said. "Yes, I am. I belong to the church, and I don't believe half of its creed." I said, "Good for you: neither do I." The girl was paralyzed. It was a new idea to her.

We are coming to learn how much the different parts of the community depend on one another. If the Back Bay wants a clean bill of health, she must look after the North End. Didn't we lose our beloved governor, Roger Wolcott, through a hundred thousand microbes coming in through a keyhole, giving him typhoid fever? Fifty years from now, if a man dies of that disease, the town in which it occurs will be disgraced.

We must have better paid men on the frontier: we must have men that can stand up and defend their position. It would be easy enough to hold any town with one church if the man was big enough for it. The trouble is, we have lots of fellows with little brains, who are afraid to speak out. Thank God, I have never been troubled that way! When God says a thing to me, say it I must. I have got a good deal of Quaker in me. Some of us damn our souls by keeping back what we ought to burst right out with, and let it go and cry out, and spare not, and show the house of Israel their sins. There is a heap of sin among you Unitarians. You are too exclusive; you are too polished. You don't want to take hold of disagreeable things. You help the poor: you love them if they keep off your street.

You have been praying for an open door; and God says, "I will open it: I will open the door at New York and San Francisco, and there is your opportunity." And it seems greater than you can handle, and you go to Congress for help. Congress cannot help you: each one has got to help the other. We must all do our part. And, oh, what a lot of work for us to do, you Unitarians especially! You don't seem to realize that in this land of free schools and public libraries men and women are growing, and they are growing far beyond these six hundred odd folks that we send out to talk to them, and the consequence is we cannot reach them. You have a mighty mission. I don't care how many converts you get, if you get a man to do good. I don't care if he cannot formulate his creed: what is the odds about that so long as he is trying to live a righteous life? He will have something to do with everything that is going on in this

great city; not stand off and growl about it, but go into it. I want to see accomplished what has been done in New Zealand: I want to see the time when there shall not be a millionaire or a pauper. I want men who will hear Yahveh speak, and prophesy. That is what I want you people to wake up and do. You have had a mighty chance: you have not taken your chance. I know you have given us good literature, but, as I say, your books, some of them, are pretty old-fashioned. Some Unitarian writers are back numbers to-day. Of course, Channing will never be a back number, because he was in the front when he started. But do not think that you have done all you can when you have distributed books: you must distribute yourselves. Give me books, and I thank you: give me sympathy, and I love you.

Mr. JONES.—We came up this afternoon to find out what we were going to do about it. The brother has shown us what we are going to do about it: there is no obscurity about the program that awaits us. People are selfish and ignorant and mean, and there is poverty, indolence, and intemperance all about us, and that religion alone is religion which sets itself to these high tasks of ameliorating the woes of the world, of laying hold of the miserable, of taking the conceit out of the bumptious and putting courage into the discouraged people. And that is a work that is open before us everywhere and all the time, and, if this Congress is to realize its mission and to justify itself, it will enable us to go to work, and not be forever harking upon our history, but ever pushing forward to the high task of making history.

Infinite Father, touch us with a new purpose, guide us into new usefulness, christen us again in the spirit of helpfulness which is the spirit of holiness, and Thy will abide now and evermore. Amen.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AND PUBLIC SERVICE.

Held at the Old South Meeting-house on Wednesday afternoon, September 25. Chairman, Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Crooker:—

Dr. CROOKER.—Friends, this building is one of the shrines of American patriotism, and it is still one of our great educational institutions, productive of the very highest type of American citizenship. This is one of our ancient meeting-houses, closely associated with our national history. In its very shadow Benjamin Franklin was born over two centuries ago, and there are many interesting and memorable events clustered about this ancient meeting-house. When it was abandoned some thirty years ago as a place of worship by the congregation over which Dr. Gordon so graciously and eloquently presides, it became a centre for education in patriotism under the supervision of Edwin D. Mead.

But I do not stand here this afternoon to describe this ancient edifice or the work that goes forward so successfully within these walls. We have met to consider the great question of the relation of religion to social life, and it is a question that demands our best thought and our best feeling. In the last few years I have heard a great deal about the religious outlook. Friends, I am not so much interested in the religious outlook as I am in the religious output. It is not the outlook from our position, but what are we ourselves putting forth into the world? Not our prospect, but what is our product?

I have heard also a good deal about the Unitarian opportunity and the liberal opportunity. But there is another point on which I would put more emphasis, and it is this: the Unitarian obligation, the liberal obligation: what we owe to humanity, not our selfish opportunity, but our obligation, holding this great faith in trust.

We hear the plea, and with interest and approval, of a reconstructed and enlarged theology that shall be in harmony with democracy. All that is worthy; but, more than a new theology, we need

a new religion, making itself felt through a new church, remembering that religion is something more than a private conviction. It is a life, a great truth that many of us liberals have forgotten; and, as liberals stand at the judgment bar of the world to-day, the world is asking, "What can you send out into our midst in the line of moral regeneration, in the line of spiritual fervor, in the line of organic effort, for the uplifting of humanity?" We are going to be judged as a religious movement by our contributions to the spiritual life of humanity and the social amelioration of human society.

We hear to-day a great deal about applied Christianity. I would widen the term and speak of applied religion,—the necessity of having a religion that can be applied and the necessity of applying the religion that we have. And that is just our object here this afternoon, to consider these great questions that link themselves to the social betterment of human society and human life; and it is with great pleasure that we have with us one who has won a large place in Great Britain by his eminent services along these lines. We will hear from Mr. Maddison, who is at present a member of the House of Commons, and he will speak to us upon "Religious and Social Reform."

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORM BY FRED MADDISON, M.P.

Standing in the Old South Church of Boston, one is surrounded by a great cloud of witnesses to the vitality of religion as a progressive force in the affairs of men. The colony of Massachusetts itself sprang into being out of a deep and abiding religious conviction shared by the men of that day, and the same spirit animated the great founders of your illustrious republic. The Puritan never divorced his religion from his politics. These worthies believed, with William Penn, that "a man should make it a part of his religion to see that his country is well governed."

But since those early days times have changed, and the problems of our day are different. They were formerly largely political: they are now to a great extent economic. Has, then, religion in our generation any message for the toiling millions in mill and mine, workshop and factory? Religious liberals ought to have no difficulty in answering so important a question in the affirmative. Our faith

is a simple one, and therefore a powerful one. We believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, in the divine origin and destiny of man, and in the oneness and the persistence of the life of the spirit here and there, in this world and in all worlds.

We have no anathemas for the sincere unbeliever, and we ought to have no apologies for the wrong-doer, whether he be rich or poor. A thief is not made honest by living in the West End of London or on Fifth Avenue, New York, not even if he runs a church and owns a minister. But too often the pulpit thunders violently at vice in the Bowery or Whitechapel and fawns on it in high places.

Friends, you have got to make your minds up. You cannot retain your influence over the people if you do that. Its influence is dependent upon its discriminate application to men and women as such, apart from their standing in society. But I submit that the function of the religious teacher is not to settle for us details of policy, not to tell us whether we should be Democrats or Republicans, Liberals or Tories. We can manage that for ourselves. It is rather to lay down great basic principles of human conduct. Religion begins by reminding the world that the whole human family, irrespective of race, nationality, or color, are the sons and daughters of God. But in my view this Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man does not in any way commit us to that disordered cosmopolitanism which, in the name of brotherhood, treats humanity as though it lived in a world joss-house instead of in the separate families of nations, who learn to love other families and so bring about a real international fraternity.

But this thought of the Fatherhood of God does give a reality to the work of social amelioration. If we really have a common divine Father, a state of society which often leaves the industrious poor and the idle rich cannot be for the religious man the last word of social policy. But there is in my view a danger here. I have known followers of liberal religion so touched with the infirmities of their poorer brethren, and so sensitive and alive to the evils in our midst which ought to be remedied, that they have thought proper to throw themselves into what are vaguely enough called the "Advance Movements," with the result that they have lost their position as religious teachers and have not been thought very much of in the ranks to which they have gone.

Because we have not yet abolished poverty from our midst is no reason why we should destroy individual possessions, as the state socialist is seeking to do. Communism, as Joseph Mazzini, the inspired prophet of democracy, more than half a century ago declared, might bring to the sons of men a system which would prevent hunger, but it would be the life of the beaver, not that of progressive man. What is wanted is not the abolition of private property, without which there is no real security for individual liberty, but its wider equitable distribution. This surely ought to appeal to all professors of all religions. Whilst rejecting the materialistic conception of life, they realize the enormous power of environment.

Friends, poverty is the common foe of progress. It limits and sometimes destroys human development, and you get the same result by an excess of wealth at the other end of the social scale. We want neither the millionaire nor the pauper. Religion claims for God and mankind the fullest and most complete life, physical, mental, moral, and spiritual. Religion then must of necessity be concerned with all the agencies which go to bring about this desired result.

Now, necessarily, the brief time at my disposal will only permit a brief reference to two of these agencies; namely, Trades Unionism and Labor Copartnership. Of the first there is an enormous amount of misrepresentation or of misunderstanding, probably a little of both. The ignorant misunderstand it, and the interested opponents misrepresent it. I quite agree that it is a subject on which we are not likely to get anything like complete agreement. One has only to mention such burning topics, well known to you here in America, as the open shop, the black-list of employers (which of course they always deny), and the boycott of the trades-union, which they do not deny, in order to raise very fierce controversies.

Here it might be not amiss to just give a figure or two taken from the official returns of the trades-unions of England. I do not take these figures out of preference for my own country, although that preference is very marked, but I take them for the more substantial reasons, or, rather, two reasons, that, first of all, England is the home of organized labor, the beginning of organized labor, and we have a larger proportion of it to the population than any other great country in the world; and, secondly our trades-unions have got to the mature stage where alone we can judge any institution. I merely

quote a figure or two to disabuse the minds of any who imagine that, when organized labor does reach the settled stage, it is not the kind of thing which certain people seem to think it is.

Now, taking the last ten years published, the average annual expenditure of English trades-unions was £1,605,000,—not dollars. Of this amount the average expenditure on strikes and lockouts, all disputes, was only £234,000. In other words, for every £100 spent per year, less than £15 went to industrial disputes, showing that we in England, at any rate, are not by any means in love with the strike as a weapon which we like to use frequently.

But, friends, my appeal for a favorable consideration for trades-unionism is confined to the vital principle of organized labor,—collective bargaining. If you take this away, nothing is left; but, if you let it remain, all the excesses—and there are many, which all good men deplore—are no necessary part of it. Now what is collective bargaining? Why, simply a means whereby the units of labor may bargain on something like equal terms with concentrated and organized capital through the chosen spokesmen of the workmen. Surely, friends, this is an insistence upon the essential conditions of buying and selling. Our laws, and probably yours, constantly speak of a free purchase made by a free buyer of a free seller, and collective bargaining only seeks to secure that desirable end. It has proved to be the only way in which in these days of financial corporations (of which you know, I am glad to say, far more than we do) this can be done. In the absence of this collective bargaining, I venture to say, there can be no freedom for the ordinary workman; and nothing is more sickening to me—and some of its worst echoes have come from Boston—than to hear non-unionism advocated in the name of liberty. Liberty has many such incidents to record, and none worse than this.

Organized labor has its faults, as every other human institution has, including the Church and including the liberal churches, and I confess and admit that it does at times act contrary to the common weal; and, whenever it does, though I am a trades-unionist myself, it must be dealt with impartially and sternly. But I am here to say that its net results have been good. It has enabled men to be industrial freemen instead of the mere slaves of capital.

But, friends, I do not claim your favorable consideration for organ-

ized labor merely on this ground, though I think it is strong. Every man and woman in this room and every citizen of the United States, whatever may be their politics, is alive to the dangers of industrial strife and conflict, even when they are not accompanied by some of those wild scenes which occasionally occur in your country as well as in our own. In the interests of the republic and of the commonwealth and the community it is most undesirable that a state of war from time to time should exist in our midst, a war which on the one side reduces the bank balance of the rich capitalist and on the other brings starvation to women and children. Therefore, every religious person must be in favor of industrial peace. But, friends, it is no use indulging in meaningless phrases about "industrial peace." The man who wants industrial peace and is opposed to trades-unionism is either not honest or has no knowledge. There can be no industrial peace unless both sides are organized and are able to put forward their accredited representatives. Without organization you must have chaos and anarchy. Do you not believe, in this republic of yours, with those great public schools which I am always as ready to salute as your flag, which are the admiration of us Englishmen,—do you not believe, if you had no trades unionism, that you would have great masses of men moved and manœuvred and controlled by your great trusts and your corporations just as they think fit? Trades-unionism is the pathway of industrial peace.

Friends, in the very short time that remains to me I want to allude to the second agency to which I referred; namely, the Labor Co-partnership Societies. Now I cannot stop to explain this except just to say in a sentence that it is an attempt to incorporate into industry the principle of participation on the part of the workshop in capital and profits and management. Already in England some advance has been made in this direction. Last year workmen's societies—purely workmen's societies—conducted on these lines had an output of \$6,000,000 and an invested capital of over \$3,700,000. Over and above the trades-union rate of wages, which all of them paid, they divided during the year \$36,000 to those employed in these workmen's societies. This is an effort to bring democracy, about which we hear a great deal, often more than we realize, into industry. Your Horace Greeley, whose name is just as familiar on our side as yours, used these words many years ago. He said:—

"Co-operation is the true goal of our industrial progress, the application of the republican principle to labor, and the appointed means of rescuing the working class from dependence, dissipation, prodigality and need, and establishing it on a basis of forecast, calculation, sobriety, and thrift, conducive at once to its material comfort, its intellectual culture, and moral elevation."

Those, friends, are wise words, and they have long represented my conviction. I submit that this is the antidote to the virus of both aggressive capitalism and destructive socialism.

But, friends, in conclusion, to us who belong to the liberal religious faith, nay, to all religious people, it must be clear—and I would that it were as clear to the men who are in outside labor and political movements—that the social problem is more than political and economic. It is human, it is moral. You can read the volumes of our political economists, and they tell you all that is necessary to know about every phase of the economic question; but one thing so many of them seem to omit is that the systems which they are advocating have to be applied by and to human beings, not to pieces of mechanism, without hearts and heads and feelings and emotions. It is not merely what laws or industrial systems do or may do, but it is what the individual is and what he does which makes so much difference.

I remember, when I was in the House of Commons seven years ago, sitting on the bench by the side of Mr. John Burns, one of the ablest and best workmen that we have in England, while some particular thing which I forget now was under discussion. Turning to me, he said, "Maddison, I have come to the conclusion that a bad system run by good men will give a better result than a good system run by bad men."

This, then, is at once our call to work and our responsibility and our great advantage,—we who believe in religion. Religion is the one great personal force in the world: it is personal work, its keynote is duty. Under its influence citizenship and office become a sacred trust, not a means of graft. It is not what we can get out of public life, but what we can put into it. Money-making cannot be separated in the minds of religious men from honesty and equity. Religion comes right home to the man himself, not to the manager of his store or the foreman in his shop or his political boss, but to



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REV. PHILIP H. HUGENHOLTZ, JR., D.D.
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him. The great message of religion is to him, to his conscience and to his heart. And, if I could influence one of you workers in the field of social reform who are outside the churches, and, what is far more important, outside of religion, I would just say to you that in your turmoil, in your strife,—and there is both in these movements,—it is useless to concentrate all the vices in the capitalist. There is not a single vice that they possess that we do not have in the labor movement, and I also think we can claim to have their virtues, without hurting ourselves.

It is this, then, that is the great and paramount value of religion to social reformers, that it comes to men and women appealing directly to them. Jesus did not talk of rights, but of sacrifice, of love, of duty; and the great office of religion, one that the great reform movements yearn and pant for, is to stimulate the sense of duty in all people of all classes. Friends, society will be regenerated just in proportion as each of us do our duty to one another in the spirit of religion. I verily believe that he who is most possessed by the thought of God is best fitted for the service of man.

The Chairman then introduced Rev. Leonhard Ragaz, of Basel, Switzerland, who spoke on "The Ethical Basis of Liberal Christianity."

THE ETHICAL BASIS OF LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY.

BY REV. LEONHARD RAGAZ, OF BASEL, SWITZERLAND.

Nó doubt you all know that remarkable little book in which the Japanese, Kanso Utchimura, tells us how he became a Christian. It ranks, in my opinion, among the best defences of Christianity that have ever been written. One of the most impressive passages in this work is that in which he depicts for us the tense feeling with which he first trod the soil of a Christian land,—his eager expectation of finding at once the Divine City of the book of Revelation, a humanity after the pattern of Jesus Christ, full of purity and brotherly love and of sunshine from God the Father,—and, then, the depth of his disappointment. The fact that this Christian land happened to be North America is beside the point. Similar experiences, or even worse, would have met him in any other so-called Christian land. And in this same country of North America he afterwards witnessed other scenes which cogently convinced him of the superiority of the Christian faith. What makes this witness for and against Christianity so important is the fact that here we have, for once, a Christian—a highly cultured, earnest, and profound Christian—scanning this self-styled Christian world with unsophisticated eyes, and so perceiving in all its naked clearness that sorry miracle which we can never see so well because our eyes are accustomed to it, and we take it all for granted. I mean the contrast between the demands and promises of the gospel of Jesus and the Christianity of actual experience. To one who knows his Christianity chiefly through the New Testament it must present, indeed, an incredible spectacle: a world in whose name the bells call day and night from the church tower, confessing “peace on earth,” while it looks upon the founding of more and more big guns, of more and more powerful calibre, as one of its most important tasks;

a world in which the brotherhood of all mankind is proclaimed at least on Sundays, while racial hatred and national arrogance seem continually to increase; a world in which we are proud of our knowledge of the true God, while not only does Mammon boast greater temples and more passionate worship, but even vice assumes more frightful forms than among races which are still pagan; a world in which there stands, in churches and at the crossways, the image of him who in his suffering and death revealed and sealed the truth of ministering love, and in which at the same time even divines, who are especially and peculiarly called to the preaching of this cross, are proclaiming, in the name of practical politics, the principle of force as the will of God. Perhaps this is, after all, the problem of problems for our religious thought, as well as for our practice,—this apparent *ethical sterility* of Christendom. The ethical longings and searchings of the present time bring this problem nearer home to us than ever, make it a question of life and death. The opponents of Christianity, the Positivists, Monists, free thinkers of every type, are living on the taunt which they can fling at us: Your Christianity has had two thousand years in which to show whether it is able to transform the world. Has it transformed the world? And where do we find, in ordinary moral practice, the difference between those who are Christians and those who are not?

In this general charge of moral sterility there are two counts which stand out especially,—that Christianity is simply a force of *reaction* and that as a source of *untruthfulness* it is without peer. In fact, this is the very culmination of that sorry miracle about which we were speaking: that the gospel of Jesus, the most revolutionary radicalism that the world ever saw, has always, through the length and breadth of Christian history, been allied with the established powers of the world, has figured, indeed, as their passionate defender and advocate; that he who is the Truth, he who bled and died in battle for the truth, has become a terror to the sincere; that he whose most fitting name is "Liberator" has become the most cruel yoke of the spiritual world.

It is, I repeat, the question of questions for the religious thought and activity of the present day that we should probe this evil mystery, and, so far as in us lies, banish it from the world. How are we to explain it? What is the cause of that moral sterility of a great

part of our Christian life,—a sterility which as honorable men and women we cannot deny? Is it, forsooth, the gigantic power of evil, the natural depravity of the world, the selfishness and weakness of human nature? Or is it merely that Christianity means to countless numbers of people no more than a confession of the lips, and not a living, spiritual reality? These are certainly factors whose importance we are not inclined to forget. But they do not bring us to the heart of the problem. The real strangeness of the matter is not that the world resists the gospel, but that the gospel leaves the world so much in peace; not that the lukewarm or even hypocritical Christians are in the majority, but that there are profoundly earnest Christians who, nevertheless, fail to bear the fruits of the gospel and to become the salt of the earth. Where is the explanation to be found?

The short time which stands at my disposal will not allow me to do more than make a few suggestions with reference to a theme which volumes could not exhaust. Let me then condense what I have to say briefly as follows: *the fruit of the gospel has been ruined mainly because the gospel itself has been changed.* For the relation between God and man which was revealed in Jesus something of quite a different kind has, to a large extent, been substituted in Christianity. I will at once lay stress on the two main points. *The internal authority has been displaced by the external.* In place of the living God whom Jesus proclaimed, who reveals himself directly to souls that seek him, and is apprehended in moral obedience and unforced love, other things have intruded,—dogma, the church, the Bible, the formulated confession. The second matter, however, is *a change in the conception of faith.* That free trust in God's power and love which appeared in Jesus, the trust which pours itself forth joyfully in the doing of God's will, has been displaced by assent to the church or the religious system, especially to the dogma of vicarious propitiation by the God-man. The following of Christ has been thrust out in favor of Christology. To express both changes in one sentence, the relation between God and man has been removed from within to without, has been changed from a direct and immediate to a mediated relation.

Orthodoxy,—this it is that rests on external authority. Only a very superficial rationalism could ignore what the forms of piety

which bear the stamp of orthodoxy have done for the world. Far from us be any such injustice. But we must not on that account be blind to the evil side of this development. The displacement of a free, internal, living authority by a legalistically rigid and external authority has been, indeed, the dreadful source of that spiritual repression and of that hypocrisy which is poisoning the world. The false conception of faith makes quite clear to us how men can embrace with ardor the cross of Jesus and yet indifferently pass by the brother for whom Jesus died,—yes, even hate those that do not acknowledge their own religious system. It explains how passionate zeal for a religious system may coexist with conduct which does not even reach the average moral standard of the higher paganism. The ethical centre of the gospel has been shifted, and on the ground thus gained the most terrible enemy of the gospel has planted itself rankly,—*religious selfishness*, which seeks to make use of God for its own ends, to gain advantage from him, and is all the more zealously alert to play the courtier to God with confessions and forms of worship, the less earnestly it is set on doing his will.

At this point it becomes luminously clear what ought, in accordance with God's plan, to be accomplished by an unorthodox or liberal theology. Let me exhibit this once more by taking our historical bearings. The free theology which we acknowledge took its rise in the ethical idealism of the German and Anglo-American philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The names of Lessing, Herder, Kant, Schleiermacher, Hegel, Schiller, too, and Goethe, as well as Coleridge, Carlyle, Martineau, Emerson, and their spiritual family, name also the springs of a new religious thought. At the centre of this new thinking stands the principle, *Nothing is true except that which our own individual spirit recognizes and attests*. What is imposed upon me from without, or what I compel myself to accept, is, for me, not true. It is an outrage on the moral personality, and, therefore, on morality itself. For this alone is morality,—to obey the law of our own inner being, in the intuitive expectation that therein the holy world of goodness will become manifest. These two words, "*Freedom*" (autonomy) and "*Personality*," are the fountains of a new spiritual world. To show that this is so, I need but utter the two names Kant and Emerson.

We stand here before a moral new creation, the range of which our sight is hardly yet able to measure, before a new ethical revelation, a new unfolding of the kingdom of God. It is from this, too, that the new theology derives its best-grounded right. It is not a child of fashion, of half belief or of rationalistic illuminism, but the eldest born of that idealistic ethic which has its centre in *veracity*. What is being accomplished is a mighty revolution—theoretical, indeed, but already becoming practical, and destined to become so more and more—in man's relation to the highest reality. The place of the external authority is again being taken by the internal, and that of church, dogma, and Bible by the God who attests himself in the present. This does not mean that the revelation of *history* has been cast aside or assigned a lower value than before. On the contrary, the more we enter in our own lives into the experience of what revelation really is, the more thirstily do we seek for it in the divine history of the past; but it is not revelation for us until we *experience* it as such. The whole religious world of thought, as it has hitherto existed, is being recast in the fire of this new religious knowledge, that it may reveal its worth in new splendor. The new theology does not simply deny the old dogma in order to fashion a new one. That would soon result in a new orthodoxy. It gives the old truths a new determinant, a new sense. Revelation, Bible, redemption through Christ, the cross of Jesus,—all this retains its truth, is even truer than before; but instead of a mere external event it must all become a vital experience, a part of the soul. *The moral personality in its truthfulness becomes the sole mediator between God and man, and in this way we reach the moral basis of the gospel of Jesus.*

With this spring freshly opened and purified, is it possible that there should be no renewal of the ethical might of the gospel? When the inner authority is once more proclaimed as the highest court in religious matters, and moral truthfulness made the centre of life, the axe is laid to the poisonous tree of Christian untruthfulness of which we have spoken. If faith becomes again the most personal concern of man, it cannot but bear fruit, for that which is alive bears fruit. There is no other way to God than that which leads through the centre of personality. This is assured by two great facts of our time: first, the general collapse of religious tradition; second and especially,

the criticism of the Bible. So far as this *criticism* is concerned, it flows, as a necessary consequence from the basal ethical principle of the new age and the new theology, that we must recognize nothing as truth but that which attests itself to our own mind and soul. The root, then, of the much-abused modern criticism is not unbelief, but the pressure of religious veracity, the longing to bestow reverence not on shadows, but realities, to serve no imaginary good, but the God that is. It is through this cause that criticism, often without its own knowledge and even against its own will, has been a tool to open that mighty fountain of life, the original gospel. It has destroyed much on which we used to lean, and has often terrified us mortally. It has torn away not only ruins and rubbish, but also the ivy which we had grown so fond of; but at last it has laid bare the rock on which alone the soul of modern man can rest now that other props have been taken from him, but on which he can rest in safety,—the witness of the Holy Spirit of God's truth; and in every soul which seeks him with deep and earnest moral concentration that witness is heard.

It is upon the knowledge of such foundations and results that the free theology stands. Its principle is the free, living, and quickening revelation of the living God. This sounds like arrogance, but it is not arrogance. For we are not thinking now of parties or systems, but of the new unfolding of his truth which God in his grace has bestowed upon us *all*. It is only that the new theology has, with especial determination, made this the basis of its thought. We are dealing with a new disclosure of the truth of the kingdom of God, premonitions of which are to be found, more or less, in all parties and churches. *This is clearly God's way in the religious crisis of our time, that the ethical nature and power of the gospel should reveal itself afresh to the world.* This world pays but little attention to churches and dogmas, but it begins to listen at once so soon as the talk is of righteousness, purity, brotherhood. From materialism, naturalism, the pleasures and pains of civilization, it lifts eyes of longing to the heights. The modern view of the world, fashioned by natural and historical science, has robbed the world of God; but it finds him again in ethical yearning. There lives in the world's heart a stronger hope than it has ever felt since the early days of Christianity,—the hope for a transformation of its whole being that

shall make for righteousness and joy. But this brings it at once to Jesus. It learns with astonishment that he is the appointed guide for all this seeking and yearning. For what was his aim but this kingdom of God and man, which is to give unity for disruption, solidarity for the strife of all against all, service for the rule of might, and thus to set up a new order of things through light and life from the Father? It often seems to me that we are only beginning to understand Jesus. Far from having been overtaken and left behind, he stands far ahead of us and high above us. It is only by going forward that we can learn to understand him. The God-man of dogma has disappeared. But that which has taken his place seems to us greater, the divine man,—that one compact miracle of this life beside which all dogmatic miracles fade into nothingness,—his freedom and boldness, his trust, his love, his childlike simplicity united with inflexible heroism, his parables, his Sermon on the Mount, his cross, and (grandest of all) the voice which calls to us from all these miracles does not cry, "Believe on me," but "Follow me."

In the service of this great new thing which God intends to give us the new theology must enroll itself, well knowing how modest a part any theology must play, whatever be its name, and that the worth of a theology is exactly measured by its understanding of God's progressive work of creation. In this service it may cherish the consciousness of carrying on great traditions. When the Reformation, after mighty beginnings, was again inclining in many respects towards Catholicism, those radical spirits had already appeared in whom those thoughts lived which move us to-day,—I mean the *Baptists*. Against letter-worship they set the principle of the spirit, against tradition the "inner light," against church establishment by the State the brotherly unity of like-minded disciples of Jesus, against an inert Christianity of dogma the following of Christ. The ethical-social promises and demands of the gospel, its subjectivism and its brotherhood, its world-transforming radicalism, its message of the kingdom of God, had worked so marvellously upon these men that they were intoxicated with them. Repressed on the Continent, their spirit flamed up in the Puritanism of England, especially in Quakerism, streamed over to the New World, which it made into a world of freedom, and then returned with renovating power to

Europe. It can be shown that a great part of that possession which the modern world calls its own, especially all that is bound up with freedom, has grown up beside this stream. The soil on which we are here gathered with thankfulness and pride has been blessed by it with ethical fruitfulness. A Channing, a Parker, an Emerson, have here gloriously embodied, each in his own several way, the ethical power of the gospel. Standing upon this ground, we look forward with joy to a future in which Jesus' message of the kingdom of God shall complete its work, unfolding in ever more glorious shapes, to make the world free in the name of God.

The Chairman introduced next Rev. W. G. Tarrant, of London, whose paper was on "The World War against Intoxicants."

THE WORLD WAR WITH INTOXICANTS.

BY THE REV. W. G. TARRANT, B.A., LONDON, ENGLAND.

The Church which shall be "equal to the needs of man" will not ignore one of the most urgent of those needs; namely, the need of deliverance from and protection against intoxicants. Alcoholic drink has been declared by high authorities to be the most destructive material enemy of the human race. If this declaration comes within measurable distance of justification, what body of religious people can hold aloof from the warfare it implies? While philosophers discuss nice points of speculation, while erudite students dexterously reconstitute the past and dreamers forecast the future, the problem of how to conquer intoxicants cries out for the immediate attention of all practical men. Granted that many other perils summon the thinker to action, here is an evil without a rival; for we have here to deal with the problem of a dangerous appetite abetted by a vast commercial interest. Its dimensions are appalling. The Special Commissioner of the United States Labor Department, Dr. Gould, said: "The danger resident in these huge national liquor bills reaches beyond misery and moral degradation. Civilization itself is menaced by this growing economic waste." In saying this, I think he had in mind not his own country alone, where in proportion the waste is considerably less than in others. We, at any rate, coming together from many lands, know that his solemn warning finds ample illustration in them all. The evil arising from the use of intoxicants is world-wide, and calls for a world-wide campaign against it. The language of the Commissioner is in no degree exaggerated. The resources of wisdom and vigor in the world's ruling races are no doubt great, and appear equal to most things; but in this connection even the strongest nations are almost paralyzed, while subject races wither away under this plague like sheep under the pestilence.

No historic age has been free from it, and always and everywhere the story of loss and misery has been the same. But in our age the problem has assumed a more formidable shape than hitherto. The appetite for something to drug the mind and veil the face of reality with temporary illusiveness was sufficiently difficult to meet when its cravings were left to the casual stimulus of local circumstances. To-day the trade venture in alcoholic drink is bound up with huge finance. The conditions of modern commerce and the facilities for rapid distribution arm this business with a far-reaching effect quite beyond precedent. All the arts and devices discoverable by eager and ingenious men, who act together for lucrative ends, promote its extension. It is powerful to manipulate houses of legislature, to control local administration, including police; and, as for its advertising, that is on so liberal a scale that great journals are said "to float on whiskey, with some assistance from soap." No one who has had experience in this matter will deny that such a sleepless financial interest is much harder to fight than the intermittent appetite upon which it thrives.

We must keep these facts steadily before us if we are intelligently to enter upon this field of battle. Of course such an interest puts the best face it can upon the trade in which it is engaged. Its pleas are specious, but they can deceive few. The trade in intoxicants, say its promoters, exists for the convenience of the public. "What people want, people will have." They ask in the name of freedom, May not a man have his glass if he likes, and if he pays for it? Sometimes they assume a tone of raillery, and demand in the name of sociability whether, because you think yourself virtuous, there shall be "no more cakes and ale." Finally, they pose as friends of virility and muscle, and roundly declare that a nation of water drinkers must go down in the struggle for existence before a nation able to quaff deep its beer and rum. Considering, however, the swift and certain loss of liberty entailed on many a poor fellow's glass when he has had it, considering the innumerable quarrels and fights that have so often ended the tavern's social hour, and, above all, considering the deplorable physical deterioration of large masses of our people through the use of alcohol, more than through any other one thing, there is something about these familiar pleas that approaches the magnificent. But, like the charge of the Light

Brigade, though magnificent, they are not war. The real moving force is not the public weal, but the publican's wealth. Sheer covetousness, callous, brutal, the blind and reckless desire of gain at whatever cost to the community, *voilà l'ennemi!*

The formidable trade interests now confronting the reformer do occasionally, indeed, get an academic support from gentlemen who do not happen to live next door to a saloon. These amiable theorists must be exonerated, of course, from the suspicion of having any commercial or political axe of their own to grind. Liberty is the breath of their nostrils, their one hope for man. They would fully sympathize with the mood of Frederick the Great when he announced that, if his theologically-minded subjects of Valangin would insist on being damned eternally, he had nothing to say against it. Restriction of any kind is abhorrent to such fanatics of freedom. To them the word "abstinence" sounds almost immoral, and "prohibition" savors of downright tyranny. If you say society must at some sacrifice protect itself against the perils of drinking habits, these people turn philosophers, and coolly argue that society's drinking habits did not evolve without "sufficient reason." Finally, under more or less pressure, they confess they like a drop themselves, and then you understand why they champion their wine decanter as if it were the Holy Grail. Between liberty and liking, the cause of abstinence, restriction, prohibition, fails to win their support. And yet if they would but leave their prepossessions awhile, and listen to facts!

The pertinent facts, alas! need no long seeking. We have at hand evidence from ages the most distant and races the most diverse. Its weight is overwhelming. Granted that Bacchus has been a god of mirth and jollity, he has charged mankind heavily for his jest. Were it only in money's worth, the bill is enormous. We pay for drink in Great Britain each year nearly three times what that very expensive Boer War cost us each year it lasted. So much for the drink itself. What we pay for the consequences of the drink is incalculable. Of course economy is a dull virtue, especially when one has plenty of cash. But, when the richest states of Europe are so near to bankruptcy that millions of their people herd together in dens that defy decency, in slums that Tennyson called expressively "the warrens of the poor," and when most men in civilized lands all

over the world are such daily slaves to a tyrant they call "business" that they cannot afford rationally to enjoy their earthly existence till another—heavenly or otherwise—draws near, it would seem worth while to consider this expenditure on drink, and especially on its consequences, and to ask whether it is necessary and who pays the bill.

In Great Britain alone there are fully a million paupers, with probably double that number chronically on the verge of pauperism, say one in thirteen of the population. Now we know it is easy, and foolish to make rash and sweeping statements as to the causes of this mass of poverty, with its attendant misery and degradation. But take a sample fact. Very careful inquiries have been made by capable and responsible persons from time to time, and the Manchester guardians of the poor, for instance, announced not so very long ago, that over 51 per cent. of the cases of pauperism in their district were found to be *directly* caused by intemperance. Probably few would doubt that there were many additional cases where, if indirect, this factor was no less really an influential one. There is abundant ground for believing that this state of things is typical of pauperism generally.

Again, there are some fourteen thousand prisoners convicted yearly in the United Kingdom, and their miserable and desperate army is kept at bay by an extensive array of police and prison warders, with the costly supplement of judges and courts and the whole paraphernalia of justice. The Rt. Hon. C. T. Ritchie, speaking from his personal knowledge as Home Secretary (in an administration not thought to be unfriendly to the drink trade), said in the House of Commons, in 1902, "I do not think I am going wide of the mark when I say that nine-tenths of the greatest of all the crimes have been in the main caused by drunkenness." The chairman of the Prisons Commission of Scotland found that the same proportion held good as regards all classes of crimes, great and small. Officials of unimpeachable authority and freedom from prejudice testified over and over again, before Lord Peel's Commission eight years ago, that but for the drink there would be little or no work for police or prisons. The same story comes from other lands. The French Minister of Justice is reported as saying that "no less than 53 per cent. of the persons convicted of murder, 57 per cent. of those

convicted of arson, and 90 per cent. of those convicted for causing bodily harm are confirmed drunkards." The New South Wales Drink Commission, while deprecating a "tendency to exaggerate the percentage of crimes directly caused by drink," found that very few of the witnesses examined by them placed it lower than 75. The statement is attributed to Mr. Carroll D. Wright that "72 per cent. of the crimes in Boston are liquor crimes"; and the Massachusetts State Board of Charities is credited with the report in 1893 that "the proportion of crime traceable to intemperate persons must be set down, as heretofore, as not less than four-fifths." But I might simply fill my paper with similar evidence, supplied not by cold-water cranks, but by persons of the most exceptional knowledge of the subject and of the coolest impartiality,—judges, magistrates, commanders of regiments, captains of ships, chaplains, governors of prisons, inspectors, State Commissioners, and other experts,—who all find in this one evil the most fertile source of all kinds of breaches of the law.

Thus, because of the beer barrel and the gin-tap, the whole community goes in fear and jeopardy, and has to maintain a costly and ugly machinery to get along at all. As for the people who individually suffer by these things, who shall tell of their woes! Homes, so called, are continued in misery or finally broken up in shame. Nearly all cases of desertion are traceable to this evil on the part of husband or wife. Scarcely any instances occur of cruelty to children, such as brings the offenders before the law, where drink is not found to have deadened the parent's natural affection. The divorce courts repeat the same monotonous story of drink-weakened moral fibre, with the most disastrous results. And who is ignorant of the shames and sorrows which relatives in agony seek to hide, and concerning which decent folk keep a silence intended to be merciful, which, without emerging into the glare of the courts, exist none the less really beneath the surface of society? At one end of the scale little children by thousands die untimely, or survive only to bear the blight of their dram-poisoned nursing. At the other bright and clever natures, once an honor and a pride to their friends, go down into the gutter. These are the every-day experiences, not the unusual visitations, of organized communities boasting of their civilization. I speak not here of the state of things where crude humanity becomes the prey

of the drink-seller in the purlieus of the docks, of the far-off quarries and mines, and the poor villages of aboriginal races.

One more item in this already unparalleled "drink bill" must be mentioned. There is a feature of modern life which must perplex, if it does not absolutely dismay, every student of human affairs. We often speak hopefully, confidently, of progress, and believe that ameliorative influences are slowly, but surely, raising the general level of intelligence the world over. But what about that dread shadow on the path of the dominant races,—*insanity*? The figures seem to show unmistakably that this is a growing malady. If it is really increasing at the rate that the records of the asylums appear to prove, if part of the apparent growth is not to be set down to more careful observation and registration, then, indeed, the prospects of mankind would seem almost desperate. But, whatever conclusion we form as to that, we have testimony from all sides, from Germany, France, Belgium, and other European states, as well as from the different English-speaking nations that belt the globe, that alcohol is one of the chief ascertainable causes of insanity. No one can really be surprised at such testimony who has at all intelligently followed the course of modern investigation with regard to the structure of the brain and the action of alcohol upon its delicate tissues. There is no longer room for doubt that, just as a clumsy finger and thumb spoil the bloom on a peach, so the clutch of this drug worsens every time the tender organ of mind. The damage may at first be slight, and bounteous nature is often lavish in putting forth remedial energy; but there comes an hour when, under incessant injury, if slight seeming, the peach's bloom is ruined. Formerly, only the grosser forms of alcoholic poisoning were much noticed; but modern research, carried on in the laboratories of unprejudiced scientists east and west, shows that even what are called "dietetic doses" tend to the irretrievable injury of brain and nerves. Well might the great Edison say, in explanation of his abstinence from alcohol, "I have a better use for my brains." But really there is no need for any one who opens his eyes and ears to run about in search of the verdicts of *savans*. Who has not seen ample evidence, before the scientists told us why, that the inhibition of alcohol at once weakens the mind's self-control, just while it flatters the drinker with an altogether mistaken notion of his own wit, wisdom, and

brilliance in general? Long before the stage is reached when friends grow anxious and apprehensive, we see around us people who are otherwise sensible set free in talk, blabbing of their neighbor's business, if not their own, and cajoled into bargains which they will repent of to-morrow. Young fellows, usually shrewd and gentlemanly enough, grow excited and loosed from the wholesome checks of modesty and self-respect. Grave and reverend seniors, with flushed face and roving eye, draw near to the bench and cap of the fool. Girls grow giddy and perilously adventurous. In short, here is the modern Circe's cup. And, when the poor victims have drained it, their blood bears its baleful ingredient along their life tides with such deadly sureness that the next generation rises with accusing finger to say, "Thus didst thou!" We have in London special schools for "mentally defective" children,—those poor, dull pupils who would be utterly unable to keep up with the lessons of average children, and who must be catered for separately. Official inquiries into the family history of one hundred consecutive cases of such children showed that in forty-two there was a clear history of drunkenness on the part of one at least of the parents. In only 6 per cent. of normal children was there found to be a drunken parent.

Poverty, crime, immorality, ineffectiveness, insanity, disease,—where shall the awful indictment end? As to disease, let this one eloquent fact suffice. The poor publican himself (I do not say the highly respectable shareholder in the brewery company, but the man who froths the pot) is the surest victim of his own wares. The returns of the Registrar-General show that this class of citizen dies off far more quickly than any other, even those engaged in notoriously "dangerous" trades. In fact, our British authorities officially declare the making and selling of intoxicants to be the "deadliest and most dangerous of occupations." Talk about missions to the poor savages! Is it not time that a mission were established to rescue the wretched victims of so fearful a scourge?

Now I feel sure that on reviewing these and similar facts there cannot be one intelligent person whose mind is not fully convinced as to the gravity of the problem and the urgency of solving it. Where disagreement comes in is as regards the steps proposed to be taken. Frankly, I confess myself one of those who would fight intoxicants

by all honorable methods, and I would accept any ally who would lessen the sphere of their influence. There has been hitherto too much quarrelling in the face of the enemy. Undoubtedly there is need for the most careful discrimination of conditions and the most prudential calculation of the consequences of different courses of action. But, when the house is burning, it is somewhat late to discuss hydrostatics. Whoever brings but a bucket shall be welcome. Many here to-day may have their own favorite lines of advance. So long as we do advance at all, let us not too severely criticise one another. In different countries and localities different methods are appropriate. In some places pioneers of reform have to be content to work very much alone and by moral suasion; but even in Russia, where the chance of influencing legislation seems smallest, the prophet's voice is not raised in vain, as we see by the formation of an abstaining society through the teachings of Tolstoy. In France, on the other hand, we have seen the civic authorities in Paris publishing and very widely disseminating a placard setting forth the dangers of drink, the mistake of supposing that it imparts muscular energy, and the fearful heritage of misery it bequeaths. This placard has been copied in some communities in Great Britain, but those strict economists who watch so unceasingly over the interests of "the trade" have here and there secured a decision that the printing and issuing of such material is *ultra vires*. In Belgium, one notices, there has been a singular originality in the method adopted in certain quarters. This hard-working little country appears to have a reputation for drunkenness which only my own country can rival. But amongst reformers there the Socialist Party has appealed to its supporters to abstain from alcohol for several reasons, the third and last being that abstinence would improve their health, the second that it would provide funds for political propaganda, and the first and foremost that it would cripple the government's finances. Well, we remember how Saint Paul regarded that preaching of the gospel which was not altogether from purest gospel motives. Whatever the motive, let them but "preach Christ," even "of envy," and he would rejoice.

Amongst the many attempts made in different countries, the Scandinavian method of grappling with the evils of intemperance stands out prominently. It has been much criticised as developing

a municipal interest in the continuance of the trade in intoxicants, but at any rate the evils in Scandinavia itself are far less in evidence now than before the trade was taken over from private hands. The number of recruits, for example, rejected as unfit for service, is now far below what it used to be. And as to national fitness, not for the war of violence, but for that competition which exists everywhere, the words of the Prussian Count Douglas were surely wise when he said, on introducing a temperance bill into the Prussian Diet in 1902, "those countries where temperance was inculcated and practised, would ultimately secure the advantage. In particular" (the quotation is from the *Times*) "he directed attention to the success of the temperance movement in the United States of America, where there were ten millions of abstainers." Reverting to the question of co-operative method, attempts are being made in England, though on no very large scale, to get the trade into the hands of trusts and companies who for little or no profit will be content to meet existing demands for drink, without fostering an exaggerated business. I am afraid it will be long before any such methods will become general. We are left to struggle as best we can, socially and politically, with that vast commercial interest which every year extends its hold upon general support through its lists of shareholders all over the kingdom. It is estimated that something like five hundred million dollars are subscribed as stock in the various companies represented on our exchanges. This wide-spreading social and financial power has great weight in both Houses of Parliament and in local councils. It commands the services of the most dexterous agents in seeking means to avoid restrictive laws. The motto unblushingly put forth by the engineers of this party is, "Our trade, our politics." With wistful eyes many of us look to this great family of States in the west, and to our own colonies, where the enlightened principle of "local option," in one form or other, has been enforced. We have seen enough benefit in the little areas that exist even in our land, where the drink is not forced upon a community, to wish that the people generally might at least be permitted to say whether it should be there or not.

I do not conceive, however, that my duty to-day is to discuss and weigh the merits of any particular method. What I do plead for is for your real and permanent interest in this vital problem of our

day, for your personal decision, and for co-operation all along the line. Earlier in this paper I spoke of abstinence, restriction, prohibition. It appears to me that this order is the sensible and practical one. Some excellent people, I know, speak of abstinence as if it were an extreme measure. Large and, so far as I know, useful societies exist, the members of which are allowed to take a glass at meals, and at no other time. Other people, the bulk of decent citizens, I suppose, do not even bind themselves to this, but take their drink in "moderation," as they call it. Now I am sure that no one in an assembly like this would presume to dictate to another's conscience. Let each be fully persuaded. But how any man who has ever seen with his own eyes the ruined humanity, the blighted homes, the shattered health, the misery and shame of his fellow-creatures, can any longer touch this accursed thing, I cannot understand. Were it anything else that wrought so much evil on earth, if it did not come with an insinuating tickle of the palate and a delusive touch of flattery upon the nerves as it takes the reason prisoner, there is no man but would exile this pest forever from his home, and, if possible, from the community. Is that pleasant taste, then, really worth enjoying in such company and at such a price? As for taking pecuniary profit out of such a trade, what pity is large enough, what horror deep enough, to cover such a tainted transaction? Cain killed Abel, but at least he didn't do it for money.

We may talk about international unity and arbitration and the triumph of the Church Universal and all that; but let every man be fully assured of this: there cannot be peace on earth, or sweet religion ruling in our hearths and homes, till this "devil in solution" has been exorcised from our midst. *Abstain*, and you set him at a distance at once. "Others will not abstain"? Then *restrict* their chances of being egged on to excess. Absolute *prohibition* is the final happy goal, not, however, to be really successful till the mind of the people runs abreast of the law, and that it shall do so is the task of the churches specially to secure. We, in particular, are met together as those who are striving toward the creation of a religious life free alike from needless fears and baseless hopes, but grounded firmly in the solid rock of the soul's own experiences. Who, if not we, should recognize that an intelligent faith needs clear brains to

conceive it, that a conquering and world-redeeming practical religion needs the soundest, healthiest men and women to carry it to victory? We, of the liberal churches, are so far from seeing our work "done," as sometimes we hear, or even inertly say, that we are really only at the beginning of things. We are here at this time to knit a little closer the ties of understanding and consent between thinkers usually far scattered, to feel our common needs and partake of our common inspirations. Shall we separate without an understanding in respect to this most practical, most pressing of all social reforms? Shall we not go to our different spheres of labor resolved to do our duty in this regard, if by any means we may save some? It is ours especially to educate our own young people in habits and principles of perfect sobriety, to stimulate our fellow-worshippers to more practical zeal in this outstanding social work, and to raise our voice as citizens against every encroachment by the reckless exploiters of human weakness, while we endeavor to secure healthier conditions of home life and occupation and more rational forms of recreation for the people. Above all, we have to appeal to the diviner element in every heart, and to plead, not only in the name of human pity, but of human honor, against so horrible a desecration of life as the use of intoxicants involves.

After a few words from Rev. Charles Travers, of London, the meeting was closed with the following brief address from Rev. C. F. Dole:—

GOOD WILL, BY REV. CHARLES F. DOLE.

I think in all these questions one's mind sways back and forth between methods and schemes and plans, on the one hand, and on the other hand to the question which underlies all plans and all methods; namely, what sort of humanity have you? That second thought, to which the pendulum is ever swinging back, must ever swing back, has been with us in all the addresses this afternoon. What is the essence of religion? What is it that drives the wheels of all this machinery? What is it, to change the figure, that makes the harmony among all the instruments, without which, no matter how beautiful they are and costly, the music would be vain?

It is, in one word, good will, is it not? I like the word better than love. We say, "Love our neighbor." That is a great contract. You cannot love everybody in the sense in which the word is mainly used. You cannot compel yourself to love people, but you can turn on your good will. You can turn on your good will to anybody. If you are angry, you can turn around and turn on your good will to the man against whom you attempted to strike out and hurt him.

We conceive of the central power of the universe as sometimes Love, but more deeply as Will, and as Good Will. We say that the highest conception of the power that runs the universe is a will managing all things through intelligence, and we say that religion consists in the feeling toward this mighty power of goodness, and religion consists also in the acting in unison with this power of goodness. This spirit of worship, the spirit of religion, is the spirit of good will possessing us. We are at our highest in the mood of worship when we simply give ourselves to let the good will of the universe pour through us and do its work, and this combines, does it not, idealism with concrete reality?

What is the good of all the worship in all the churches if it is mere meditation on high things, if it is simply pleasurable emotion? But suppose it sends us forth possessed with this good will, with the

emphasis on will, to do the work of the spirit of the universe, then it is something that makes us better. It is the measure forever of all our worship and all our religion. As the man goes forth from the church, not with the sense of enjoyment, not with the sense even that he is God's child, but with a deep sense that he is here in this world to do God's good will for his brothers, then the religion and the worship have done him some good. And that applies, does it not, to all these questions such as we have been touching upon this afternoon? It applies to the question of labor and capital. The big thing is to get the laborers (we are all laborers) and the employers (and we are all in some sense employers) so possessed with good will toward one another that this spirit of good will, when we face each other with that light in our eyes, solves all the questions. On the liquor question the big thing is, What does the spirit of good will bid us do? And so with all the rest of them. And the great prayer, I take it, is all embraced in just these few words: "Thy kingdom [that is, the rule of heart] come, thy will [good will] be done."

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL RELIGION.

Held at the Second Church in Boston, Wednesday evening, Sept. 25, 1907. Hon. James M. Morton, Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, presiding.

Opening Anthem, sung by Chorus.

Devotional Service, conducted by Rabbi Charles Fleischer, of Boston.

Hymn, "God is my Strong Salvation."

Prayer.

Let us adore the ever-living God and render praise unto Him who spread out the heavens and established the earth, whose glory is revealed in the heavens above, and whose greatness is manifest throughout the world. He alone is our God. We bow our head and bend our knee and magnify the King of kings, the Holy One, the ever blest. May the time not be far, O God, when Thy name shall be worshipped over all the world, when unbelief shall disappear, and error be no more. We fervently pray that the day may come upon which all men shall invoke Thy name, when corruption and evil shall give way to the purity of goodness, when superstition shall no longer enslave the minds nor idolatry blind the eyes, when all inhabitants of the earth shall perceive that to Thee alone every knee must bow and every tongue give homage. Oh, may all created in Thy image recognize that they are brethren, so that they, one in spirit and one in fellowship, may be forever united before Thee. Then shall Thy kingdom be established on earth and the word of Thy ancient seer be fulfilled: "The Eternal shall rule forever and aye. On that day the Eternal shall be one, and His name shall be one." Amen.

Hymn, "Come, Kingdom of our God."

Judge MORRIS.—For many years a strong friendship has existed between this country and Japan. It has been and is based, I believe, upon reciprocal good will and upon a mutual active sense of justice. I am sure we all hope that it will continue unbroken. But, if anything should be needed to cement more strongly the friendship which exists between the two countries, for myself I should be willing to make them a deed of gift of the Philippines, if they would take them. [Laughter and applause.] Our Liberal Faith has found a fertile soil, I believe, in Japan. The seed has not fallen on altogether stony ground, as is apt to be the case with alien religions. Our doctrines have been received with a hospitality which we should expect of a people so thoughtful and of such open minds. I have the pleasure of presenting to you this evening Mr. Saichiro Kanda, Secretary of the Japan Unitarian Association, who will speak to us on Japan.

RELIGIOUS FORCES OF JAPAN.

BY SAICHIRO KANDA, SECRETARY OF THE JAPANESE UNITARIAN
ASSOCIATION, TOKYO, JAPAN.

Our way of thought in Japan may need some explanation, in order to make you fully understand it, just as our language needs interpretation. Especially does our religious thought need to be explained. It is difficult for me to express my idea satisfactorily, because of my poor knowledge of your language. However, I will try to do my best.

In the mind of the educated Japanese it is almost impossible to think religion without morality. Therefore, the religious forces of Japan cannot be measured simply by an exhibit of rituals and ceremonies. They must be found in the people's moral condition, as displayed in their daily life. If there are working in Japan the forces of piety, fraternity, nobility, self-sacrifice, patriotism, heroism, these may surely be called our religious forces. Nay, they are our religion. In other words, faith without works is not religion at all in Japan.

To us it is immoral to believe a doctrine which is ambiguous, self-contradictory, not satisfactorily understood by our reason, or not in harmony with our conscience. Because of these sentiments, our religious ideal is rational and Unitarian. We desire a moral and rational religion, and we find Unitarianism to be a religion of character and rationality.

Permit me now to give you a slight glimpse at the history of these facts.

In the dawn of the new era of our empire, or soon after the time of Commodore Perry's arrival, Protestant Christianity was brought to our people in company with modern science. We welcomed the science; but we looked at Christianity with suspicious eyes, because we had had some ill traditions of this faith of the West. To be

called Christian is an honor in this country, but it is often the reverse in Japan. So, naturally, we took a critical attitude when we faced the Christian teachings. But now, having had a long experience in contact with Christians, and having come to a good understanding with each other, our people have perfect confidence in Christianity and especially in Protestantism. And also we are assured by our Constitution perfect freedom in the exercise of religious faith.

But when we study what Christianity is we apply to it the methods of science, the methods of free inquiry. Because, as I said before, Christianity was brought to us in company with modern science. We like to understand Christianity on a scientific basis. When you know these facts, you will easily perceive that Japanese Christians are essentially rational, liberal, and Unitarian, no matter to what denomination they may belong. They are fighting against common enemies in opposing utilitarianism, indifferentism, materialism, mammonism, and, finally, the obsolete creeds which ignore liberty in thought and freedom to worship as conscience directs.

In this state of society, Unitarianism was introduced to us by your representatives, Rev. Arthur May Knapp, Rev. Clay MacCauley, and Rev. William I. Lawrance. So you will not wonder Unitarian views of faith were welcomed by the Japanese, and have been obtaining a strong footing among our educated and aspiring young men and women.

Since Unitarianism was introduced into the Sunrise Empire, it has contributed some new and powerful influences to its neighboring faiths. On one hand, Unitarianism has aroused all our religionists from their long sleep, and encouraged them to study Buddhism, as well as Christianity, by the scientific method. As one of the effects of this contribution, there has arisen a new movement which is called "The Association of New Buddhists." They claim that they themselves are Buddhistic Unitarians, because they spring out of Buddhism historically, and are Unitarian in spirit. On the other hand, we have contributed to our orthodox Christian friends a new light in the higher criticism and historical study of the Bible and of their creeds. As a natural effect of their study they are becoming broad in their religious opinions. They no longer fight the Buddhists, because they know that there are common enemies that Buddhists as well as themselves must march against.

The most obvious fact of the friendly feeling among our religious believers is, I am very glad to say, the organization of the Union of Japanese Religionists.

About two years ago the preliminary meetings for the organization of this Union were held in our Unity Hall in Tokyo. I am honored in having been one of its projectors. When the Union was first organized, we held a meeting in the hall of the Young Men's Christian Association in Tokyo, and public speeches were given in its behalf.

The members of the Union are among the most prominent personages among Buddhists, Shintoists, and Christians. Their objects are the same as those of your International Council. This Union has an annual conference, besides its contingent meetings and festivals. In the last year its members raised 15,000 yen, or \$7,500, as the contribution to the rebuilding and repairing of the nine Christian churches which had been accidentally damaged and burned by the mob that arose at the time when the Portsmouth negotiations were made known to us. A large part of the money was the contribution of the Buddhists and Shintoists. It is well to help each other, and to show sympathy in the disasters that come to our neighbor. I believe this is the true Christian spirit.

As to our church work, let me say that we have one Unitarian church in Tokyo. In this church we have two sermons every Sunday morning, from 10 to 12, which are exclusively devoted to religious and ethical subjects. In the evening we have also two lectures, from 7 to 9. We have about 750 names enrolled as members of our Tokyo church. But most of them are not residents of the city. They come from all over the country. The majority of our church members are graduates and undergraduates of our colleges and universities. When they are graduated they scatter in all directions over the country in order to practise their professions. So our church in Toyko is just like a college. In spring we send away our graduates, and we receive in autumn Freshmen.

Besides this church there is another organization which is called the "Unity Club," of which I am president. This club is serving as the medium for connecting our church members with the world outside. Most of the members of this club are young men and young women. Recently they have been taking a most important part in our church

affairs. The club was organized some years ago, when Mr. Mac-Cauley was in Tokyo, and afterward I reorganized it into its present shape. It has three departments; namely, the reading department, the musical training department, and the department of amusement. The club has its regular meetings on every Sunday afternoon in our Unity Hall. On the first Saturday evening of every month its members have a festival, in order to cultivate their social life. At this dinner party some of them are appointed by the officers of the reading department to read papers or to give reviews of the books which they have read during the previous month.

We have had also a monthly magazine as one of our organs since 1890, and I am one of the editorial staff. By means of this monthly publication we are circulating our views among our scattered members.

Besides these organs we have another important agency, the Post-office Mission, in connection with the publication department. We are distributing Unitarian literature at home, just as you are distributing it at 25 Beacon Street.

If I spoke exclusively of Unitarianism I am afraid that I should make my statement too narrow. I will say that Christianity in its best interpretation is being welcomed by our students, who are eager to acquire the best thought of the twentieth century. But I want to remind you emphatically that Christianity is being welcomed by our new generations, not because of its profound systematic theology which was developed in the past centuries, and not because of its mysterious blending with the philosophy of the ancient Greeks, but because of the simple yet sound moral teachings of Jesus, which is very natural and easy for our people to understand and apply. Our people are born with rationalistic tendencies in religious matters. They understand the pure Christianity of Jesus far better than a complicated theology.

The religion of our people, as I said at the beginning, is inseparable from morality. Therefore, it is impossible to introduce any religion to the Japanese only through the ears: it must be introduced into the Japanese head and heart by the eyes as well. A truly virtuous man, one who is burning with religious zeal and is an illustration of what he preaches,—such a one will have a great influence among our people. If such a leader were to come to us or arise

among us, we would be ready to acclaim him as a saviour. The fields are ripe, we need husbandmen.

Ours is the Land of the Rising Sun. May it be the sun of a reasonable and true religion, of a pure morality, of a Christianity without priest or ritual, enthroned in men's souls, active in good works, and held in the spirit of perfect liberty!

Hymn, "O Star of Truth," by Minot J. Savage.

Judge MORTON.—When America was still an undiscovered country and when London was an unreclaimed marsh and Paris was a slum, there were wise and holy men, saints and prophets, in the ancient East, who had meditated profoundly upon the destiny of man, on his relations to a Supreme Being. That ancient spirit still survives, and there, as here, there are those who teach the doctrines of truth and charity and benevolence, and the strengthening of bonds between men of all nations, persuasions, and creeds. With such, wherever they are or whatever their race or creed, we are in spiritual brotherhood.

We have with us this evening several gentlemen from India whom I shall have the pleasure of presenting to you, and the first is Professor Rau, of Calicut, India, who will speak to you on "The Ideals of the Brahmo-Somaj."

THE IDEALS OF THE BRAHMO-SOMAJ.

BY PROFESSOR G. SUBBA RAU, OF CALCUT, INDIA.

It is becoming fashionable in these days to exalt the real at the expense of the ideal. We live in a real world, but we live for ideals,—for an ideal world. The real appears and vanishes, the ideal abides. The Christian world should never give up the ideal, for instance, of a kingdom of heaven upon the earth, and yet that ideal is not going to be realized in ten years or in ten centuries. Ideals grow upon us. They are perfect, no doubt, in the consciousness of God; but they dawn upon us, they grow upon us, and they show themselves more and more in the consciousness of men and of the human race, and they show themselves in the life that they live. And yet as ideals they are eternal. You cannot create ideas; you can assimilate them; you cannot invent them. If so, what shall I say of the ideals of the Brahmo-Somaj? Would you be surprised if I had nothing very surprising, nothing new, to present in the name of the ideals of the Brahmo-Somaj?

The Brahmo-Somaj is an organization which is comparatively new. The phrase means "The Society of Worshipers of God," or, simply, "Theistic Society"; and it may be regarded as dating from the year 1830, when its founder, the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy, consecrated the first temple for its worship in Calcutta. It is therefore comparatively a very modern movement, but the ideals that it has been trying to hold up before the people and make living in their lives, they are not modern, they are ancient. They are to be seen in our ancient literature, and I would say they are to be seen in all the sacred literature of the world. The Brahmo-Somaj exists for the purpose of seeing that those ideals are day by day realized in the lives of the people of India. And, if I am to give you any brief idea in a few words of the ideals of the Brahmo-Somaj, perhaps I could do no better than to take four alliterative words,—“light,” “liberty,” “loyalty,” “love.”

LIGHT. I have read of the great German sage, Goethe, that he died, crying, "Light, more light!" We in the Orient have been students of the Light, have been worshippers of the Light from the earliest times. Five thousand years ago, according to Occidental scholars, while the world was in the twilight of its history, while the great Greek and Roman nations were yet unborn, the sages of India were singing that glorious hymn which is being chanted to this day by every Hindu worshipper in his daily worship. It may not be very expressive to you, but it is full of expression to the people of India who chant it day by day.

"O Thou shining One,
Creator of all things that are,
We meditate upon thy effulgent and saving glory.
Do thou, then, lighten our souls."

Yes, we have been worshippers of the light, and the Brahmo-Somaj has only taken up the ancient position, and is holding up the light. It stands for the light, and the light, mind you, comes not from the east only, but from all quarters, and the Brahmo-Somaj recognizes this great fact. And so in our religious movement we recognize the prophets of all lands and the sacred books of all countries. We honor Jesus equally with Buddha. We honor Mohammed and Zoroaster alike, and indifferently in our worship we use the Bhagavad Gita and the Koran and the Zend Avesta. And you will find on the walls of many of our places of worship in India selections taken from the sacred scriptures of the world.

LIBERTY. What is the land above all others which has been the cradle of religions and the religious life of whose people has been practically the life total of those people? India. And will you tell me, shall I tell you, which is the land and which are the people in which and among whom persecution in the name of religion has been unknown? I will just for a moment exclude the short periods under certain unwise Mohammedan rulers. Excluding that period, India has never known a religious persecution. Tolerance, liberty of thought, has not only been tolerated, it has been encouraged. Three thousand years ago we have records of religious congresses and parliaments held in the courts of the princes of Northern India, and I have regretted to find that in the proceedings there is no mention

of any delegates from Boston. And yet the meetings were held, there is no doubt about it, in spite of the fact that the delegation was not world-wide. Yes, liberty has been the great principle of religious life in India.

My next word is **LOYALTY**. Liberty before the world, loyalty to the light, loyalty to the light that I see in my soul. Loyalty has been a great principle of our religious life, the principle which the Brahmo-Somaj has taken up and is trying to make living in the lives of the people. Loyalty implies law, and law signifies something compelling loyalty.

There is one word in current use among our people which expresses this fact and this relation. That word is *karma*, deed. A great German scholar somewhere mentions an incident in the course of his visit to India. He saw a man who was born blind. He asked him to what he thought he owed the misfortune. The man coolly answered, "Why, it must be the result of some wicked deed that I did in my past life." You may call it superstition, you may call it fatalism, you may call it anything, but I tell you there is something that is sublime in that spirit which recognizes that there is nothing unjust, that the universe is justice, that, as we sow, so we reap, and that, although we do not know exactly how or where, we have deserved what we have got. There is something in that. It does not necessarily mean fatalism. The most honored book of the Hindus, the Bhagavad Gita, preaches that; and yet it preaches from cover to cover the great doctrine that we must work, toil on, without regard for consequences.

In one of the ancient Upanishads a profound sentiment, a profound sentiment of a dying man, was expressed. The dying man says:—

"O my breath, return to the immortal air! O my body, be reduced to ashes! But, my soul, remember, remember, remember, thy deeds."

We obey the law, we are loyal to the law; but we recognize that it is a law of love, not a retributive law, not a vengeful law that punishes and damns to eternal torment, but a law that punishes for the sake of chastening and improving and uplifting. It is a law of love, a law that is the expression of the will of a loving father and mother. And so I come to the last word,—**LOVE**.

Western scholars have studied a great deal of our philosophy, but there is one thing that, on the whole, they have not been able to appreciate, and that is the genuine, the real religious life of India. It is represented by that word love, by the word *Bhakti* or *Prema*, which means devotion or love. That represents the essence of the religious life of the people of India.

There are three different kinds or methods of culture which are prominently seen in our religious life,—the path of knowledge, the path of love and devotion, and the path of works of service. The Brahmo-Somaj takes up all these, wants to harmonize them, wants to blend them together, but lends its emphasis specially to love, to devotion, because that can kindle and strengthen knowledge and work.

We are not satisfied with the foliage of knowledge. We want to see the fair blossoms of love and devotion. And we are not satisfied even with that. We want at last the glorious fruit of consecrated and devoted service.

These four words, then, "light," liberty," "loyalty," and "love," may be taken as representing in some way the ideals which have been ours and which the Brahmo-Somaj is endeavoring to make living in the lives of the people of India.

The work is great. 300,000,000 people, and here is a small organization seventy-five years old which aims at doing the grand work of uplifting a people who are in the condition which perhaps you are somewhat able to appreciate. We have enlisted in the Brahmo-Somaj the finest intellect of the land, the noblest hearts, the most consecrated and self-denying wills. And yet, if the work was to depend only upon the members of this organization of the Brahmo-Somaj, much of it would remain undone. I am glad to say that the ideals of the Brahmo-Somaj are not the exclusive property now of the Brahmo-Somaj. They never were, and they have been more and more popularized. They are in the air. There are scores of associations and thousands of individuals who are working along these lines, and after the ideals for which the Brahmo-Somaj has stood for seventy years and more. And thus the work speeds on. You will not be surprised that the work is still great. Only think, every member of the Brahmo-Somaj is a devoted missionary and minister. We have very few churches of the Brahmo-Somaj, very few

special ministers set apart, very few who are paid for the work of preaching. Every one is a minister and a missionary. And in those few cases where there are men who are maintained and paid in order that they may live well, they get just a subsistence allowance in due accordance with the ideals of ancient India of the religious life. Yes, all of us are working like that. And yet in a land which is inhabited by 300,000,000 people who are ground down by the double curse of poverty and ignorance, who have the disadvantage of a foreign rule which aims to exploit the country politically and economically at a time when the country is in a great industrial depression, when legislation continually is brought in for the purpose of putting down our industries, our manufactures, in a country where the State maintains no public schools and where education to the poor is a luxury beyond their reach, in a country where there are the difficulties of many languages and many customs, in a country where bad sanitation and poverty conspire together to bring about the annual scourge of plague which carries off millions of people sometimes in the course of the year,—in such a country as that, with all its political, social, educational, and religious problems, do you wonder that those who have the ideals of the Brahmo-Somaj find that they have work to do all the days of the year? Yes, and they cheerfully do it, and the great comfort is that they are not left alone. The Brahmo-Somaj need not boast and does not boast that it is alone in the field. It represents great ideals, but those ideals are in possession of the people, and many who are not members of the Brahmo-Somaj are still working exactly for the same ideas. This morning I met two gentlemen, countrymen of mine. They were brought up as Christians, and I am a heathen; and, conversing with them, I found that after all there was no difference between us, my ideals and my aspirations were theirs, and that we could work together hand to hand and shoulder to shoulder for the common good. One of them, and both of them perhaps, are going to address you. Another gentleman perhaps will address you, too, who professes the religion of the Prophet, and yet whose words will perhaps reveal no difference in ideals from mine.

And so, friends, we work on, work on and hope, because in a world that is ordained by God, so long as we are working for ideals that are pure, ideals that are eternal, we may be sure of success. I have

detained you long; but may I tell you that I am an optimist? In spite of all troubles ahead, in spite of all dangers and difficulties besetting us at every step that we take, I always feel cheery. It may be a foolish optimism, but it is an optimism that I cling to with all my heart. And I love to dream; and shall I tell you that one of my dreams is that some day, not very far off, India, my ancient land, will take an honored, a respected, and a self-respecting place among the nations of the world; and that my countrymen, suffering no more from oppression's wrongs or from the proud man's contumely, will live together in amity and peace, and will clarify more and more the light which is the law of love, and will reflect more and more, day by day, upon their radiant brows the glorious image of God?

Judge MORTON.—I have the pleasure of presenting to you Mr. S. L. Joshi, M.A., of Bombay, who will speak to us on "Religious Opportunities in India."

RELIGIOUS OPPORTUNITIES IN INDIA.

BY S. L. JOSHI, OF BOMBAY.

My friend, Mr. Rau, has already presented to you the subject of religion in India, and it, therefore, may be well for me to draw your attention to the same subject, first of all, from a historic point of view, in order that you may be able to appreciate the present perspective. In the whole history of literature there is no subject so fascinating as to trace the course of religious development through the history of India. In the earliest Hinduism we have furnished to us the philosophic background of religion, and then, as we go through centuries to further development, we notice Buddhism appearing on the scene, first as a protestant revolt against priestcraft, and finally as a system of religion which has given to India its best ethical code. From the days of Buddhism on to the times when the conquering Mohammedans poured into India, a great religious change presents itself to our view. And the great contribution that Mohammedanism, in spite of its many weaknesses, has made to the religious development of India, was the supreme emphasis which it laid on the unity of the Godhead. And so we find that "through the ages one increasing purpose runs," and I hope that all of us believe that God works through human history everywhere, and that in India, also, God has been preparing the ground for his kingdom by making each religious thought and each nation a contribution to it. In the days of the decline of Mohammedanism, or rather of the Mohammedan political power in India, we find that there was a general confusion of religious thought, and yet out of the embers of religious confusion there rose up great religious prophets and teachers with sublime and inspiring messages which they brought to the varied races of India. It was just about this time also that we noticed a contact of India with the nations of Europe. It is admitted that first

of all this contact with Europe was primarily a commercial contact. Nevertheless, through commerce we were brought into close touch with the principles of western civilization, and in the struggle for political supremacy which followed among the different nations of Europe we find England surviving and ultimately holding sway in India. Those of us who know the story of Christianity in India and the contribution it has made for the building up of the kingdom of God may not probably have heard the different aspects of Christianity in India. Before speaking of the great work that has been achieved by the different Christian agencies that are working in India, I should like to point out to you some of the weak points that are responsible for the non-achievement of results that might otherwise have been attained.

First and foremost we have this difficulty: that Christianity has been associated in India with the name of a political power,—a political power which has not always commended itself to the people of India as a Christian nation; and so in that respect the cause of Christianity as such has suffered.

Another reason why Christianity has not appealed more effectively to the most intelligent people in India is that Christianity has appeared on the scene not in its united form, but as a house divided against itself. Just as we have in India our caste systems and our various sectional differences among the Hindus, and we have among us the Mohammedans, so Christianity also comes to us with its varied garbs of religious interpretation and religious thought. This division has been a source of great weakness to the growth of the Christian religion in India. Moreover, according to the present conditions there is another source of weakness, and that is that an ecclesiastical department is maintained by the British government in India at the cost of the Hindu tax-payer who has no faith in Christianity. I simply refer to this, not as a political grievance, but because of its ethical values. And you must remember that the leaders of religious thought in India look upon all political and sociological questions from the purely ethical point of view. It is, therefore, from the ethical point of view that we refer to these political problems in relation to Christianity.

With regard to the achievements of Christian missions in India, while I have pointed out some of the weaknesses, it would be unfair

to leave the story half told. The whole story of Christian missions in India reads like a fable. At the beginning of the nineteenth century we notice a group of devoted men and women working against great obstacles for an ideal in which they heartily believed. During the course of a hundred years we notice that movement rising from a small beginning until at last it covers almost the whole country. And, while it may be that many of us differ one from the other in regard to the dogmatic basis of the various sectarian differences of Christianity, there is no doubt that the ultimate value of Christian missions in India will be measured not by statistics, but by the actual rendering of service to the needs of humanity. It is only by that standard that we can gain ultimately the true value of a religion, and with this test I am pretty certain that all of you will agree with me that Christian missions in spite of all their weaknesses have been a source of great blessing to India. Consider the subject of foreign missions in India from the purely utilitarian point of view, if I may use that term. We notice that, consciously or unconsciously, the Christian missionary in India was working hand in hand with the progress of general events. For instance, when the great Scotchman, Dr. Guss, comes to India and discovers that the opportunity had come in the development of India for the introduction of the English language and of English methods of education, we see that with statesmanlike genius and prophetic insight he worked night and day with the object of interesting his fellow-countrymen in the work of starting English schools and colleges in India. And the ground that he prepared in England and Scotland for that work was ultimately cultivated also by the efforts of Lord Macaulay, and the result was that we had the great Indian University system established there.

Take, again, the case of medical missions. There was a great need of modern methods of medicine felt in India, and the missionary was the first to discover that women trained as medical missionaries could render the most efficient service along that line. And so we have a large number of devoted women coming over into India from America and from England and from Germany to render this much-needed service. But during the nineteenth century a greater revolution has taken place than this revolution in the realm of religion or of education. It is greater because it has affected the material happiness

of the largest number of people in the Orient. You have not all forgotten the time when the steam-engine was invented, and how the invention of the steam engine ultimately affected the different methods of industry in England as well as on the continent of Europe and in America. You also remember the story of the labor riots, how large masses of the laboring classes were in revolt against the introduction of machinery, and against the introduction of methods that were likely to subvert their methods of earning a living. This same industrial revolution, which was not welcomed heartily by the laboring classes of the Western nations, has been carried with the expansion of the British flag to the Orient. And there in India we have the industrial revolution presented to us in a conflict more deadly than was ever presented on the battlefield in human history. When it is remembered that within the last twenty-five years more than 35,000,000 people have died in my country for want of bread, you will realize the enormous gravity of the situation and the large extent to which it affects the people of India.

This whole subject of famines in India is at bottom an economic problem, and is indicative of the keenness of the industrial struggle that has come into the country and has created a field for human service the like of which was never known in history before. And you and I who are interested in the building up of the kingdom of God are bound to consider this much-needed field of human service. There is no service so important as this one presented in India to-day, where men and women have been practically deprived of their methods of earning a living, have turned in their hopelessness to agriculture just to eke out a living, until at last the land is overrun with men who by the primitive methods of agriculture cannot get enough return, and then we have those periodic famines of which you hear so much. Of course, it is easy to have announced by an official person a great famine in India, and then to raise subscriptions to feed the starving people. But it is much more important to study the whole situation from a purely economic point of view, and to remove the causes which bring about this periodical famine. And it is to the consideration of these great problems that I take this opportunity of inviting your attention.

It seems to me that there is no country in the world to-day which

offers such a fine field for human service as India in its present industrial trouble. This trouble of which I have spoken, however important it may be, has also its political and other phases allied to it, into which it is not possible to enter here to-night, but I can only say this, that it is to my mind the greatest field of human service. I am reminded of the time when Nehemiah was in the city of Jerusalem trying to rebuild the walls of that city, and he discovered that it was an immense task; yet he called the people together, and they ultimately decided upon a very simple scheme. And Nehemiah said, "Let every man build that portion of the wall which is next to his own door." That hits the nail on the head. Every one of us has an individual duty in the building of the kingdom of heaven. If we really claim to be followers of the humble Nazarene and to direct our lives by the great immortal principles which are laid down in the Sermon on the Mount, then it is our duty as Christian men and women to study the problems which are vitally affecting the material interests of enormous masses of the population in the Orient, and to do the needful thing in rendering distress less hurtful and in promoting the material prosperity of those countries. If there is opportunity for service wanted by those who are interested in the building up of the kingdom of heaven in this world, I say again that India offers the most splendid opportunity. Apart from the industrial problem take our social problem. A great deal of work lies before us along that line. Our women have to be educated and uplifted, our lower caste people have to be uplifted. The question of education also is a very supreme question of the moment. After one hundred and fifty years of British influence in India it is not at all pleasant to know that out of every one hundred people there are only eight people who are able to read and write even their own language. And where we are confronted by an illiterate mass of men and women it is not an easy task to instil into their minds ideas of progress and of adjustment to the new economic life that has come into the country. Take the question of sanitation, the want of which is responsible for decimation of millions of people, because the people have not had time and opportunity to study modern methods of sanitation. There is another field for human service. Men and women in this country who are willing to sacrifice themselves and their lives for the service of humanity have in India a splendid chance

where by their enthusiasm and self-sacrificing service they can help to build the kingdom of God.

Judge MORTON.—I have the pleasure of presenting to you Mr. Barakatullah, of the Mohammedan faith, who will address us on "Liberalism in India."

LIBERAL MOHAMMEDANISM IN INDIA.

BY M. BARAKATULLAH, OF BHOPAL.

For nineteen centuries you have been praying, "Thy kingdom come," and to-day I realize that the beginning of that kingdom of God has already set in, for I represent a religion which has been least understood and most misrepresented in Western lands. In fact, the religion of Islam, which is commonly called the Mohammedan religion, was like the Ishmaelites, whose hand was against everybody and everybody's hand was against them. But to-day I have the great pleasure to address an audience of Christian people as a Mohammedan. The religion founded by the Prophet Mohammed is really called Islam. Islam means "resignation to the will of God alone, and not to any other will." Now how to know the will of God? We believe that the power behind the appearances is a constant mind which has been working through all the universe with a design, therefore this whole universe is nothing but the manifestation of the will of God. Man stands as a higher manifestation of the will of the Deity because man possesses will, accompanied with rational conscience, and the superman, or the perfect man, is the highest manifestation of the will of the Deity. A perfect man is a link between the infinite and the finite. Therefore, the superman, or the perfect man, is himself the embodiment of the will of God. His word is the word of God, and his will is the will of God. And, therefore, in Islam we have five articles of faith which will explain to you the meaning of the will of God, and how it is obeyed by the followers of the Prophet of Arabia.

The first article of the faith in Islam is the belief in God, who is one and eternal, and who exists by himself and sustains the whole universe.

The second article is the belief in the angels; that is to say, pure spirits which are agencies for good, and help humanity in its up-

ward march spiritually. This means, in other words, that this universe is not only the visible part alone, but there is another part which is called the unseen, the spiritual world. Some people might say that there is no spiritual world, and it is through our imagination alone that we believe that there is a soul and a spiritual world.

Here I should like to explain myself to you through a parable which is given by a Persian poet called Jalaludeen. He says that a little child in a room was informed that outside there was a great universe in which there were the sun, the moon, the stars, and the earth with its continents, oceans, mountains, and gardens, the mineral kingdom, vegetable kingdom, animal kingdom, and man. And the child, having not seen it with his five senses, would deny the existence of such a thing. So the inspired man says: "This is the likeness of the people who only depend upon that world which is sensible and which is perceived through their senses. They deny the existence of the spiritual world."

The third article of our faith is the belief in the revealed Book. Revelation is one: it produces the same effect in all minds and all climes. According to the Islamic faith the revealed books of all religions are true in their origin, and a man cannot be a Mohammedan without believing in all the revealed books. But how can one distinguish the revealed book from the non-revealed? The characteristic of the revealed word is that it imparts spiritual life, and in spite of all resistance prevails. Just to give you an instance from the Bible, Jesus says, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away"; that is to say, the revealed word is destined to prevail.

The fourth article of faith is the belief in all the prophets. We make no limitation, we make no distinction, among the prophets of God. They are all one because spiritually they belong to the same realm, to the same region. The Spirit of God speaks to them, and that Spirit is one. Therefore, he who believes in the Prophet Mohammed, also believes in all prophets. Indeed, the Koran says, "There is no country where God has not sent a prophet." Therefore, all these religions, the great religions of the world, were revealed religions. But why should we require so many prophets? In this world you will find that there is day and there is night. The time comes when materialistic night prevails. The majority of the people will

become materialistic. They have no regard for higher things. They believe that the enjoyments of this world alone are the realities. But at such a time it is necessary that the sun of spirituality shall rise again, and it is the rule that, whenever a new prophet is born, that is the daybreak of spirituality. When a prophet comes, he unites the scattered, he removes animosities, he makes strangers as brothers and sisters. So, according to our belief, all the prophets are one.

These prophets have their peculiarities on the physical plane, they adopt different methods in producing the same effect, and the result is that every prophet gives a help to humanity in its march towards the spiritual. On the physical plane the prophets are men like ourselves, but on the spiritual plane they are very high. In fact, even on the physical plane their bodies are so fine and so vibrate on the spiritual plane that they can become a link between the spiritual world and the material world.

The fifth article of faith is the faith in the last day, or what we would call in the Western language the advent of the millennium, or the kingdom of God on earth. This is the last article of the faith of Islam. Now how this kingdom of God will be realized is given by the same poet in the form of a parable. The poet says that there were four men gathered together: one was a Greek, another was a Persian, a third man was a Turk, and the fourth was an Arab. Unto these four men some one gave a coin. The Arab rose and said that he would like to buy *ineb* with that coin. The Persian protested and said that he would like to buy *ozum* with it. The Turk said, No, I would like to buy *angoor* with that coin. The Greek, in turn, rose and protested, and said that he should buy *staphile* with it. Then, the poet says, a man comes who knows all these four languages, and takes the coin from their hand and buys a basket of grapes and places it before them, and they are satisfied. So all these differences that exist in this world will continue, but, when the kingdom of God will be realized, it will be realized in this way, that the misunderstandings will be removed, and we will find that we are one, brothers and sisters.

Now you may always have heard that Islam is synonymous with warfare, but that is not the tenet of the Prophet. It is a hard place only to defend one's self; and so you will find among all the followers of religion that people have deviated from the right faith, even so did

the followers of the Prophet. For their transgressions you cannot blame their religion.

There are other points which are also brought against the teachings of the Prophet. For example, they say that Islam puts a premium upon polygamy. But, if the scholars were to be set to study the writings of the Prophet, they would realize that Islam teaches monogamy. A reformer tries to reform a custom gradually, and he appeals to human conscience. There is a tradition of the Prophet in which the Prophet says that a man having two wives, if he were to incline to one of them more than the other, he will rise on the day of judgment with half of his body lifeless. That means that one should have one wife. By treating these points, I wanted to call to your attention that we have lived in separation for centuries, but, as the kingdom of God is drawing near and is about to be established, we will see that these differences will disappear and we will all become as brothers and sisters.

Judge MORTON.—I cannot suffer this meeting to close without expressing to the gentlemen to whom we have listened our grateful appreciation of their interesting and eloquent addresses, nor without expressing the wish that, as they travel homeward, a kind Providence will attend them and bring them in safety to their journey's end.

We will close the service by singing the Hymn "Forward into Light."

After the singing of the hymn, the benediction was pronounced by Rev. Thomas Van Ness, minister of the Second Church, as follows:—

Now may the spirit of love, the spirit of truth, the Eternal Spirit of God, be and abide with us all and speak to our hearts of His everlasting peace. Amen.

DEPARTMENT OF WOMAN'S WORK.

Held under the auspices of the National Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women, at Channing and Ford Halls, Wednesday, September 25, at 3.30 P.M.

As at other meetings of the week, the attendance at this session was overwhelming, and Channing Hall, advertised as the place of meeting, could only accommodate an overflow, the main audience being transferred to a larger hall in the vicinity. Special seats were held for foreign guests, and every foot of standing room was eagerly sought by Alliance members. The speakers were chiefly the women who had come as delegates from other countries. Miss Emma C. Low, president of the National Alliance, presided, and with her on the platform were grouped the venerable Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, of Boston, Mrs. Judith W. Andrews, the first president of the Alliance, Mrs. S. E. Hooper, so long the stanch bulwark of this society, Miss Lilian F. Clarke, a well-known power in the Post-office Mission, Lady Bowring, of Liverpool, England, Miss Mary E. Richmond from Wellington, New Zealand, Miss D. Van Eck, of Holland, Rev. Miss Gertrude von Petzold, of Leicester, our only woman minister in England, and officers of the Alliance. In her opening remarks Miss Low outlined and explained the work of the Alliance, its beginnings and its accomplishments, and the special functions of the different departments. Emphasis was laid on what the Alliance had done for Unitarian women in strengthening their faith and in spreading a wider knowledge of it abroad. The work of the Alliance in the South was given a prominent place.

Miss Van Eck, of Holland, was then introduced.

THE RELIGIOUS WORK OF LIBERAL DUTCH WOMEN, HOLLAND.

BY MISS DAATJE VAN ECK, LEIDEN.

The Dutch Postal Mission Committee and the Sunday-school (*van den Nederlandsche Protestantenvond*), our league of Liberals, whom I have the honor to represent, send you their greetings. We were very much pleased indeed to receive your invitation, and I hope our work will profit a great deal by my visit to America.

The blessing to feel that we are one, notwithstanding the difference in character, talents, and country, the delight to feel that we are all of one family,—to look into your friendly faces and hear your generous welcome,—fills my heart with joy.

I suppose it will interest you to hear something of the religious work of liberal women in Holland, so I wish to divide my subject into three parts,—Sunday school, women teachers of religion, and Postal Mission work. I will mention only our social religious district nursing and Toynbee work, our institutions for fallen women and neglected children. Ladies are not often found in committees, but you can find them everywhere at work for the little ones and the poor. The Dutch woman is a hard worker, convinced that the highest interest of the people proceed from the development of the religious life. Although we are a very critical people, our women are more religious than theological, and find their particular task in practical religious work.

Our Sunday-school is quite independent of the church, and unites the children of Remonstrant, Baptist, Lutheran, and Liberal Dutch Reformed parents, Sunday after Sunday. Our official head is the Protestantenvond Sunday-school Committee; its president is the chairman of the biennial meetings, and the secretary is always ready to help the lonely sisters. This committee manages the central library for teachers, and publishes a calendar and pictures which are distributed to the children. The first Dutch Sunday-

school was opened in 1805, but not until 1860 was the liberal Sunday-school established as it is at present. Here women take a foremost place, and religious instruction is given to 35,000 children, in 238 schools, by more than 1,000 teachers, mostly young ladies. In the villages the minister has often to conduct the Sunday-school with his wife and daughters, while in the towns it is generally in the hands of ladies only.

We hold our Sunday-schools in the school-houses, where we gather the children from seven to twelve years. We pray and sing with them, and tell them simple stories of children as they are or ought to be, lessons from nature, flowers, and animals, the sun and stars, fairy-tales and biographies, and last, but not least, the best stories of the Bible fit for children. Though we never fear truth, we must not forget that we have first to tell our children of God, our Father in heaven, before we teach them the mysteries of science or ethics.

The parents are regularly visited, and we have a festival at Christmas, with a tree or stereopticon.

Every week or fortnight we have our Sunday-school teachers' meeting, one of the teachers writes on the subject for the next Sunday, and afterward we have a discussion. We work very methodically, using a list of subjects which forms a course of six years' work. In Leyden, where I am the president, we have 20 to 25 teachers and about 500 children. We have libraries for pupils, and our special Sunday-school holiday home for weak children.

In our government schools no Scripture lesson is taught, as parents wish to be free. Many a mother, without forgetting the happy exceptions, does not know how to talk to her little ones about the best and highest. If you have some gift of telling, if you love little children, if you feel with all your heart that the gospel of love and faith is the best thing in the whole world you can give them, then you will be able to overcome the difficulties, which are, above all, not to be uninteresting and not to spoil young, tender hearts.

God forgive us our trespasses! Are not the influences in the first years of our life the strongest of all? After the children leave the Sunday-school at twelve years, they receive religious instruction from the minister until they are eighteen or nineteen years of age, when they are confirmed.

Although we have no women ministers, there are a few women studying theology at our universities, but they are not admitted as a minister in any church in Holland except in the Baptizer community (Mennonites). This exclusion is, however, but a question of time. There are, however, women teachers who give religious lessons to children and young people over twelve years, sometimes to assist the minister and sometimes independently appointed by the *Protestantenbond*. Our mission house in Leyden was erected by Miss Emilie Knappert, a lady teacher who ranks first among Unitarian women workers. The principal here is Miss Snellen, another teacher who gives all her time and strength to this work. Miss Mossel, of Amsterdam, gives us our excellent Sunday-school periodical, *Vrij en Vroom*. The teachers have to pass an examination by the *Protestantenbond*. They have to learn two foreign languages, French and English or German, knowledge of the Bible, history of Christianity in Holland, our creed, and ethics and philosophy. It is paid service, which is not the case with Postal Mission and Sunday-school work. Most of our Unitarians still belong to the Dutch Reformed Church; and, as the majority in this church is orthodox, we are continually engaged in a terribly bitter struggle. We ladies look after the children and visit the families, but the teachers also do the work of the minister in orthodox communities and in lonely places. They are allowed to preach to children and young people, and also in the hall of the *Protestantenbond* and in Rev. Mr. Hugenholtz's Free Congregation.

We in Leyden owe much to Professor Oort. I have preached my sermons all over the country, and given evening lectures in the interest of religion and peace, on the "Postal Mission," "Education and Peace," "War is against our Christian Principles."

Our Postal Mission work came to us straight from our English friends, and to them from Miss Sally Ellis, our mutual foremother. God bless her! You see we are all of one family. We appreciate very much the gift Mr. Wendte sent us last year, by which we saw that you acknowledge your grandchild. There were many among us who doubted the wisdom of Postal Mission work among our people, as the Dutch are rather reserved. However, in October, 1895, we had a meeting in Leyden, and the work was created, the child was born. Three ladies, myself included, adopted the child.

We always called our work our daughter,—not a bad name at all, because it expresses very well its relation to our lives. Those first months when we started the enterprise I look back upon with delight.

Does it interest you to know our method of work? We advertise in different papers: "What Free Christians believe. Whoever wishes to read about this can apply to one of the following addresses," etc. How delighted we were at the first requests! How eagerly the letters were read and studied! We looked forward to every post. We did not wait till we were asked, "How many?" but from the opposite side of the canal the number was called out. The letters came in great numbers,—five, ten, twenty every week. We were very glad; but it was almost too much for the inexperienced foster-mothers, and, however great their joy, they could not help complaining of the prosperous growth of their daughter, as in August one complains of the warmth of the sun, however dearly beloved. We could hardly keep pace with her, and she outgrew all her clothes; that is to say, there were not books enough to meet the demand. Happily, the *Protestantenbond* supplied our wants, and in two years the workers had increased to six, two men and four women. Our work is not divided into districts, but people wishing our literature can apply to the nearest worker at Leyden or Amsterdam or in any other part of the country. The books and pamphlets are sent by parcel post and may be kept one month, when they are returned and sent out again. Our library contains over 700 books.

Religious books and sermons are most desired, and I send out over 1,000 of them yearly. The Postal Mission Committee has despatched over 35,000 books and pamphlets, which means 11,664 parcels of literature. Our books find their way all over our country and into Belgium and to America.

In 1901 the London Central Postal Mission Committee sent us a cordial invitation to attend the Mission meeting connected with the First International Congress. I returned to my own country and my work, feeling myself a part, though a very small one, of the great world work for religion, for liberty, and for peace. I have asked myself, with much earnestness, What is wanted to keep our work up to the high level on which it stands? I am convinced that we who are in this service must live a true, full, deep life, concerned in all the religious, ethical, and social questions that move society.

I know by experience how much our readers appreciate and desire our own strong convictions, expressed with a warm sympathy for their struggles and failings. What we wish is to be a help in forming character. This means that our aim is not, and never should be, to make Unitarians, but to inspire those who appeal to us with a living faith and a sound conviction. We feel the greatness of our task and our own feebleness to meet it. But we cannot help doing what we can in simplicity and faith, ever striving for the blessing which comes from working with others for the things eternal. Conscious of the greatness and holiness of our task, let us take the shoes from off our feet, knowing that we stand on holy ground. We are dealing with the inner life, the soul of man, which is the holy of holies; and, because of this, we will never, never submit to sectarianism, but, as God gives us strength and wisdom, we will ever stand for freedom in religion. And may He bless us!

Mrs. R. H. Davis, National Corresponding Secretary of the Women's National Alliance, being asked to outline its work in the Post-office Mission, explained how the foundation was laid by Miss Sally Ellis in Cincinnati. She was then a parishioner of Rev. C. W. Wendte, and began by answering letters sent to him. Mrs. Davis also paid a tribute to Mrs. Brooke Herford, one of the early workers in this field. Last year the national committee received a report of 265,560 tracts sent out.

Rev. Miss Gertrude von Petzold, pastor of the Free Christian (Unitarian) Church of Leicester, England, followed with an able and earnest address on "The Service of Woman in the Early Christian Church." After an introduction the speaker dwelt first upon the enfranchisement of woman, as a result of the Christian religion. A comprehensive summary was made of the rôle of woman in the ancient societies of Greece and Rome and Judea. St. Paul's rabbinical views were discussed at some length, and contrasted with the gentle sympathy, tender reverence, and perfect naturalness and simplicity of his Master, Jesus Christ. The women of the New Testament were pictured, especially Mary, "last at the cross and first at the grave." The religious functions performed by the women in the apostolic and post-apostolic times were described, with the later restrictions upon their activity which were thought necessary.

The stronger the Christian priesthood developed, the more jealous they were of the influence and work of woman in the Church. The early Church put women on the same spiritual level with men, but asceticism and priestcraft reduced them to a quasi-bondage, silenced their prophecy, and decried their service. Let the Church of the twentieth century return to them their right to prophesy and minister. The speaker concluded with an earnest plea for woman in the ministry.

Lady Bowring from England was then introduced by Miss Low, and briefly responded with a message of warm affection from our "English cousins" across the sea and a word of appreciation of the remarkable courtesies extended the visiting delegates.

Lady Bowring was followed by Miss Mary E. Richmond of New Zealand. Miss Richmond expressed her astonishment at seeing so many Unitarian women together. She then gave a description of the two youthful Unitarian churches in Wellington and Auckland and the present outlook. "A free religion fits a free people." "The world," said Miss Richmond, "will be better when women know what they want and ask for it plainly." The meeting was closed by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the audience rising in her honor. Mrs. Howe likened the conference to the great concourse at the building of the Temple of Babel, and used this effective figure in hoping that the great tower of liberal thought now building by the different nations would be one of strength and purpose.

At the close of the meeting, tea was served.

The overflow meeting in Channing Hall was presided over by Miss Caroline S. Atherton, and addressed by Miss Von Petzold, Miss Van Eck, and others.

DEPARTMENT OF NEW AMERICANS.

THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

Held in Ford Hall, Tuesday afternoon, Sept. 24, 1907, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., presiding.

Dr. HALE.—I have had the great pleasure and the great honor of being asked to preside at this meeting. This is counted by me by far the most important gathering of the week. It is the one gathering which prophesies that we can do something and that we know that we can do something, and that we are not satisfied by good talk or good seed. That I take to be the motto of free and liberal religion.

I had hoped that the ladies and gentlemen from abroad who have come here would interest themselves, and I know they will largely, in the conditions of their own countrymen who have already come here. The questions that they will want to ask are such questions as can hardly be put in a public meeting. I have therefore requested my friends at the different North End missions to prepare a little statement of a few points of interest in the lives of new Americans which can be studied within twenty miles of the city of Boston. I have copies of this little leaflet here. They are not for circulation among Americans born, who know all about these things: they are for circulation among Italians and Bohemians and Germans and everybody else who does not know the difference between Blackstone Street and Park Street.

The great question that arises before us here is, as we go down to the pier and see these people land, Who is going to take care of them? Well, you say, the Church of Christ is going to take care of them; and that is true. I am not going to say anything satirical. I am not going to say anything bitter. It is perfectly true that the Christianity of this land takes care of them. We have established

here the Young Travellers' Aid Society, which maintains two or three missionaries at the different piers for the purpose of meeting the women who may arrive and may be exposed to temptations from the agents of evil whom they encounter. The Young Women's Christian Association has a messenger doing the same work in the same way for the women, and one of the ladies who represents that Association is present here, and will be glad after the meeting to enter into conversation with anybody who cares for that.

I will say that our friends the Presbyterians and our friends the Baptists have awakened to this necessity, and they are working their home missionaries as well as they can in the different lines. I had the honor to be mixed up myself in a way which gratifies me extremely with the little Waldensian Church. I wrote a book once which brought in some Waldensians, and they have done me the favor to translate that book into the Italian language, and it has circulated in that country. I am, I might say, a sort of bishop to the Waldensians in America. When I tell you that there are sixteen churches in the valleys of the Alps which take the name of Waldo, the founder of the body of Waldenses, that those sixteen churches maintain between two hundred and three hundred missions in different parts of the world, that they maintain a series of schools in Italy so good, so well conducted, that people send their children to them when they will not send them to the government schools, I give some idea, which I wish the American churches might take to heart and imitate, of what is possible for a church which is wide-awake and in earnest.

Our work, as I have said, is on this side, and I cannot but hope that before we adjourn we may have established those personal relations between people here who are interested in the immigrants from abroad and our friends on the other side of the water. We will tell you what we want of them, and they shall tell us what they want of us. You can hear me any day, but you cannot hear Mr. Jozan any day; and he has arrived now, and I am going to ask him to speak to you on any subject that he likes, so it has a connection with the welfare of these people who come to us from abroad. Mr. Jozan is kind enough to speak in English.

REV. N. JOZAN, OF BUDAPEST.

I speak on a subject that is very near and dear to our hearts. As far as we are Christians, as far as we are members of the Christian family of men, we cannot help being interested in the goings and doings of those people who belong to our own community. I might just tell you, in the way of statistics, that in the last twenty or thirty years there have come into America about two millions of Hungarian emigrants. I suppose that most of them have been actuated by a desire to better their own condition, to get a means of living, to get better pay for the work they do under circumstances that are sometimes unusual, working deep down in the mines, working in factories, and thereby very often exposing their lives to imminent danger. There are about two million Hungarians already settled in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, and Ohio and throughout the whole land. There may be some farmers among them as well. And I feel greatly indebted to you, and especially to the Unitarian Association, for this opportunity. I shall have, after this conference is over, a special commission to visit some of these colonies, and to get them into touch with the Association, at least with the local minister, and find a way of bringing them into my own community,—that is, those who are Unitarians in faith,—and see whether they are happy in their settlement in America, and if they have come to stop here for good. And the best advice that I will give them will certainly be that, if they once make up their minds to look for better conditions than they can get at home in their native land, the best plan to adopt for them would be to stay here and naturalize themselves on this soil which is the embodiment of freedom, of liberty, of truth, and that native power in man that is upheld by faith, hope and love.

I might admit that some of our people come over here only—I would not say merely—for gain, but that if they want to clear off their debts, or if they want to buy a few acres of land at home, they find it their best plan to come over to America and earn it. Some of them do that. I do not think it is quite to the purpose, and it is far from the principles that we hold and cherish in our hearts. I might tell you that the Unitarian colonists have not been cared for up to this time, because there are not many of them and they are so

far scattered. There are about six hundred souls in the districts that I mentioned before, and I suppose there would be members of their families joining them, so there would be about one thousand Unitarian Hungarians settled in the United States. But there are hundreds of thousands belonging to other religious bodies, and these are, I am aware, well cared for, inasmuch as the Calvinist churches have had settled congregations and pastors to administer to their needs from the beginning. These Calvinist churches and Lutheran churches have had the pleasure of enjoying the help and support of the Presbyterian Board, which is a factor in this country. Latterly, I am told, some of the congregations that have enjoyed so far the help and support of the Presbyterian Board have formed themselves as a separate Hungarian district under home management, and I know that there is a great contention arising owing to this fact. But for my own part—I cannot say that I have much experience on this subject, because I am just beginning to find my way to our people—it seems to me that, if we could get the American Unitarian Association, and the sympathy of your religious liberals directed towards these new Americans, as you call them, it would be indeed the prayer and aspiration of my heart, and the hearts of all my countrymen, to see them happy and well situated in this land of liberty, and to see that their religious needs are cared for, and that their social standing is not lowered, but lifted up to the high standards after which, as Americans, you aspire.

Dr. HALE.—The public by and large knows practically nothing about immigration. Many a man lives day after day without knowing how much the population of the country is enlarged. The figures of the statistics show that in the year 1906 1,300,000 persons arrived here from Europe. They show at the same time that 400,000 persons of European birth went back from America to Europe. That brings up a very curious question, why they came and why they went back; and that is one of the questions which I cannot help hoping we may be helped in solving by the presence of friends who are with us to-day. I am going to ask Mr. André, of Florence, one of our Italian friends, to address us on this subject.

(Before Mr. André began speaking, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe came upon the platform and was received with applause.)

Dr. HALE.—I do not need to introduce Mrs. Howe to any audience in Boston, or to any audience who are met in aid of any people who are seeking for liberty. [Applause.]

REV. L. E. TONY ANDRÉ, D.D., OF FLORENCE, ITALY.

This section of the Liberal Congress puts itself the question, how to render aid to the emigrants of European origin who have lately settled in the United States of America.

The majority of the emigrants whom you now receive in your country are of Italian origin, and principally from the south of Italy.

What is lacking to these Italians in order to put themselves on your level? When we shall have answered this question, it will be easier to render aid to them.

Their greatest need, in the first place, is sufficient instruction. On the boat which I took to come to New York were numerous emigrants who embarked at Naples, and I saw one of them who did not know how to sign the custom-house declaration which your authorities demand of passengers. All that he knew how to do was to make a cross. Many others were doubtless in a similar condition.

Not that the Italians of the south are ignorant by nature: they are, on the contrary, susceptible of learning quickly and well. I should compare them to a virgin forest: the soil is fertile, but it must be enriched. In Italy, especially in the southern districts, the schools and teachers are wanting. What wonder that many of the young men can neither read nor write! The military service supplies in part this want of instruction. The recruits who cannot read or write receive lessons; but the women and the young men of less than twenty-one years of age are not reached by this system.

The first thing to do, then, is to instruct the emigrants. Their ignorance exposes them to be the victims of certain of their compatriots who win their confidence and shamefully abuse it. My attention has been called among others to an abuse which has for emigrants bad consequences. Unscrupulous compatriots who pose as small bankers receive the savings of the workingmen and either use them up or lose them, or carry them off. It may be said, in passing, that it would be an excellent step to establish Italian savings-banks; that is to say, banks in which the Italian language is spoken.

This is not all. Not only are the Italian emigrants who come among you lacking in instruction, but they have need of completing their education. Accustomed at home to submit themselves, to be guided (for Catholic education is characterized by submission and not by individual initiative), when they arrive among you, where all citizens are accustomed to control and guide themselves in a spirit of practical liberty and out of respect for the law, they are bewildered and act as if lost. They are like young runaway colts, and it happens that, on the one hand, they abuse the liberty which they find, making bad use of it, and, on the other hand, that they allow themselves to be directed by unscrupulous persons, particularly by politicians. The women, above all, need to learn to use the privileges accorded to their sex in America,—privileges which do not exist in Europe, especially not in Italy, where the woman is dependent upon the man.

This work of education cannot be done in a day. How undertake it? It is not for me to advise you. Better than I you know what can be done in this cause. The Italian is not a difficult subject, and you will find in him a thankful one. He adapts himself readily to circumstances and to the new surroundings in which he is called to live. Then he has good qualities: he is a workman, he is active, he is sober, he is grateful. He does not resemble certain children whom I have known, who are overwhelmed with kindnesses and never return thanks. The Italian has an open heart, and, if one does him a kindness, he knows how to see it and recognize it. Oh, I know, he is reproached for making use too readily of the knife. It is a relic of ancient custom. Formerly it was not easy to obtain justice in Italy, and every one was compelled to execute it for himself. But little by little the use of the knife is tending to disappear, and the emigrants who come among you will free themselves from it still more quickly. It is sufficient that they be convinced of the incorruptibility and fairness of the judges and of the support of good laws.

But our International Congress is religious, and is more concerned with the religious question. The liberals who are concerned for the emigrant wish not only to aid them materially, but also spiritually, for they understand that there cannot be true happiness for man without worship and without religious knowledge.

On this side the task is great and, I believe, difficult. The Italian proletariat is ill-prepared for religious liberalism. For a long time

it has been under the domination of the priest. It does not search for religious truth: it contents itself with accepting the catechism which has been taught it, and which often it does not understand. Its religion is made up of form, and, when it has fulfilled the form prescribed by the Church, it believes itself in harmony with heaven. Permit me, in this connection, to tell you a story.

A Calabrian brigand, having learned that a rich traveller would pass by a solitary road, resolved to attack and rob him; but as in this attack he feared that he might be killed, and not wishing to go to hell or to purgatory, he went to the curé of a neighboring village, placed a knife at his throat, and compelled him to give him a plenary absolution for his past sins, as well as those which he might yet commit in attacking a traveller. Now it happened that the police captured the brigand at the moment when he attempted to assassinate the traveller. Condemned by human justice, he protested. The thing appeared incomprehensible to him from the moment that he had in his pocket an anticipatory absolution, and believed that he was in harmony with heaven!

I repeat, with men so ill prepared the task is not easy, and all the more that as soon as they have disembarked the emigrants are drawn into the Catholic churches existing in the United States, and, consequently, kept in the current of ideas in which they have lived.

A good thing to undertake to enlighten these men would be, I think, to give them to read the New Testament. There exists an excellent Italian translation of the Gospels and of the Acts, published in Italy by the Catholics with the consent of the ecclesiastical authority. This could be distributed to them. If they have not a general knowledge of the gospel history, they will not understand the Liberal tracts which it will next be necessary to distribute to them.

If the Italians are ill prepared to receive Liberal Protestantism, I believe, nevertheless, that it is this phase of religious thought which they will understand the more quickly and which they will accept the most willingly. Many immigrants are anti-clerical, detesting the priest and rejecting religion because a militant socialism has prompted them to fear and detest authority. The Religious Liberalism which is made of individual respect and of sincerity, as well as of truth, cannot but present to them religious thought in a friendly aspect.

I have noted some points of the problem. It is not for me to give

their solutions. Perhaps you have already undertaken all that I have suggested. Your good works are so numerous that I have been astonished by them. Your charity has known how to penetrate everywhere and to do good to the emigrants. You have only to continue in the way which you have already begun.

Dr. HALE.—I am sure that you have gained new sympathy for the difficulties of these poor Italians when they are brought before a court or any such matter.

I will say something now as to the extreme difficulty of the problem in hand. Up to this time the people who met our friends at the gates have been rather sporadic. The only Christian body, from the pope of Rome down to the Salvation Army, which has a permanent mission are our friends of the Young Women's Christian Association, who are trying to take care of girls, and the Mormon Church. The Mormon Church, whenever I have been at a landing, had its man there in a long linen duster—you know him—to receive the Mormons. The other people who meet them are people who come because they—well, they have an axe to grind, and the person who arrives may be sent to some part of the country for which he or she is the least suited. A Sicilian orange girl may be sent to cut ice in Minnesota and a Norwegian with a ski on his back may be sent to Florida to pick oranges. There is nothing to prevent that: that is occurring all the time. Under the new administration which has been determined upon at Washington, agents are to be stationed at every one of the large ports who are in communication through Mr. Powderly's office with the governors of the forty-five States, with the different labor bureaus of those States, and with the farmers and planters and other such people. A sufficient force of agents is to be at each landing-place to meet the man at the very beginning, and, before he gets switched off, send him to some place for which he is suited, the great effort being that the immigrants shall not be clustered together in cities, as they are now far too much, but that each one of the forty-five States may have the advantage of this wave of human life which comes in upon us. I doubt if it is generally known in such an audience as this how few drops of the wave of immigration really strike west of the Mississippi River, and the effort which is to be made is in that direction. Persons who

are sincerely interested in the subject may write to Washington to the Department of the Interior for the last reports of Mr. Sargent and our friend Mr. Billings.

Mr. Holden is so kind as to say that he will himself describe the position of the thousand Italians in whom he is personally interested in the town of Milford in New Hampshire, and I have asked him to take a few minutes for that purpose.

REV. FRANCIS WILDER HOLDEN.

I find myself here to tell something of what I know, and perhaps more that I know just a little about. The town of Milford, N.H., has somewhere in the vicinity of one thousand Italians. Most of these might be called Italians from Northern Italy. There are a few from Southern Italy, and they have nothing whatever to do with each other. The northern Italian calls the southern Italian a dago, does not speak of him in any better terms than some of us have been accustomed to speak of those who are willing to come and dig our ditches and lay pipes for our sewers and our water. Nevertheless, we have those two classes. The northern Italian is one that has struck for liberty. The southern Italian does not care so much for liberty: he does not care so much to educate his children. I have not come in contact very much with the southern Italians, but I have come in contact with some of the northern Italians. I want to tell you my introduction to those people, which was somewhat picturesque. One of my American people died. He was a stone-cutter. We have many stone-cutters in Milford. The stone-cutters' union is very strong. This American citizen had no good place from which a burial service could be conducted, and the undertaker came to me, and asked if I would conduct the service and where it could be held. I said, "I will conduct the service, and you may have it in the Unitarian church." The hour was set for Sunday afternoon. I walked down toward the church, and I heard music. Soon I saw a large body of men, two hundred and fifty or more, marching along the street, led by the best band in New Hampshire, the Italian band of Milford. They led that body of people to the church, where they took their seats, and I conducted the burial services and laid away one of their fellow stone-cutters. From that day to this, whenever I meet those people

or wherever I meet them, though I cannot talk with the Italians, they always lift their hats and bow,—a peculiar recognition.

Now, if Dr. Hale should come there to speak and it should be announced that he would conduct a religious service in the Unitarian church or in any church, I do not believe one of those Italians would be there. I will tell you why. Their thought of the Church is of some institution that takes away their freedom. The northern Italian has struck for freedom, and nothing else will satisfy him.

Let me give you a little experience of the Baptist minister, who thought he would do something for those people. He appointed a religious service in the school-house in the section of the town where they live. They would not come into that building because it was a religious service. They gathered around the outside of the building, but from a religious standpoint he could do nothing whatever with them, simply because they had no use for religion if it was to destroy their freedom.

Now let me tell you of another instance, an experience of this same minister. There was a death in one of these families. They had absolutely rejected the Catholic Church. They are Catholics. The women do not know what to do unless they can have some form of Catholicism or of the church where they can see it. They called upon the Baptist minister to bury one of their children. And, as he told me that experience, conducting a Protestant service under Catholic conditions, as he entered the room where the child lay, he found that candles were burning at the head and the foot of the casket. They knew nothing but their own form of religion. But their husbands, the men who had struck for liberty, would not permit or would not ask the priest to come to them. The Episcopal clergyman is called upon more often than any other to conduct these services, probably because the form is more nearly what they have been accustomed to.

I believe to-day that, if we had a Unitarian minister who could come to Milford and speak to them in the Italian language, telling them of our faith, that an Italian church could be established there. We cannot bring them into one of our churches. They will not probably affiliate with us in that way: they do not want to. They would rather be by themselves, they would rather have their own part of the town; but they are good citizens. Those Italians from North-

ern Italy are becoming American citizens just as soon as it is possible for them. Their children are in the public schools: they are in the high school. Recently I attended one of the school exercises in which an Italian took part in speaking, and his selection was a surprise to me, for he brought in the thought that Christ was the son of Joseph. So that idea appealed to them in some way.

You want to know if those Italians are capable of taking care of themselves. Mr. Chairman, they are perfectly able. The Italians in that town are business men. And, when I say "business men," I mean that they are able to set another fellow to work at a profit. That is what many of us cannot do. The Italians there are owners of quarries; they are owners of stone sheds. They do something else besides selling peanuts: they are owners of business plants, and are doing good work. They want their children educated. And, when they know of a religion that will give them larger liberty, they will be reckoned among those who are religious, who have faith in God and man. That is what I say of the Italians in the town where I am. Give us a Unitarian who can teach them, speak to them in the Italian language, and they will listen.

Dr. HALE.—We are so fortunate that I am able to introduce to you one of the most distinguished representatives of the scholars of the city of Prague, Professor Masaryk from that city. We have asked him to speak to us of the Slavonian-Bohemian representations in America, the number of whose representatives is much larger than this audience supposes.

PROFESSOR T. G. MASARYK, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE.

I am to speak of the Slavonians, of whom there are about 4,000,000 living in your country. I am to speak more especially of the Bohemians. I have no right to speak in their name. I will communicate some observations I made in this country recently, and twice before when I was here. I would not dare to discuss the whole problem of immigration. I will give you just a few of my own observations.

I remember that, when I first came to America, on the boat I saw a little girl. She had her address checked on her breast. She

could not speak with anybody,—not English, of course. I had the impression of a living box or trunk being checked and sent to America. That is the first impression I had of the immigration problem. And afterwards, when I came here, for instance, to Pittsburg or Allegheny, and observed the life of the miners, I saw again living trunks and boxes which are used for the industry of your great country. A man cannot speak with his fellow-citizens; he cannot speak with his own children. It is touching to see how among our Slavonians and Bohemians very often the family is broken up simply because nobody is left to take care of the children. The father and mother are in the mines: the children live on the street, pick up the English language, forget their own. The father and mother cannot speak English, and so they cannot converse, father and child. I saw this very often, not only in Pittsburg, but in New York, Chicago, everywhere. And so I see that the problem is, of course, that the people coming here should as soon as possible learn English. But that is not enough, to know English, even if they speak it very well. It is not a question of language only, but of citizenship communion, of spiritual communion. For these people learn English as they can,—they learn it in the public schools, they pick it up on the streets, and so on; but they are not citizens, they are not Americans, and they cannot be, because they are out of spiritual and civic communion with you. They do not communicate, and they cannot. I often am told by Americans, "There is a kind of clan instinct among these Slavonians: they gather where they will not be assimilated with us." Of course, if you would say assimilation only by language, that is not difficult. What I mean is the assimilation of culture and of spiritual life, and that is wanting. I often hear from clergymen and men who care for religion, "Your Bohemians are free thinkers; they are hostile to religion; they are atheists." It is true that very many of them are free thinkers, and perhaps atheists,—I cannot tell,—but I know these free thinkers and atheists long for spiritual life. They have nobody to give it to them excepting the Roman Church. Catholicism is spreading, of course, here in the United States; and it soon will be, and I suppose it is already, a great problem of this country. The Roman Church meets these people. A Bohemian and a Slavonian will be more carefully cared for than he is in his own country. But there is a minority of the

people, perhaps half of them, who dislike every sort of ecclesiastical and religious life, simply because in Austria, where they come from, they know only the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of the State, and they hate the State Church. If you would meet them on their own ground and of course in their own language, you will see that these "atheists" will be very good—I won't say Christians, but religious men; and I am sure, if Jesus were to come again, he would go to these atheists, to these people who do not care anything for religion because they are cast out of spiritual communion, and because they have no opportunity of hearing and seeing what true religion is.

And so I wish that they could meet you, and that you would meet them. I think they are ripe for this meeting. I came here Sunday, and was engaged for the meetings here, but was invited by my countrymen to speak. Before I came, they wrote me to speak on the political and social situation of Bohemia and of Austria. When I came to speak to them, I saw that they would like better to hear something of—as they styled it—philosophy and religion. And these simple workingmen and atheists desired that I would speak on the aim of life and on the problems of religion and philosophy. They could not express clearly what they wanted, but I saw it was their hunger and thirst for spiritual life. That is my impression, and, as I would say once more, I only wish the Unitarians could and would meet these my poor, unfortunate people.

Dr. HALE.—It is not the first time in history that Christendom has needed a voice from Bohemia to awake it from the dead, and I dare say we may get such a summons again and again and again.

As we have been speaking of Slavonians, let me tell a single point which happened here a few years ago, when we had our first importation of Russian Jews, the first time any had landed in Boston. From the Hebrew Charitable Society we got hints of the first value as to the care of these poor people who had been kicked out of Russia. I think there arrived 40,000 Russian Jews in Boston, where we were not used to them, did not understand them, and the very skilful arrangements of the Hebrew societies took care of them. A year later, in speaking at a large public meeting,—I asked the gentlemen of the press to make note of what I said,—I said that I did not believe that

in that one year one of those Russian Jews had been known in any poorhouse or house of correction or other place of detention in Massachusetts, and that I would be obliged to any person who would give me the name of any such individual. Again and again I repeated that challenge in public, and we did not hear of a single person from that immigration who in a year's time had been any weight on the Commonwealth of Massachusetts or on the town. I repeat that challenge now, and will say that we have been very largely indebted to our friends from Russia for the persons whom they have sent here. The children, as our children know, are taking their places in the public schools with those who study hardest and achieve the most, and I do not want any person to think we are neglecting these problems. I have the pleasure of introducing to you now one who comes to us from Minnesota, and is the president of the Norwegian Unitarian Association, Rev. Mr. Norman.

REV. AMADEUS HALVDON NORMAN, OF HANSKA, MINN.

You are trying an experiment, friends, which has never been tried since history began. Instead of keeping this beautiful continent, this almost paradise-like district, to yourselves and shutting your gates to suffering humanity outside, you have most magnanimously opened the gates and permitted the oppressed poor from all lands, belonging to all peoples, to come to your shores and make their homes among you. A million of such are landing on your shores every year and being distributed through the various parts of this great land. It is the most wonderful experiment that has ever been undertaken. And you need all the acquired culture, all the acquired understanding of human nature, in order to solve the great and mighty problems that this opening of the gates will involve. The founders of this country were deep thinkers. They laid the foundations deep and strong for the mightiest people, I believe, that this world has ever seen. It has been fashionable in certain quarters during these last few years to belittle the work of these men, to belittle the maxims laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence. But, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, I believe that the substance of these maxims is everlastingly true, and that you and I, that all men are created to be free and independent sons

and daughters of the living God; that it is the duty of the strong to help the weak; that ultimately the salvation, the continuance of the strong himself, depends on his willingness to help his weaker and more unfortunate brothers. No work can be greater than this. No work is nobler, no work can be more important. And no people on this earth has yet entered into such ventures with the whole-heartedness that you friends of New England have done.

Our mission as Liberal Christians, I take it, is a twofold one. We are, in the first place, to try and do what we can to help to develop a better class of men and women, who will live better, purer, and nobler lives. We are, in the second place, to try to help to perfect the principles of true liberty by helping to develop a better class of citizenship. A few of us "New Americans" in the West have begun to think that, as we have left our political parties behind us on the other side of the ocean and are trying to find our ways into the political parties of our adopted Fatherland, so we will try to find our places as well as we can in the religious and moral forces of this country. We will try to merge as fast and as speedily as we can in all the forces that are working for the advancement of the highest and best life in this our adopted Fatherland. This work is greatly needed. In my State, Minnesota, for instance, we have 2,000 Lutheran churches. We are not without churches, but these churches are but a little removed from the old Catholicism. It would seem ill in me to stand here before you and talk to you about people who are not here to hear me, and consequently who are not in a position to answer me. But I will just illustrate the need of a sound view of life and of religion among our people by an illustration, and will let that speak for itself.

A year ago one of the greatest Lutheran denominations held its annual meeting in Duluth, Minn. A resolution was proposed to the convention, a convention of something like 2,000 representatives, deploring the loss to the denomination of two ministers during the past year, without stating the cause. Some independent minister in the audience inquired. He wanted to have them set forth in that resolution the reasons why the denominations deplored the loss of these two men, but that was squelched. Now what were the facts in this case? The facts were these: that one of these men, a very fine man, had graduated from their school, from their college

in the West, and after that he had sojourned in New England, had spent a year, I think, at Yale College, and had been somewhat tainted by the peculiar views that prevail at Yale,—not very serious, we would think, but for them it was very important indeed. This man was dismissed in disgrace from the denomination. The other man, also a minister, had left his family, his poor wife with several children, and gone where no people knew where he was, and had done other things that it would be a disgrace to mention in an audience like this. But these two men were placed in the same position from this ecclesiastical point of view.

Friends, there are many here to speak to you, and I know that my time will soon be up. But I want to say to you that you have undertaken a great work amongst the New Americans of the West, a very important work, both religiously and socially. It may have the greatest influence in moulding the future of that great and steadily growing region of our country. Of course, the results so far may seem to you very meagre, and they are meagre,—no one knows that better than myself; and I would wish very much to be able to be here to give you a much better report of my little stewardship. But you must remember, friends, that great thoughts are slow in fruition. It takes time for them to be rooted deeply. It is no easy task to win a considerable number of men and women from the old views and the old life to the new view and the new life that is dawning on us. And one of the greatest difficulties that we have to face is to find the right men to lead in this movement. The situation is very complicated and very difficult. I do not believe that any set of men since the early stages of the Reformation has ever had to face such problems as the modern man, and especially the modern minister, has to face. It is comparatively easy for a man to get his head out from the old dogmas, to be liberated from the old creeds, the old intellectual hindrances; but it is quite a different matter to become so thoroughly grounded in the ideals of the new life and the new thought as to be able to stand for it, and to speak to his men with power in life as well as in word. Here is our greatest difficulty. But with your great magnanimity, your great generosity in sustaining us and advising us in every possible way, I assure you that we will go forward step by step as earnestly, as sincerely, as we can, and give what we are, what we have, to advance

our beautiful, our deep, our broad common religion among our new countrymen in the Western States. I thank you.

Dr. HALE.—Since I came into the hall, I have been informed that we have here a gentleman who, I hope, will say a word to us upon the distribution of the great immigration. The great problem at this moment is that the stream of immigration may not be confined into five cities, but that it be scattered among the forty-five States. This gentleman I shall ask to speak. I do not know that he will, but I hope he will. After his address Mrs. Howe is so kind as to say that she will say something on the subject to which she has given her life. [Applause.] Is Senator Hinds, of Mississippi, still present? If so, I will ask him to come to the platform and say something to us about the necessities of the South and West in receiving their share of the great immigration. Senator Hinds represents Hinds County in the Senate of Mississippi.

SENATOR HINDS, OF MISSISSIPPI.

Mr. Chairman,—None of us can claim true Americanship unless we have Indian blood, and, your humble servant's father being a Moor and his mother part Indian, therefore I can claim upon this platform American blood. And under those auspices I am glad to have the chance to talk to this Liberal Congress. I was travelling in Japan when this movement held its first meeting in England. I am satisfied that under Unitarian auspices it will be a success, because I am glad to say upon this platform that not one of the Unitarian churches has followed the despoilers who drew the color line in religious bodies. And whenever they do, whenever any religious party or any State or government, will draw a line against its constituents, it is not worthy of the respect of the American people. I know that this movement is going to be a success, and I hope that it will take great hold in the Southland, because you may remember you have an American constituency in the Southland who in the next census will number nearly 15,000,000, whom you do not know of. You must not forget that these American-bred brown and yellow men were born among you of American ancestry for two hundred years back, and are to-day the best friend the white

man has. They guarded your sisters in the Southland when the men of the South were fighting to enslave them, and were always true. Do not follow the newspaper reports and magazine writers, and think that the negroes are all bad. You do not find an educated black man or a brown man, or a colored man with good education and good training, in any American house of correction. We want to get those people with us. They are part of you, and will be among you, and will help you in both war and peace, unless you disorganize them by your treatment. I am thankful to be among you, and I hope that at the next liberal meeting you hold you will have a delegation and a representation of the black, brown, and yellow people from all parts of the country.

Dr. HALE.—Now, as I said, I need never introduce Mrs. Howe to any audience in the civilized world.

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

I am just up from a residence of many weeks in the country, and came with some inconvenience and fatigue, but the attraction of this great meeting made it impossible for me to stay away, and I am very glad that I came here, for I feel so at home in it. I feel that it has the real atmosphere of a human family, and therefore we are all at home.

I have long wished that we might find a religious basis which should greatly extend the sympathy of the different Christian denominations. I must have a word about that, because it is a subject so near my heart. I do not suppose that we shall attain it in this convention or perhaps in some others, but it is a great object,—it is a great object. Just as all people are agreed that honesty is important and so many other things upon which there is no question, so I wish that it may be that there shall be no question among civilized peoples whether they are religious or not, because religion is a prime necessity of the human character.

I want to say a little word about the special subject of this meeting this afternoon. Quite a number of years ago I was one of a number of ladies who went all over the country every year, holding

a congress of women, at which we tried to present and discuss matters that seemed very important for human society everywhere. At one of these I tried very hard to have a thorough representation of the alien races in America. I found it very difficult to get any available knowledge about the subject. I wanted to find out how the Germans were living, how far they became a part of American society, how far they resisted and held back. I wanted to know the same thing about the Poles and Hungarians and about the Italians. Well, here in Boston we know a good deal about the Italians, because there have been various associations devised especially to aid the immigrants, and I was once an officer in one of these, but we were Protestants, and it seemed better to many to allow the Catholic Church to take care of these people. I was not consulted in this. I should not have been of this opinion, but the care of the immigrants passed into their hands. But I am very much interested and enlightened by what has been said here about the aptitude of these foreign races for a rational system of religion. Of course, our Catholic friends, who have many excellent points, too much insist that what is not Catholic is irreligious. I hope that a great many of them have learned quite the contrary from living among us, but that is a great difficulty in reaching the Latin populations. They are so possessed with this idea that, when they give up the Catholic Church, they think that they give up religion altogether. Now, if there is any religion that ought to help those people, it is the Unitarian religion. We are bound to do it. I am much interested to hear of Unitarian literature being published in Italian. I remember quite a while ago I was much surprised to find that to South America the Methodists send a great many zealous missionaries, who are taught to speak Spanish fluently. I think that we Unitarians also must go in for a gift of tongues: we must learn these different languages, and we must see that this good literature, this uplifting, convincing literature which recognizes the human values in all races, diverse, but sacred and deep and solid,—it is our business, I think, that this should be widely given and used. And particularly, seeing so many women here,—I am sure at least a score of women's clubs are represented here, I should advise them,—I used to call myself once a mother of clubs, but my family now is quite beyond my control,—I should recommend the study of this subject. It is

a very pressing need and deeply interesting, and I think the women's clubs could take it up to great advantage. [Applause.]

Dr. HALE.—I have been so fortunate as to secure to speak to us this evening Mr. Bloomfield, who is, I had almost said, the pope of the North End,—I don't know how he will like that. He will address you on the condition of affairs there.

MR. MEYER BLOOMFIELD, CIVIC SERVICE HOUSE, BOSTON.

In the name of my people, I must express a tribute of respect to Professor Masaryk, because to many of us who have followed Russian affairs closely his name stands out as one of the great moral leaders in that part of Europe at the present time. I should like in two minutes to dwell on two or three points very appropriate to a conference of this sort, which are the result of eighteen years of life on the East Side of New York and seven years in the North End of Boston. If this company here were the legislative body that Dr. Hale prays over during the winter in Washington, I think our first bill would be that no immigrant with children to bring up should be allowed to live in a city of over 10,000 population during at least the waiting period of naturalization. The most serious problem of a foreign quarter is the most serious problem of the whole city. The people come into an atmosphere of irreverence. The big city spells irreverence, and this is destructive of most of the traditions that the people of all nationalities bring with them,—traditions which no customs inspection or official inspection could possibly detect, yet the greatest moral wealth of the immigrant who comes to our shores. Now, therefore, all our efforts must be made in a sense as substitutes, as counter-irritants to this irreverence, and that is the explanation of a great deal of social work.

Let me point out this general truth,—as I think it is,—that no social work, no mission work, no effort at what we call betterment in a crowded quarter, is at all worth while unless it realizes that the economic daily deeds of the people are just as much a religious question as the catechism. We are shooting in the air unless we see the connection between tenement conditions and the spiritual life. And let us at once make up our minds that no fine church has any

right to exist in a big city, when human beings are forced to live in tenements. The great aim of all our effort is not to reform people as though they need us to reform them, but it is to make reformers of them, because they have the capacity for leadership, if we once stir them right.

The city of Boston, through certain consecrated men and women like Charles F. Dole, Miss Vida Scudder of Wellesley, and others, is about to publish through the Boston School Board a book which is now in press and which I wish to call to your attention. It will help us everywhere. It is called "A Civic Reader for the New American." The object of it is to replace the "See the Cat" book, with which we insult the intelligence of the immigrant in the night schools, with the language of the environment, with the language of civic duty. And to my mind it is just as sound pedagogy to teach the emigrant "See the ash-barrel" as it is "See the Constitution"—which even lawyers cannot understand. So this new book, I think, is a step in the right direction, and I was informed that a prominent association of this city would have it translated into Italian as a civic document. This book, through its chapters on the health laws and the streets and the back yards, will soon show the people of our crowded quarter that, if they only know their rights and insist upon them, the so-called slums, which are the result always of slum city governments, may disappear, and we shall be in a better condition when people of the crowded districts will co-operate with you, well wishers and friends of a better life.

Dr. HALE.—I think every one in the audience will see that, if we do not know about the relations which the native-born American of three centuries has to the new-comer of the last five years, it is our own fault, and not theirs. I visited myself one September day the Hancock-Cushman School at the North End, where there were 306 girls who had been admitted into that school within a month. Of the 306 girls there was not one who could speak the English language. They were all the population, observe, of that district who were entitled to come to school, and there was not in that district a girl between five and fifteen who could speak the English language when she came there. There was not in that school a Scotch girl nor a French girl nor an Irish girl nor a Welsh girl. I was told that

there was one French girl there,—yes, Marie was a French girl, and Marie was sent up to speak to me. It turned out that Marie came from Italy, and that her father had stopped in Paris for a year with his family, and that was the reason that a French girl was there.

But with the exception of that one “French girl” there was not in the school of 306 girls one person from the west of Europe. Italy was the first country. The next most largely represented was Russia, the next largest was Germany. There was a very respectable number of Arabs, a number of Syrians, whose native language was that of Jesus Christ; but there was only one girl from Western Europe. Now it is our business to teach those girls and their mothers and their fathers to become American citizens. I am disappointed that we have not here a gentleman from New York to tell us of the magnificent arrangements in the city of New York in this regard. It is the habit of New York,—I don’t believe there is a city in the world which has given more attention to such matters,—the gentleman who has charge of the evening lectures in New York arranges that every evening from the 1st of October to the 1st of June, from the Bronx on the north around to Staten Island and Brooklyn on the south, there shall be free lectures on the duties of American citizens on these very matters of which Mr. Bloomfield has been speaking to you. These lecture-rooms are crowded with the New Americans who want to learn their duties, and every step which we shall take here in Boston or in Eastern Massachusetts in that regard will be seconded and helped.

I think I will say that our meeting has come to an end, as far as the president is concerned. The longer you stop to talk with each other about the matter, the better; and, as I have said before, in the presence of Mr. Hubbard, of Miss Alice Higgins, and of other persons who know about it, you will have an opportunity to find out what you do not now know. I thank you for your attendance at the meeting.

The crowded assembly slowly dispersed.

**RECEPTION TO FOREIGN DELEGATES AT THE HOTEL
SOMERSET ON MONDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 23,
AT EIGHT O'CLOCK.**

The spacious and beautiful hall and anterooms of the Hotel Somerset were filled with a large company of foreign and American delegates on Monday evening. Only a stormy evening prevented a crowded attendance which would have been beyond the capacity of the hall and uncomfortable for those present. In view of this possibility an overflow reception at Channing Hall, in the Unitarian Building, had been somewhat hastily arranged for, which yet proved to be a most enjoyable occasion. Quite a large company attended this second reception, which, after a social hour, was called to order by Rev. L. H. Buckshorn, of Concord, N.H., and addressed by Sir William Bowring, Fred. Maddison, M.P., Rev. W. G. Tarrant, and others of England, and by Rev. Samuel M. Crothers, D.D., of Cambridge, while a male quartette inter punctuated the speaking with cheerful and melodious songs. Later refreshments were served.

In the mean time the larger gathering of delegates in Hotel Somerset spent a delightful hour in conversation and in listening to the music of the Bostonia Women's Orchestra, consisting of fourteen lady performers, under the leadership of Mrs. Belle Y. Renfrew, while the picturesque costumes of the Oriental delegates, and the toilettes of the ladies, relieved the sombre dress-coats and preacher's garb of the sterner sex. Governor Guild, of Massachusetts, President and Mrs. S. A. Eliot, gave an informal welcome to the new-comers, until at near nine o'clock those present were called to order by the ushers, who consisted of the following members of the Channing Club: Percy A. Atherton, J. Russell Abbott, A. L. Coburn, W. H. Coburn, Frank T. Fay, Parker B. Field, George B. Fox, Henry A. Gordon, Courtenay Guild, Walter M. Hatch, Henry F. Howe, Henry S. King, A. W. Moors, Henry C. Noble, Augustus S. Nye, Edward Orchard,

Charles O. Richardson, Everett W. Stone, Dr. E. C. Wylie, Arthur B. Porter, Walter H. Bowker, Frederick W. Porter. Mr. J. S. Beatley kindly took charge of the musical part of the program. The Chairman of the Local Committee and President of the Congress, Rev. S. A. Eliot, D.D., first took the word.

REV. SAMUEL A. ELIOT, D.D.

My Friends,—It is a great pleasure to me and to the lady I have the honor to love to greet you here to-night. But I shall not detain you with any speech. My text I can find in the Book of Ecclesiasticus: "When thou art chosen to be master of a feast, lift not thy voice up; be among them as one that knoweth and holdeth his tongue." [Laughter.]

I shall pause only to present to you one who can more adequately and effectively welcome you. We who are the fortunate dwellers in the oldest and most prosperous democracy in the New World honor the governor of this Commonwealth, with his force of character, his disinterested courage, his untiring, public-spirited zeal. And, when I have used those phrases, I have simply described a representative Unitarian ["Hear, hear," and applause], one of a long line of governors of Massachusetts who have owned their allegiance to spiritual freedom. I have the honor of presenting to you our beloved comrade and fellow-worker, Curtis Guild, Jr., Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. [Applause; "Hail to the Chief" played by the orchestra.]

CURTIS GUILD, JR., GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Such an introduction, so far beyond my deserts, leaves me almost in the position of the fortunate lover in Shakespeare's comedy, who, having attained his desire, was struck dumb. On being asked if he had no words in which he could express his happiness, he replied, "Silence is the perfectest herald of joy." [Laughter.]

But I have a duty to perform to-night,—a duty which is also a pleasure and a privilege,—of extending to this gathering from the four quarters of the earth for the uplift of religion and citizenship

and morality the heartiest welcome from the Governor of Massachusetts. And where, indeed, should such a gathering be more welcome than in the Commonwealth of Horace Mann, of Emerson, and of Channing? It has been our pleasure this year, the year of an American international exposition, to entertain in the Commonwealth many distinguished guests from many lands, and among our cosmopolitan people—for we are drawn from all the races—we trust that here in Massachusetts there is not one of you who will not feel that he is not in a foreign country, but thoroughly at home. [“Hear, hear!” applause.]

There can be nothing more promising of the fulfilment of the splendid prophecy of our British cousin across the sea, the great laureate, who spoke of “the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world,” than the constant repetition nowadays of these international conventions. And, surely, the day of that millennium has almost dawned, though Tennyson never lived to see it, when the nations of the earth that first began to gather together in a common cause beneath the red cross of mercy have learned to gather together under the white cross of universal peace. [“Hear, hear!” applause.] And in that spirit I trust you will regard yourselves at home, and accept a hearty welcome. I trust, too, that in these deliberations upon liberal religion we shall dwell not so much on the adjective, but on the noun; not so much on the liberality of our religion, but on our religion itself; not so much as to what a Unitarian does not believe, but more emphatically as to what a Unitarian does believe. [Applause.]

No nation from the beginning of the world has ever been successful, has ever achieved a noble end, which has cut loose its ties from religion. When the Greek tragedian put into the mouth of his actress, “By Zeus—if there is such a person,” the republic that Pericles had honored was ripe for its fall. When the Roman augurs smiled as they met each other across the altar, the republic was ready for its Cæsar. And, when the temples of religion gave way for the actress and the worship of the so-called Goddess of Reason, the thriving French republic, which had risen on the rights of man, became the red terror that was to threaten the peace of all the world. And so I trust that we shall emphasize more particularly the noun rather than the adjective.

It has been the fortune of Massachusetts in the past,—let us trust it may be her good fortune in the present,—and you know one good-natured English satirist has said of us Yankees that we never can make a speech without praising ourselves or our country [laughter],—it has been the good fortune of Massachusetts to furnish perhaps rather more than her share to the literary and educational side of the development of the great American republic. It was my good fortune a few months ago to stand by the side of the governor of New York at the dedication of twelve tablets in the Temple of Fame in the University of New York on those beautiful heights above the Hudson. Of the twelve representative Americans to whom those bronze tablets were dedicated, five came from other States, seven came from the single Commonwealth of Massachusetts. [Applause.] Not a single one of those seven names was the name of a great soldier; not a single one of those seven names was the name of a great admiral. Only one of those seven names was the name of a great statesman. Six of the seven names were of those who had earned international laurels as poets, as scientists, as educators; as promoters not of the material, but of the ideal, of the lofty thought which makes a nation not rich, but great in the truest sense of greatness. [Applause.] By the promotion of such ideals, by the inspiration of an honest and sincere religion and the respect for every other man's sincere convictions in religion, does any country go forward and can we hope to make the "Parliament of man, the Federation of the world," an accomplished fact. For, when man once learns to lose his respect for the Fatherhood of God, his respect for the brotherhood of man grows lesser and lesser. And if we can but keep true to our ideals, keep true to the lofty thought of all the nations and all the ages that have led men upward and onward, we shall realize that progress of which Emerson spoke: "When the cannon is aimed by ideas, when men of religious convictions are behind it, when men die for what they live for, and the main-spring which works daily urges them to hazard all, then the cannon echoes this conception with the voice of a man, and the rifle seconds the cannon and the fowling-piece the rifle, and the women make the cartridges, and all shoot at one mark; then gods join in the conflict, then poets are born, and the better code of laws at last proclaims the victory." [Applause.]

President ELIOT.—It has been a peculiar privilege to welcome here so large and distinguished a delegation from Great Britain and Ireland. And it is on such occasions as this that for us Americans the word of the poet is fulfilled, and

Our English blood its rights reclaims;
In vain the sea its barriers rears,
Our pride is fed on England's fame;
Ours are her triumphs and her tears,
And ours her length of glorious years.

I am going to ask for a few words of greeting from the leader of the English delegation, the President of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, Sir William Bowring. [Applause; "God save the King!" played by the orchestra; display of the British flag.]

SIR WILLIAM BOWRING, BART.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have the honor, sir, as you have said, to represent the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. The aims and the objects of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association are precisely the same as those of your American Unitarian Association, and I think you will all agree that those aims and those objects are worthy of both institutions. We, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, can claim a more extended sphere, very large as your sphere is, but we have a larger population, and we have a larger territory to look after, and we have a great and noble work to do. But, sir, we are here as aliens, yet we almost smile at the idea of being foreigners. ["Hear, hear!"] We hear our own language spoken, we hear our own ideals, if I might call it so, idealized, and we are very much and very happily at home. We have received a bounteous welcome, and we have met many, many dear friends.

Boston is a historic city, so far as we are concerned. It has taught our country many great lessons. You will all remember an incident in the tea trade that happened in Boston. That, ladies and gentlemen, lighted a flame the effects of which were not confined to your country ["Hear, hear!"], but was one of the greatest blessings that ever was conferred on Great Britain. Great Britain is the great colonizing country of the world. But for Boston it would not have

taken on those duties in the way it has done. And I would like to call to your recollection the latest example of the brilliancy,—I am eulogistic, you see,—the brilliancy of British colonization. You will all have read of the fearful and horrible war which was conducted in South Africa, and I and many with me were in danger for opposing that war and thinking it unjust and unrighteous. [“Hear, hear!” applause.] The latest example of the lesson that was taught us by you in Boston is that we met our late enemies and we gave them constitutional government and self-rule. [Applause.] And, sir, that was a noble thing for Great Britain to do. I do not know whether you have heard it in your country, but there is an incident which seems to me very touching. Recently an enormous diamond was found in South Africa, the biggest diamond in the world. The premier of the Transvaal government is General Botha, one of the most brilliant generals that conducted the war against Great Britain. He conceived the idea that the Transvaal government should purchase that diamond and give it to the King of England, to be placed in England’s crown. Now, Mr. President, in my opinion the action of giving to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State responsible government was a more brilliant ornament in the crown of Great Britain than even the biggest diamond in the world. [Applause.]

Mr. President, this is the third Congress that I have been privileged to attend. I think I have had the pleasure of meeting you at two previously. The one was in the historic country of Holland with an ancient history, a picturesque people, and a picturesque country. We had very fine experiences there. We believe that that conference did a vast amount of good. The next conference was held in Geneva. I always look upon Geneva as the Mecca of Middle Age religious freedom. We had a very good time, as your President knows, in Geneva. But a very singular circumstance happened there. One of our sessions was held in the very room that was occupied by the delegates who were to arbitrate on, I think, the first great international arbitration that has occurred in the world. That was the arbitration between the United States and Great Britain in reference to the “Alabama” claims. That was an action on the part of these two great States which was creditable to both. It is past history now, but the record of that arbitration lives on in the history of the world. [“Hear, hear!”]

Now this conference comes to the modern Mecca of religious freedom. We come to Boston, the historic city of Boston, the home of Channing, the home of Theodore Parker, Emerson, and many other men and women of saintly lives who have departed from us, but who, in my country and in all Europe, are household words to all of us. Mr. President, there are living men that we worship also. I was present last night at one of the vastest and grandest meetings that I have had the pleasure,—and I am not inexperienced in attending public meetings,—that I ever had the opportunity of attending. And, sir, I listened to the words of the Right Rev. Dr. Hale. You will notice I call him Right Reverend. He may not think it is exactly the proper title, because, you know, *our* right reverends have been obstructionists to reform for centuries. [Great laughter and applause.] And what a meeting it was last night! It was an inspiring meeting, a meeting that I am sure will do a vast amount of good to our cause and to liberal religion. I do not think there is another city in the whole world where you could produce so large an audience composed of free religious thinkers as we had last evening.

And then we had another remarkable man there. We had—and I was delighted to hear him: I have read a good deal about him—Dr. Booker Washington on the great problem,—and I think you all admit it is a great problem, which will take all the statesmanship and all the sympathy that you can bring to bear upon it. I hope we that listened to him all put up a devout prayer that he and his colleagues may long live to solve the most difficult problem that is before you. I think, Mr. President, that he is well named. He is called Washington. Now I remember there was another Washington who was called the Father of his Country. Now is it not possible that this man may live in history as the father of his race? [Applause.]

I have occupied too much of your time, and I have not at all commenced the subject that I ought to have commenced at the very first. I am here as a delegate from Great Britain, and I have many companions here. We are delighted with our visit. [“Hear, hear!”] I venture to say that this visit to Boston will live in our memories as long as we are permitted to live. We thank you most heartily for your kind reception. We thank you, and we admire you, we admire you exceedingly, for the magnificent way in which you have

organized these various events that have done so much to make us happy and comfortable. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts, and we shall never forget our visit to Boston. [Applause.]

At this point in the meeting Rev. Charles W. Wendte, General Secretary of the International Council, took charge of the introductions.

REV. C. W. WENDTE.—*Ladies and Gentlemen*,—The Congress in whose social interest we are met this evening has these distinguishing marks,—it is a congress of religious liberals, with a strong emphasis on the word *religious*, and it is international and interdenominational in character. Our gathering to-night is participated in by the representatives of fifteen or twenty nationalities and some thirty church fellowships. Many of our delegates have come long distances and made no small sacrifice to attend this conference of the friends of religious freedom and enlightenment. We bid them a hearty welcome, one and all. It would have been a great pleasure to us to have taken them severally by the hand and formed their personal acquaintance, but, since this is manifestly impossible in so large and crowded an assembly, we must content ourselves with a general introduction and a few brief responses from our fellow-delegates from abroad.

The delegation from Great Britain, numbering some 120 persons, has already been presented to you. Let us turn to the Continental nations of Europe.

There is no country to which liberal and progressive religion is under such profound obligations as to GERMANY. It is sufficient to mention only the names of Lessing, Kant, Goethe, Schleiermacher, Strauss, Rothe, and Schenkel to remind you how great and universal is our indebtedness to the scholarship, philosophy, and science of Germany.

The New England Transcendentalism, which had its chief seat here in Boston, and so profoundly influenced and liberalized American religion, was derived in very large degree from German sources.

We are honored in having with us this evening distinguished representatives of German culture and piety, who at its universities and in its pulpits keep up its traditions of genuine scholarship, freedom of investigation, and a fearless utterance of the truth.

I take especial pleasure in introducing to you this evening Professor OTTO PFLEIDERER, of the University of Berlin, the philosophic historian of religion, the warm friend of our Congress, the honored teacher and helper of those who in all lands labor to increase the knowledge, purify the content, and enlarge the boundaries of true religion. Also his fellow-worker for religious truth and liberty, Professor MARTIN RADE, of the theological faculty of the University of Marburg, the editor as well of *Die Christliche Welt*,—*The Christian World*,—the liberal religious journal of largest circulation in Germany. Our new-gained friend unites in himself the thorough and conscientious scholarship of the German university teacher with those gifts of popular expression and the organization of liberal sentiment which make his labors peculiarly helpful to our cause in the land of Luther.

Finally, I present to you the Rev. Dr. MAX FISCHER, pastor of St. Mark's Church in Berlin, who represents to us the liberal sentiment in the German pulpit, and has himself been the brave exponent of modern ideas and the victim of ecclesiastical persecution. He brings us the greetings of our sister-organization, the German Protestantenverein, and an invitation from the religious liberals of his native country to hold our next Congress on German soil.

Professor Pfeiderer will kindly respond for his countrymen. [Applause; "Die Wacht am Rhein" by the band; and a display of the German colors.]

Professor PFLEIDERER, in the course of an extended address in German, expressed the acknowledgments and greetings of the German delegates present. He spoke briefly of the state of religious liberalism in Germany, which would form the subject of special papers before the Congress. He dwelt next upon the services which the German critical and historic sciences had rendered to religious philosophy. The transcendental teachings of a Lessing, Kant, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Hegel, were primary sources of the transcendental philosophy of New England, whose greatest expositor was Ralph Waldo Emerson. Professor Pfeiderer stated that during his present visit to the United States he had acquainted himself more fully with the writings of this eminent thinker and the school to which he be-

longed. He had been greatly impressed by his power of spiritual insight and intellectual ability. In rapid outlines the speaker sketched the main teachings of Emerson, and declared that they were identical with those of the most advanced and scientific thinking of idealistic German philosophers to-day, and, moreover, in his opinion, were the conceptions and beliefs which would, in the main, characterize the absolute and ultimate religion of mankind. [Applause.]

Rev. C. W. WENDTE.—In these days, as so often in history, the eyes of all lovers of human liberty and progress throughout the world are fixed with admiration and sympathy upon FRANCE, engaged in a splendid struggle to uphold the paramount interests of civil and religious liberty, free education and national solidarity against a pretentious hierarchy and a mediæval theology which is no longer adequate to the spiritual needs of enlightened men or the moral welfare of the people. Here in Boston, especially, we cherish an affectionate interest in our sister republic across the sea, our ancient ally in the establishment of republican institutions on this side of the Atlantic. One of the proudest days in the history of Boston was the visit of General LaFayette to this city on the 17th of June, 1825, to assist in laying the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill monument. His repeated visits to Boston are commemorated by the name LaFayette Mall, borne by one of the principal walks of our historic city park, the Common.

We are fortunate in counting among the delegates to our Congress several leading representatives of the public spirit and religious enlightenment of our sister nation.

Permit me to introduce to you Professor BONET-MAURY, of the University of Paris, eminent as a scholar and divine, and so beloved by his fellow-members in the Congress that, as one has said, we welcome Professor Bonet-Maury in a manner *con amore*. He brings us the greetings of his church, the Church of the Huguenots in France, whose heroic testimony to the gospel of Jesus and devotion to the Protestant cause are among the most splendid chapters in Christian history.

Also Professor JEAN RÉVILLE, of the College of France, author and editor, the distinguished son of an even more distinguished father,

whose united services to liberal Protestantism have made them justly beloved and honored among us.

And, finally, let me present to you one in whom we do not know whether to admire most his intellectual gifts or his personal courage and devotion to truth, Abbé A. HOUTIN, the ardent lover of his own Church, the Roman Catholic, which he desires to see once more the inspirer and leader of universal Christendom, and in whose higher interest he desires to address our Congress.

Professor Réville will kindly respond for his nation. [Applause; band, "Le Marseillaise"; and display of the tri-color.]

Professor Réville, who spoke in French, said: "I bring the greetings of my French friends and co-religionists to the Congress and to the religious liberals of America. The latter are known to them, even if they are not able to meet them at this Congress in Boston,—known to them through their works, their zeal for the cause of liberal religion. Our honored President, Dr. Eliot, is known to us personally through his presence at our Congress at Amsterdam. We have learned to appreciate in him a splendid type of a free but religious thinker and man; also our Secretary, Rev. C. W. Wendte, who has really been the soul of these Congresses, and to whom the international brotherhood of religious liberals is immensely indebted

In France there exists a sincere friendship for America, for we know how much the world owes to America for the cause of freedom and democracy. We are favored in having in Paris, throughout the year, the visits of a great many Americans, who enjoy our capital and who bring your country nearer to us.

It is a curious thing, from an historical point of view, to see a son of the Huguenots, like myself, greeting in this great International Congress of Religious Liberals the descendants of the Pilgrims and the Puritans. It is truly encouraging for liberal Christians to note how the cause of liberty is ever gaining new adherents throughout the civilized world. Such encouragement we need, since we are still a 'little flock' in all countries."

Professor Réville closed with a fervent appeal for faithfulness to the high and holy cause which had been committed to them and undiminished hope in its increasing victory. He referred to the words just spoken by his Excellency the Governor,—that the Con-

gress should place the emphasis on the religiousness of its liberty even more than on the liberality of its religion. So only could we contribute in our respective countries, and all over the world, to the extension of truth, the practice of justice, and the diffusion of high moral and religious ideals.

Rev. CHARLES. W. WENDTE.—In no country have the principles and aims of our Congress been more generously espoused or found more devoted friends and allies than in HOLLAND, the ancient seat of civil and religious liberty. As the scene, in these latter days, of the epoch-making labors of a Kuenen, Scholten, Tiele, and Oort in Biblical and theological science, it was only natural that our second Congress should be held in Amsterdam, where we were received with a hospitality of mind and heart which will ever be one of our most treasured memories. To-day the sons of the Puritans, who once found shelter and kindness among the free and tolerant Dutch people, welcome to this ancient and Puritan city, now the stronghold of religious liberty in the United States, the representatives of the liberal churches of Holland. One title at least we have to their interest and regard,—that Boston was the home of the great historian of the Dutch Republic, John Lothrop Motley, in whose glowing pages the hardy virtues, the love of liberty, and the deep religiousness of the inhabitants of the Netherlands have been forever immortalized to English-speaking peoples.

I have the honor of introducing to you Professor Dr. H. U. MEYBOOM, an eminent scholar and teacher of the University of Groningen; Professor H. Y. GROENEWEGEN, the successor of the gifted Tiele at the ancient University of Leiden; the Rev. P. H. HUGENHOLTZ, of Amsterdam, to whom the success of our second Congress was in such great degree owing; the Rev. F. C. FLEISCHER, another true friend of our cause, a philanthropist and a leader in the Mennonite Church of his country; Mr. R. L. WORST, of Dutch Guiana; and, finally, Miss VAN EYCK, of the Dutch Postal Mission.

I will call on Professor Meyboom to respond. [Applause; band, Dutch national air; and display of the Dutch standard.]

PROFESSOR MEYBOOM.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—As it is laid upon me to bring you the greetings of all the congenial spirits among my compatriots, I have to beg your pardon for many mistakes, perhaps, in my English, and at all events for my bad pronunciation. I am really fearing that you will not understand me. I cannot but hope that, as our Dutch proverb says, good understanders need only half-words, and, moreover, that your charity will endure many sins.

Years ago, having to perform a task of the same kind at Hamburg, I prided myself and ventured to say to the Germans that, if they had any notion of the liberties we Dutchmen enjoyed and the spiritual progress we made, they would see my face as it had been the face of an angel. Now, being a messenger in America, the noise of your railways and the height of your sky-scrappers would take me down a peg or two. [Laughter.] But your own Rev. Mr. Sunderland encourages me by proclaiming the Netherlands the country that more than any other, and before any other land, achieved well all kinds of liberty. At least, he leads me into the temptation to apply another expression of ours: I am too polite to contradict you. Really, we have a glorious history and a most promising present. We are the people of the eighty years' war and of the Remonstrance. And now we have our Protestantenbond and our Free community. I dare say we are perhaps the only people who expelled, theoretically at least, the Catholic leaven from our ideal of the Church, the *conditio sine qua non* of the future flock under one shepherd.

As a representative of a great part of my country, of all the members of Mennonite and Arminian fraternities, of the Protestantenbond and Free communities, of the liberal part of our Dutch Reformed National and our Lutheran churches, I give homage to the liberal thinkers and workers meeting at this Religious Congress. I give homage to America, the first to conceive the idea of an international exchange of liberal thoughts and feeling. I give homage to Boston, offering hospitality to so many delegates from all countries. I am sure of your success. The spirit of Channing and Parker, hovering over us, warrants it. *Vers le cœur de l'Amérique* are directed the tender ties and the aspirations of all our Congress members. On the other hand, *le cœur de l'Amérique* is beating toward all

of us. A higher unity unites us. No oppressive fetters shall bind us. We shall be as in Abraham's bosom, and then we will return to our own countries, and set forth the propaganda of the—not American or Dutch, but only humanitarian way of liberal thinking and working, of free religious feeling and living! [Applause.]

Rev. C. W. WENDTE.—The name of Switzerland awakens visions of scenic beauty and grandeur, traditions of freedom, virtue, and heroism which inspire and quicken humanity forever.

In the literary and scientific annals of Boston it is linked with delightful memories of the genius and geniality of Louis Agassiz, most gifted of students of nature and most lovable of men. For many years he was an honored teacher at Harvard University. Those of us who were privileged to hear him lecture remember that he had no love for the new theory of Mr. Darwin, which, in his somewhat imperfect English, he persisted in calling "the dével-opment of species"; but I am sure his spirit rejoices with ours to-night in this spectacle of religious development and international fraternity.

Permit me to introduce to you his fellow-countrymen and delegates to our Congress, the Rev. G. SCHOENHOLZER, pastor of one of the largest churches in Zürich, and for many years president of the Swiss Verein fuer freies Christentum; Rev. L. RAGAZ, minister at the cathedral in Basel; Rev. L. E. T. ANDRÉ, pastor of the Swiss-Italian church in Florence, Italy, in whose cemetery the sacred dust of Theodore Parker and Mrs. Browning reposes; Rev. E. ROCHAT, a pastor of Geneva, secretary of our third Congress in Geneva two years ago; and last, but not least, Professor E. MONTET, dean of the Theological Faculty of the University of Geneva, the honored president of that Congress, whose success was largely due to his personal exertion and influence.

Professor Montet will reply for our sister republic. [Applause; band, Swiss national air; and display of the national colors of Switzerland.]

Professor Montet said that he spoke as a representative of the liberal Protestantism of Switzerland, as well as the president of the last International Congress at Geneva in 1905.

As representing the liberal Christians of Switzerland, he was the

bearer to the Congress at Boston of the greetings of the Swiss Association for a Free Christianity,—an association extended over all of Switzerland, and which included several thousand members. He bore also the greetings of the liberal pastors of the National Protestant Church, Geneva, and the liberal professors of the Theological Faculty of the University of Geneva. There is at Geneva only one great church, the National Protestant, in which all tendencies of thought (liberal and orthodox) are represented and live together fraternally. In the same way in the Theological Faculty, a faculty under the State, the two tendencies are represented. The Protestants of Switzerland are very well satisfied with this order of things, and love their National Church and their National Theological Faculty.

As president of the last Congress, Professor Montet, after having reviewed briefly the work accomplished by the International Council, described the fruits of the Congress at Geneva, more particularly in that city itself.

In Geneva, as in Switzerland, as everywhere, religious liberalism is in a minority, but exercises a considerable influence. This influence has sensibly grown since the last Congress, and the liberal spirit permeates the entire National Church and all religious circles. This liberal spirit especially displays itself in the project of erecting a splendid monument of John Calvin and the Reformation in the name of all Protestants who trace their derivation to his school of religious thought.

It was the liberal Protestants who were the initiators of this project, and they have united with them all the Protestants of Calvinistic origin. In order to succeed in the erection of this monument, it is necessary that all Protestants display a spirit large, liberal, and generous. M. Montet concluded with an eloquent passage in which he wished the Boston Congress all the success which so noteworthy a gathering deserved.

Rev. C. W. WENDTE.—We are particularly gratified to welcome at our Congress the representatives of Scandinavian nations.

From DENMARK has come to us Mr. THEO. BERG, of Copenhagen, a faithful fellow-worker for pure religion and perfect liberty; from SWEDEN, Professor O. E. LINDBERG of Gothenburg, a writer

and speaker whose strong, brave words in behalf of liberal religion are carried far and wide in his native country. To them we unite in our introduction Professor T. G. MASARYK, of the University of Prague, the champion of human rights, the defender of the proscribed Jews, the leader of the BOHEMIAN people into national independence, higher culture, and a religion of character, freedom, and faith. [Applause; band; Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Austrian national colors displayed.]

Professor Masaryk, who was to respond, proved to be absent.

Rev. C. W. WENDTE.—Far to the East, among the wild Carpathians, in the picturesque province of Transylvania, dwell the brave and talented Szekler race. Here and in other parts of HUNGARY, for more than three hundred years, there have maintained themselves, often against fearful oppression, a body of churches Unitarian in faith, composed 95 per cent. of farmers and tradespeople, simple-hearted, laborious, and devout. We greet with brotherly affection their sole representative among us, Rev. NICOLAS JOZAN, pastor of a flourishing church at Budapest and a bearer of light and sweetness wherever he goes. His presence reawakens old-time memories of the visit to Boston of his gifted fellow countryman, Louis Kossuth, whose eloquent appeals for political and religious liberty kindled within the breasts of our citizens responsive sentiments of admiration and sympathy.

The hour is now so late that I can only ask Mr. Jozan to bow his acknowledgments. [Great applause; band; and display of the emblem of Hungarian Nationalists.]

Rev. C. W. WENDTE.—The peoples and religions of the Orient, also, are represented at our gathering, and warmly welcomed as our brothers in the spirit. From them we are to learn anew of our indebtedness to the ancient faiths and philosophies of the East, and how in its latest development they are being wedded with the practical wisdom and power over nature of our twentieth-century civilization. I present to you Professor GOKURA SUBBA RAU, Mr. B. M. SEHANAVIS, Mr. S. L. JOSHI, Mr. BARAKATULLAH, of the Mohammedan faith, all of INDIA; Mr. S. C. K. RUTNAM, of CEYLON; and, finally, our delegates from the Land of the Rising Sun, Rev. SAICHIRO KANDA,

of Tokio, and a number of his friends and compatriots, **SAKUSUKE MOMIKURA, K. KANOKOGI, M. KANDA, M. WATANABE**, and others whose names I will not venture upon.

I will ask Professor Rutnam, of Ceylon, to respond for his fellow-delegates from the Orient. [Applause; band, Japanese national air; and flag.]

PROFESSOR S. C. K. RUTNAM, OF CEYLON.

I have been told to be very brief, and so I must desire your close attention to the greetings from the friends of India and Ceylon.

If there is one thought that my countrymen would wish me to convey to you to-night, it is this,—that, while passing through a great crisis in the history of India, we are wondering if the people of the West can be just. The truth about India is indeed a great question; but what is truth? One of your leading men has said, "Truth is the matching of thought to reality," and I do not profess, ladies and gentlemen, to tell you something of the truth of India. But this is certain: we have begun to believe in the fatherhood of God, and, as such, we realize that we belong to the same brotherhood. If there is one force to-day that is helping us to move forward in spite of forces which seem to be very powerful, it is this recognition that the Supreme Father is on our side, and our struggles for liberty and freedom have seriously begun. Never before in the history of India, never before in the history of Ceylon, have the people seriously asked this question, and I am thankful that, when I return to my own country, I shall take with me the expression of this assembly that they are men and women who fully sympathize with us, who recognize the thought of the common family of the human race. To my mind, to those who are actuated by larger patriotism, there is no thought more uplifting, more ennobling, more exhilarating than this thought of the brotherhood of the human race. [Applause.]

The struggles of this country for liberty which began in Boston fully one hundred and fifty years ago, I fear, are beginning to be repeated in India. And, if there is any country to which we could legitimately and rightly look for sympathy, it is to Boston and to this gathering here. We pray that your sympathy may be with us, that your hearty, cordial advice may be given to us, so that we, too,

may march on in the path of progress and liberty which this country so well represents. [Applause.]

Rev. C. W. WENDTE.—There are other countries and faiths we should like to have heard from this evening, but time will not permit. We can only greet and welcome them all in the freedom of the spirit and the bond of brotherhood.

The large assembly now partook of refreshments, and engaged in animated conversation or listened to the music of the orchestra until a late hour.

THE BANQUET.

The banquet tendered the Congress delegates from foreign countries by the Unitarian (laymen's) Club of Boston took place on Thursday evening, September 26, in the Banquet Room of the Hotel Somerset, and was an affair of unusual brilliancy and spirit.

Tables had been set for some five hundred guests, one at the upper end being reserved for the speakers. The beauty of the room itself, the lustre from hundreds of electric lights, the toilettes of the ladies, the music from the orchestra, the hum of cheerful conversation, the enjoyment of the dinner, the wise and witty addresses, and the general elation over the success of the Congress which had just concluded its sessions combined to make it a happy ending to the strenuous days which had preceded. Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Crothers, who presided, by his genial and humorous introductions added much to the pleasure of the occasion, which will long be remembered by all who participated. The speakers were H. Bowring Lawford, president of the London Laymen's Club, Miss Mary E. Richmond, of New Zealand, Professor O. E. Lindberg, of Sweden, Frederick Maddison, M.P., of England, Rev. Abraham Ribbany, of Toledo, and Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago. A full report of their addresses may be found in the *Christian Register* of Oct. 10, 1907. Lack of space prevents their inclusion in this volume. It was much regretted that from want of time the addresses expected from Rev. Dr. Frank O. Hall, of New York, Professor F. G. Peabody, D.D., of Harvard, and others, remained unspoken.

A feature of the banquet which was especially noted and commended by the European guests was the entire absence of wine or other alcoholic beverages at the tables.

The committee of the Unitarian Club who had charge of the arrangements were Dr. Walter Channing, Mr. Charles E. Birtwell, secretary, and Dr. Francis H. Brown, treasurer of the club.

EXCURSION AND NEIGHBORHOOD MEETINGS.

WEST NEWTON AND CAMBRIDGE.

One of the most enjoyable and profitable features of the International Congress were the excursions to places of interest in the neighborhood of Boston and the proceedings which took place at these reunions. These excursions were carefully planned, and were in charge of Mr. Percy A. Atherton, of Boston, who had attended the Congresses at Amsterdam and Geneva as a delegate. It is to his able and devoted service, and the aid rendered him by committees and volunteer workers in each locality visited, that the successful conduct of these visits to New England shrines is to be attributed. The committee was made up of Percy A. Atherton, chairman, Lyman K. Clark, Prescott Keyes, Paul S. Phalen, William S. Kyle, Edgar H. Nichols, Walter Winsor, William Brewster, and Horace Hildreth, each of whom took charge of a special department of the work or acted as chairman of the larger local committees. To give the names and properly divide the praise among the hundreds of men and women who labored in each town—West Newton, Cambridge, Concord, Plymouth, Hingham, Fairhaven, etc.—for the reception and comfort of our guests would be an impossible task. The committee can only return to them as a whole its profound thanks for their efficient and generous services. The entire success which attended their endeavors and the enjoyment and delight of their visitors from abroad and at home must be their reward.

The excursions were inaugurated by a visit on Sunday afternoon, September 22, to the beautiful, newly erected Unitarian church in West Newton. Under Mr. Lyman Clark's direction over 100 foreign delegates were taken in automobiles, many of which were kindly loaned by their owners for the occasion, through Beacon

Street, the Parkway to Jamaica Pond, Brookline, and Wellesley, where the college grounds and the Hunnewell Estate were visited *en route* to the West Newton church. Here a warm welcome by pastor and people and a social cup of tea awaited the party. The return was made by Commonwealth Avenue through the Newtons, Brighton, and Brookline, a number of the delegates making a brief call at the residence of the Secretary of the Congress, Rev. C. W. Wendte.

The Congress held its last session on Thursday, September 26, in Cambridge, by invitation of the Harvard University authorities. This called for a large display of hospitalities, which were cheerfully and generously extended. Special electrics were run from the subway at intervals direct to Sanders Theatre. At the conclusion of the session, under the leadership of Mr. Edgar H. Nichols, and with Rev. Dr. Crothers's hearty co-operation, the members of the First Parish (Unitarian) served a series of lunches in the commodious Parish House to all American delegates who wore the Congress badge, several hundred in number. The university authorities entertained some 200 of the foreign and invited guests at the Harvard Union. The latter was a very happy occasion. Brief speeches were made, the President of the University and his son, President of the Congress, were cheered, and bowed their acknowledgments. Later in the afternoon various parties of sight-seers, directed by students and other guides, were taken on a tour of inspection of the university buildings and collections. Some visited the graves of Channing, Longfellow, Phillips Brooks, and other heroes of the spirit, in the adjacent Mt. Auburn Cemetery. The Cambridge Day concluded with a largely attended social reunion and tea at the home of the President of the Congress, Rev. S. A. Eliot, D.D., on Reservoir Street.

THE EXCURSION TO CONCORD.

On Monday afternoon the foreign guests went by invitation on a special train to Concord. In spite of the heavy rain-storm which had set in, quite a large company had assembled at the station. One writes: "The persistent rain covered the car windows with so much moisture that little could be seen of the region they were passing through. Some one of the local committee announced when Walden Pond came into view, and immediately there was a general rubbing of mist off the windows, to get a watery and uncertain glimpse as the train sped by. It was trying to have but one chance to visit Concord, and that in a steady rain, but every one said, 'Better so than never,' and good-naturedly made the best of it. So, too, did the good people of Concord, who came with their carriages, open or covered, to show their historic and literary landmarks. There was Miss Emerson herself, with an open vehicle, taking her quota of guests the rounds, as well as opening to all the Emerson home. The road was from the station up the main street, past the Thoreau house, thence to the Minute-man and the cemetery, where each group, as it arrived, alighted and, putting up umbrellas, walked up a knoll to view the Sleepy Hollow graves. It was a suggestive sight to see this little company, gathered from many lands, grouped about the last resting-places of America's most noted novelist, her hermit sage, while a turbaned native of India, bending forward eagerly, regardless of the rain, copied the inscription from the gravestone of her famous seer.

"Regaining their carriages, the delegates were carried in the other direction past the last Alcott home and Hawthorne's 'Wayside,' then to the Emerson home, the lower floor of which was kindly opened to them.

"The next stop was at the rebuilt First Parish Meeting-house. In its ample parlors an open fire gave an attractive welcome, while tea and cake, served at a number of small tables, broke the company into groups not too large for sociability. After a pleasant half-hour the kindly drivers returned the party to the station, where, with sunshine within, if not without, and packages of souvenir postal cards, they set their faces Bostonward."

EXCURSIONS TO PLYMOUTH, HINGHAM, AND FAIRHAVEN.

The excursions of Friday and Saturday, September 27 and 28, to Plymouth, Hingham, and Fairhaven, were among the most delightful features of the Congress, affording opportunities for the delegates from abroad to meet the American members socially, both on the train and during the visits to the places of interest. Several hundred members took part in the excursion to Plymouth, but the company visiting Fairhaven was necessarily limited to about 125, the limit being fixed by the number that could be entertained at lunch in the Parish House of the Memorial Church. Both trips were of great interest to the visitors from abroad, that of Friday taking them to the point which of all others seemed most interesting to those coming from Europe,—Plymouth Rock, the symbol of religious liberty in America. The day's trip gave them the opportunity of seeing two typical New England villages and an ancient church which embodied the best taste and skill of the old New England Congregational parishes, while the Fairhaven journey showed them one of the highest realizations of art and architecture in the modern American church. Here, too, they examined with much interest the other public buildings, and gathered new ideas of American institutions and customs.

The railroad and other arrangements were in the hands of the Committee on Excursions, and were most admirably managed, both trips being carried out with scarcely a minute's delay in any particular.

On the morning of September 27, at Plymouth, Hon. W. S. Kyle, Mr. William Brewster, Hon. Arthur Lord, and other members of the First Parish Church met the visitors at the station. Special cars carried them to the First Parish Church, where the exercises were to be held. The visitors read with much interest the inscriptions on this church, and many were surprised to learn that the church founded by the Pilgrims is now of the Unitarian faith. Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, D.D., opened the exercises in the First Parish

Church by reading the Psalm, "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us," etc., after which the audience sang the following:—

ORIGINAL HYMN.

Tune, "Duke Street."

BY C. W. WENDTE.

From lands afar, with eager quest,
We gather, at the soul's behest,
Where once the Pilgrim Fathers trod,
To seek the city of our God.

Four-square with truth that city lies,
Its shining walls toward Heaven arise,
And its foundations, strong and sure,
In righteousness and faith endure.

O city, dreamed by ancient seer,
Our faithfulness must bring thee near;
Our toil and sorrow, hope and prayer,
Alone can lift thy walls in air.

Yet not to us, to Him the praise,
Whose strength sustains and guides our ways,
Till all the earth with awe shall own
The Master-builder, God alone.

President S. A. ELIOT.—A word of greeting will be spoken to you by an honored member of this parish, the president of the Pilgrim Society, the Hon. Arthur Lord.

HON. ARTHUR LORD.

It is now nearly three centuries since there gathered on this hillside the "Mayflower" company of English men and women, "hope in each heart and prayer on every lip," and

"Here, their God adoring,
They stood in open air.
When breaking day they greeted,
And, when its close was calm,
The leafless woods repeated
The music of their psalm."

They had left their English church and their English homes for conscience' sake; but laborious years in an alien land had not weaned them from loyalty to the Crown nor alienated their affections from the England of their youth. In the peaceful city of Leyden, in the shadow of its great university, they had found civil liberty and religious toleration, but they longed for the sight of the English flag, the sound of the English tongue, the influence of English institutions, and a well-ordered liberty and religious freedom under an English king. To the New World, then, their thoughts turned; of its unknown shores the old men dream dreams and the young men see visions.

The town which they founded, the church which they planted in the wilderness, extends to-day its cordial greeting to the liberals of the present time, delegates from the land which bore them, delegates from the land which welcomed and cherished them, delegates also from the shores of still more distant seas. In their name, and especially in the name of that First Church whose continuous ministry and unbroken records unite the present with the past, I bid you welcome, and thrice welcome, to the Rock the Pilgrim feet first trod, to the hill where sleep in unmarked graves their early dead, to the streets where stood their rude dwellings, to the history, the traditions, and the memories of Plymouth and the Pilgrims.

For a moment the noises of the busy life of the present fade away, and from out the silence upon the attentive ear and listening mind there fall the echoes of the hymns and prayers of that Pilgrim company whose heroic souls, inspired by an indomitable courage, a lofty hope, and a triumphant faith, famine and pestilence, danger and death, could not dismay.

The first in that great stream of English immigration which marked the first half of the seventeenth century to effect a permanent settlement upon New England shores, they differed radically not only in their form of civil government from that company of Englishmen which thirteen years before had sailed between the Virginia capes, and whose settlement at Jamestown was the foundation settlement of the United States, but also in their religious polity and spirit. Calvinists in creed, in communion with the French and Dutch Reformed churches of their day, under a religious leader terrible to the Arminians, in organization Congregationalist, their

eyes were turned to the new light yet to come as they listened for the new truths yet to break forth out of His holy word.

Upon the stately gate of the great World's Exposition at Chicago was inscribed the impressive line,—“Toleration in Religion the Best Fruit of the Last Four Centuries.” It was America's verdict of the value of the gift to humanity which those centuries brought. From yonder painted window gleams the message of to-day, ‘that that best gift of all the centuries was the “fruit of Pilgrim sowing.”

There is a singular appropriateness in this great gathering of liberals of all lands, pausing for a day in the work of a great and important congress to pay their tribute to the memory of those exiles here, the Liberals of their age, who bewailed, as Robinson said, the state and condition of the Lutherans who could not be drawn beyond what Luther saw, of the Calvinists stuck where Calvin left them, and who recognized and believed that even to those famous shining lights God had not yet revealed His whole will.

You have visited and will visit the homes where lived, the scenes where labored, the graves where rest, the great Liberal preachers, poets, and teachers of the later generations. I do not underestimate their labors or their services, but we may well believe that the first foundation or plantation of the religious freedom which they taught is of more noble dignity and merit than all that followeth. Here they studied union, and not division, and found in the simple covenant inscribed on these walls an enduring bond of fellowship, which embraced all those who, differing in non-essentials, could find within its liberal fold an ample liberty.

This cardinal principle of toleration was their legacy to New England, and when for a time in other colonies religious leaders taught, as did Mather, that “Antichrist hath not a more probable way to advance his Kingdom of Darkness than by a toleration of all religions,” and civil governors held with Dudley it to be the duty of men of God in courts and churches

“to watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice
To poison all with heresee and vice,”

the candle lighted here still gleamed through the darkness and gloom;

and on the broad foundations of which they laid the corner-stone the later generations have built their temples consecrated to a worship which permits the broadest liberty and concedes the widest freedom of thought.

The story of their lives and labors, of their persecutions in England, of their freedom in the peaceful city of Leyden, of the stormy voyage of the "Mayflower," adventurer of a forlorn hope, of the scattered remnant gathered on the wind-swept shores beneath a wintry sky around the unmarked graves, of the signing of the Compact, the Magna Charta of their civil liberties, of the departure of the "Mayflower," leaving behind all the exiles, the living and the dead, the story of the humane treaty with the Indian, which secured by gift or purchase, and not by conquest, these fields they and their descendants were to till, and of the peace and prosperity of the later days, need not be repeated here. It speaks from the pictured canvas, it lives in oration and song and printed page, it is engraved deep in the hearts of a grateful people. Here free popular government found its first advocates and its first example. Here communism received its earliest and fairest test, and its pernicious doctrines their conclusive answer, as the experience of those "godly and sober men," in the words of Bradford, "well evinced the vanity of that conceit of Plato's and other ancients, applauded by some of later times."

Here the right, the use, the service, of individual property, found its earliest champions, whose strong and clear convictions, based on their hard-earned experience, are embodied in our written constitution, and conserve the security and progress of a well-ordered commonwealth.

But to-day we remember and cherish, as the foremost of all their great achievements, as the bright, consummate flower of the Pilgrims' spirit and purpose and labors, that great principle of religious toleration, their dream your hope, their aspiration your endeavor, their teachings your belief, their faith the supreme reality whose dawn you dimly see, "of many races one people, of many creeds one faith, of many bended knees one family of God."

The PRESIDENT.—In behalf of the members of the Congress, I thank you for your cordial greeting and for the hospitality of the First Parish of Plymouth. We make grateful acknowledgment of

the courtesy which permits us to pay tribute at this dearest shrine of all the New World.

I know that to many minds the early history of this America of ours seems dry and unromantic; there is no mist of distance to soften the harsh outline; there is no mirage of tradition to lift the events and characters into picturesque beauty. The transplanting of a people breaks the succession of history. The land seems lacking in the elements that appeal to the imagination. Instead of the glitter of chivalry, for instance, here we have nothing but the homespun of these Puritan peasants. Instead of cathedrals and castles on which time has laid the hand of benediction we have but such a rude meeting-house as you will see this afternoon at Hingham. It seems a story plebeian and prosaic. The Puritan and Pilgrim played on a stage which has no background. He allures us by no pride of birth or pomp of display, but just by clean-grained human usefulness and "brave old wisdom of sincerity."

How then is it—how is it that out of that hard soil, out of the sterile rocks of the New England thought and conscience, there have sprung flowers of inspiration whose beauty and fragrance the world celebrates? What is it in this Pilgrim heritage outwardly so bare and so cold that makes it intrinsically so poetic? There is no poetry in the mere struggle of our forefathers here for existence or in the mean poverty that marked the outward life of early New England. Our Pilgrim fathers were often pinched for food; they suffered in a bitter climate; they lived in isolation. We think lightly of these things because we cannot help imagining that they knew that they were founding a mighty nation; but that knowledge was denied them. "Generations of them sank into nameless graves without any vision of the day when their descendants should rise up and call them blessed." There is but little poetry or inspiration in the measure of their outward success. Judged by their own desires, these Pilgrims failed: they attempted the impossible, and they would hardly recognize or approve the harvest that has sprung from the seed of their sowing.

Why, then, do we celebrate them? Wisely has it been said that "it is not merely because in danger or in failure they were stout-hearted. Many a freebooter, many a soldier of fortune, has been that. It was because they were stout-hearted for an ideal."

Whenever and wherever men and women devote themselves not to material, but to ideal ends, there the world's heroes are born, and born to be remembered and to become the inspiration of noble daring. The worth of nations is weighed in scales more delicate than the balance of trade. "On the map," said Lowell, "you can cover Athens with a pin-point and Judea with a finger-tip, yet in those insignificant places the impulses were given which have not ceased to direct civilization."

The glory of a State is not in the number of bushels of wheat it raises or the tons of coal it mines or the miles of railroad track it lays, but in the type of character that it produces, in the standard of intelligence it upholds, in the best personality it develops. It is when a nation catches sight of an ideal of character, when it arouses itself and adapts its institutions to the development of free manhood in its citizens, that it begins to write history, and the world begins to read it and to draw inspiration from it. Believe me, when every man among us, beyond his home affections, beyond his every-day concerns, feels the pressure of those invisible ideals that allured our forefathers hither, then is he their worthy descendant and the true son of the mother of a mighty race.

My friends, this meeting-house stands nearly upon the site of the original meeting-house of the Pilgrim Fathers. Behind us rises the Burial Hill, before us is the sea. Between stretches the street on either side of which were lined the humble dwellings of the original planters of this town. That street is named Leyden Street, for the town which in Holland cherished these Pilgrims. It is peculiarly appropriate, therefore, that at this meeting we should have a word from the delegate from Holland. He will tell us not only of these connections and associations which we cherish, but of that measure of religious freedom which the Pilgrim Fathers found and left in Holland. Professor Groenewegen, of Leyden. [Applause.]

PROFESSOR H. Y. GROENEWEGEN.—If there is any place in America where American people can feel their relation to old Holland, it must be Plymouth, the spot where the Pilgrim Fathers landed when they started from my fatherland. And, if there is any place in Holland where the American people feel their relation to your country, it

must be dear old Leyden. Just next the building where I nearly every day have to give my professorial lectures is the beautiful old place where lived and died John Robinson. And right opposite there is a fine old church with a beautiful bronze memorial tablet for John Robinson, who is buried there. And it was at that very time, my friends, when the Pilgrim Fathers started from Holland, that Holland, too, had its martyrs for the sake of religion and freedom. These were the Remonstrants.

(Professor Groenewegen here read a paper on the Remonstrants, which is given elsewhere.)

The PRESIDENT.—As you go out of the church, you will read the tablet in the vestibule whereon is written the covenant of this ancient parish,—a covenant which has been in force since the Fathers landed on this strand and under which this church still lives. Too many of us imagine that the founders of New England were given only to a rigid and ruthless bigotry. The fact is that this is not an exceptional case. The First Church in Boston, the First Church in Salem, and many another were established with a covenant so broad, so generous, so what we call nowadays liberal, as to make it perfectly possible for the present Unitarian Churches to maintain those original covenants. No one can put his finger upon the spot or upon the time when this church or many another of the ancient Puritan churches of Massachusetts became Unitarian. It was a natural, an inevitable evolution.

The hymn, "Gone are those great and good," was sung to the tune "America," after which the benediction was pronounced by the President.

After a half-hour spent on Burial Hill, cars were taken for the Pilgrim Monument, with the heroic statue of "Faith" surmounting it. Returning by electric to Town Square, the guests were escorted to the Universalist church, where lunch was served. The blessing was asked by Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey, of Rochester, N.Y.

After the luncheon a procession was formed to visit Plymouth Rock. The canopy enclosing it was open for the occasion, so that the visitors rested their feet upon the rock trodden by the Pil-

grims. Led by the English delegation, the company joined in singing the doxology, after which they proceeded to Pilgrim Hall, where the many relics of the Pilgrims were viewed with interest.

EXERCISES AT HINGHAM.

Soon after 3 P.M. the train was taken for Hingham. Here the bells of the town meeting-houses rang a cheerful welcome to the visitors. On arrival the company were met by members of the local churches and escorted to the First Parish Meeting-house, where the following words of welcome were spoken by Mr. Francis H. Lincoln, treasurer of the American Unitarian Association:—

Friends, we welcome you all to Hingham. From the home of the Pilgrim we welcome you to the home of the Puritan. For within a few moments, when you crossed the line of which the southern boundary of Hingham is a part, you passed from the original limits of the Plymouth Colony into those of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. As a descendant of the Puritans who came from Norfolk in Old England, and settled in this town, as a member of this parish in the seven generations of those who have worshipped within its fold from the beginning, as a citizen of this town and a native of this town, I bid you all a hearty welcome. It is fitting that a congress of religious liberals should come to this place,—a place where independence of thought and action have always been one of the chief characteristics. The first minister of this town, the Rev. Peter Hobart, in the early part of the seventeenth century, was prohibited from preaching a sermon in Boston by the magistrates at the marriage of one of his flock, because, as they alleged, he was a bold man and would speak his mind. Ebenezer Gay, who served this parish sixty-nine years as its minister, in the middle of the eighteenth century dared to preach more liberal doctrines than they were accustomed to in the churches of that day, and by his influence created such an impression through this section that you find to-day the old First Parishes along our coast from here to Plymouth and beyond are Unitarian. To those who come from old countries, we seem new: to those who come from other parts of our own country we seem old. Yet old and new are but relative expressions of the

passage of time, a dot on eternity. And, old or new, we welcome you all as members of one great family of the children of God. [Applause.]

"From hand to hand the greeting flows,
From eye to eye the signals run,
From heart to heart the bright hope flows,
The seekers of the light are one."

Rev. Louis C. Cornish, minister of the church, next uttered a welcome on behalf of the parish.

You have been welcomed to the town. It is my privilege, as minister of the parish, in the ten minutes at our disposal, to tell you very briefly its history, and to welcome you most cordially to our meeting-house, the oldest place of public worship now in use in the United States.

The meeting-house tells its own story, the simple history of village life, of quiet growth, of two hundred and twenty-five years of continuous public worship. To our fellow-countrymen it is venerable with the memories of all of our national and most of our colonial life. It has been the silent witness to almost the whole of our American history. To our foreign friends it must look very modern. To them it is the building of recent days. It brings no memory of mediæval times, no associations of ancient grandeur, of kings and prelates, of churchly pageants, memories which enrich many of the liberal churches in older lands. Yet to our friends from over the sea and to our own countrymen alike it bespeaks a sturdy independence. It is the visible sign of a democracy in things religious in the midst of a political democracy. And it reminds us of that larger fellowship of free churches wherein it holds an honored place. It is this story of independence in religion that I am to tell you in the few moments given us this afternoon.

Our New England settlements, as we all remember, were the expression of the Puritan movement. In England it caused the Civil Wars and established the Commonwealth. In America it brought to Plymouth and Salem and Boston, Scituate, and Barnstable and Hingham, settlements of independent people. Certain independent folk in Hingham, England, selling their possessions at

great sacrifice, came over the ocean in 1633 to the shores of our little harbor. Not far from Boston, and on the trail that then led through the forest to Plymouth, the site was convenient, and their numbers increased. In 1635 they formed themselves into a parish and town, which they called Hingham after their English home. They settled Peter Hobart, a fellow-townsmen from Hingham, England, as their minister, a young graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge. They built a wooden meeting-house near the site of this building, which they protected with a palisade against possible Indian attack. Here for nearly fifty years the town gathered not only for public worship, but for every possible concern. The parish and town, or town and parish, were one and the same. The town was responsible for the minister's salary. Births and deaths and marriages mingle in the early records indiscriminately with the transfers of land and the usual affairs of a community. Town and parish were identical.

This was in Peter Hobart's ministry. In 1678 Mr. Norton became minister, and in 1681 this meeting-house was built. There was a long controversy over its location, the governor of the colony finally interfering to settle the dispute. Upon the tablet before you are the names of the parish ministers. Mr. Hobart is the only one who did not officiate in this building. You will notice that from the beginning of the parish in 1635 down to 1886, a period of two hundred and fifty years, there were but six ministers. The present minister is the tenth to hold the office.

The Calvinism of the early settlers never was formulated into binding articles of faith. From the first this parish was an independent congregation, and the present parish and its sister churches so have remained. The independence of the early days merged imperceptibly into the Unitarian movement. There is no trace upon our parish records of the Unitarian-Trinitarian controversy. All our Hingham parishes gave their allegiance naturally to the Unitarian denomination.

Until well into the middle of the century just past the three Hingham Unitarian Congregational churches remained the only churches in the community. That undisturbed dominion of our independent churches here in this township, which existed unbroken well into the middle of the century just past, has been ever since in a process of subdivision, due to many reasons, social, racial, and economic.

The Universalists built their church in 1824,—a rebuke to the gloom which then overhung our faith. New-comers have settled in the town, and have brought with them their own way of worshipping the Father of all. The churches of Baptists, Methodists, Trinitarian Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics, have now their honored place in the life of the community. But our liberal churches find themselves in ever-nearer fellowship with these newer churches. We believe in all modesty that we have helped create the harmony that reigns among us. There is no church in the township that does not give generous recognition to the labors of its neighbor and wish it God-speed in its work and worship. In the midst of these shifting modern conditions our liberal churches hold fast to their ancient independence, not unprofitable stewards, we hope, of our great heritage. We look forward to that larger faith for all mankind, that truer definition, that broader spirit, of which this Council is at once the sign and prophecy.

At the conclusion of the exercises the delegates from abroad were escorted to the ancient residence, now the home of Mr. and Mrs. Cornish, where tea was served. The American visitors were at the same time entertained by the ladies of the parish in the Parish House. Opportunity was afforded all to visit the New North Church, which was also open for the inspection of visitors. At 5.45 P.M. the train was taken for Boston.

EXCURSION TO FAIRHAVEN.

The excursion to Fairhaven left the South Station by special train at nine o'clock Saturday morning, September 28, and reached Fairhaven about 10.30 A.M. The visitors were received at the Fairhaven Station by Mr. Walter P. Winsor, representing the Excursion Committee and the members of the Local Committee, and proceeded at once to the church, the chimes of which were playing. The Local Committee of Arrangements consisted of the following gentlemen: Edward G. Tallman, J. C. Tripp, Herman H. Hathaway, Levi M. Snow, John H. Stetson, A. B. Kimball, Josiah Pettee, Jr., and Harry Bisbee. The committee was assisted by a large number of the ladies of the church and by many of the young people, who acted as ushers and as guides.

Services were held in the church, at which musical selections were rendered by the choir, consisting of Mrs. Edna A. Purdy, Miss Mabel Melville, H. Lambert Murphy, and Willard Bowdoin; Martin B. Paull, organist.

The opening devotional service was conducted by the minister of the church, Rev. Frank A. Phalen, after which the congregation joined in singing Whittier's hymn, "Oh, sometimes gleams upon our sight."

Prayer was offered by Rev. W. B. Geohegan, of New Bedford.

Rev. F. A. Phalen gave the following address of welcome:—

The honor and pleasure has devolved upon me as the minister of this church, representing its people, to give you a word of welcome on this to us and, we trust, to you, auspicious and inspiring occasion. There are many things in my heart that I would like to say to you, but they have already been well said in Boston and in other places where you have been welcomed. This town of ours, to which we welcome you to-day, is one of the oldest towns in the country. We have the honor of tracing its foundation to one of the men who came over in the "Mayflower," one of the original Pilgrims, John Cook by name, who settled in this vicinity in 1645, and who

died here about 1680. If you have time to-day, among other interesting objects which you may see is a boulder marking the grave of that Pilgrim. So we have a certain pride in our origin, and in the character of people this town has produced in the past and still produces to-day.

We are proud of our town, we are proud and grateful for the buildings, religious, civic, educational, which dot the town, and which are the gems to which we invite your attention. But we are especially proud of the beautiful temple in which we are gathered at this moment. From many lands, with many and various ideas, and by different pathways, worshipping the one God and Father of all, this church, as you may have observed as you entered this south portal, is a cathedral in the truest sense, for we have on each side of that large south portal, cut in stone, a symbol of the apostle Saint Peter and also of Saint Paul. So we stand for the broadest catholicity and sympathy of spirit; for all that was beautiful and rich in the symbolism, in the architecture, in the music, of the old Catholic Church, and for all that is true and beautiful and good in these modern days. And I like to think that those two statues are symbolical of our catholicity. Then, as you pass out through the corridor, you will see upon the wall a statement of the faith for which this church stands, and I will repeat it. It is familiar to those of you who belong to our America, but may not be so familiar to those who come from abroad:—

“We believe in the fatherhood of God;
The brotherhood of man;
The leadership of Jesus;
Salvation by character;
The progress of mankind, onward and upward forever.”

I said we were proud and grateful, those of us who minister in this pulpit and those who worship in the pews, that we have this atmosphere of inspiration and beauty from week to week entering solemnly into our lives. And I think we have this pride and this gratefulness in no selfish spirit, for we desire to share it with all who come to us, from whatever land or from whatever part of the world. But we are also proud of the spirit of affection, of gratitude, of interest in the town, in the man, the benefactor, the friend, the far-reaching,

thoughtful personality, looking to the future, who, out of his affection and gratitude to his mother, built this miracle of beauty out of stone. And to-day, as we welcome you here and as we together share this service, we want you to remember, as you go back to your homes, that there is this spirit in the American Unitarian laymen to-day in this country to do what has been done here, not only for this parish, but for all, and for the great unborn future.

President S. A. ELIOT.—We thank you for your welcome. We are grateful that the hospitality of this parish permits us to gather in this beautiful house of God and to visit together this characteristic New England village. It is, however, a New England town which illustrates for us how the somewhat austere simplicity of our Puritan origins may blossom into beauty. The liberality and filial devotion of one of the sons of the town has made it beautiful. You will visit the school where the educational life of the town receives that hallowing touch. Behind us is a fine and well-equipped library that serves the intellectual life of the community. The civic life is nobly housed in a handsome town house. The social life is upbuilt here by a pleasant and attractive inn and by rooms for the fraternal orders. And the spiritual life is deepened by the atmosphere and influence of this church.

It does us good to meet here, because I think too many of us are in danger of letting our work grow sometimes too mechanical and commonplace and forgetting the deeper and higher inspirations that might be ours. We must not, friends, rank the virtue of common sense above the virtue of imagination. Of course, you and I are honest folk, and we do not propose to equivocate. Fact is fact, and poetry is poetry. But I submit that facts need sometimes to be enshrined in symbolism. We need to see the dramatic side of this high adventure of ours. We need to have the cares and perplexities and monotonies of our every-day duties lifted into a realm where they can be irradiated with beauty.

Comparatively few Religious Liberals need to be exhorted to just calculation and clear reasoning and upright doing; but do not many of us need freer imagination and more of generous impulse, more of reverence and of devotion? Christianity is sometimes taken to be primarily a matter of belief, of our intellectual assent to somebody's

authoritative thinking, or, again, we are apt to say that Christianity is primarily a life, that it consists in our private virtue and our public-spirited devotion. But somehow those definitions have always seemed to me inadequate. Christianity certainly needs and contains certain deep convictions: without them it would be invertebrate. It certainly includes good works: without them it would be but a shallow sentimentalism. But, when you and I analyze what we call our religion down to the bottom, do we not discover that fundamentally it is an emotion, and our faith and our works are just the flowers that spring from that root? Christianity, to my mind, is partly an affair of the head, of clear, thorough thinking; partly an affair of the hands, of strong, helpful doing; but down at the bottom, for most of us, it is an affair of the heart, of deep, tender feeling. And so I love to come into the atmosphere of a church like this, where reverence is natural, where cheerfulness is prevalent, where all the appointments for worship are as perfect as good taste can make them.

I have sometimes thought that the best parts of religion are the parts that express themselves naturally in music. If you have ever thought of it, our controversial arguments are not singable, whereas our trust and reverence and aspiration turn naturally to music for adequate expression. It is hard luck for a choir if it has to sing the Thirty-nine Articles or for a composer if he has to set the Athanasian Creed to music. These things are not singable. But the Psalms and the sayings of Jesus are essentially lyrical, and are probably best understood by us when they are musically interpreted. I have always liked a story of Cardinal Newman. He was once, you remember, challenged by a vigorous sceptic to publicly debate the reality of religion, and Newman answered that the challenger might have all the time allotted to the argument, and to prove the reality of religion he would only ask leave to play an air of Schubert's on his violin. It will not do to press the point too far, but we need to reassure ourselves that religion is a matter of the heart rather than the head. We must beware lest we try to substitute light for heat in these things. The noblest intellect is that which is shot through with passion. Reason has got to be lifted on the shoulders of some deep and true emotion before its light can enlighten a weary and distressed humanity.

I am not a bit afraid that we shall get any too great detachment from earth if we trust ourselves more to the wings of the spirit. We are all earth-born, and we look down a good deal more naturally than we look up. Our common sense is in no danger in a Liberal church. What we rather have to fear is the loss of spiritual passion, the congealing of ardor, the loss of poetic fancy. We have to fear that we shall let the charm of lovely wonder die out of our minds and hearts, and finally imagine that we can fathom the unfathomable. Let us just be rational enough to acknowledge that religion has not only got to speak clearly to our minds and commend itself to our sense of moral obligation, it has also got to give us something for the heart to love and for the soul to worship.

I rejoice, then, that we come here into the atmosphere and influence of a house where there may be given to us, and to those who for generations after shall worship here, the spiritual insight that knows that the things that are seen are temporal and that the things that are not seen are eternal.

I am going to ask a few of our friends who have endeared themselves to us during the meetings of the week to say at this closing meeting a few words of greeting and farewell. First, I am going to turn to Wales: we have not heard as yet from that principality. May I present to you the Rev. J. Tyssul Davis, a Welshman by birth, now of Chatham, England?

REV. J. TYSSUL DAVIS, OF CHATHAM, ENGLAND.

Amongst the closing impressions which we are to gather into our nest of pleasant thoughts, we are singularly fortunate in having the vision of this beautiful temple to carry home with us and to inspire us to do something in our own country to further the union of art with religious expression. An Englishman was standing before the great Taj Mahal in India, and, as he saw that beautiful structure in all its splendor in the moonlight, he said to himself, "How beautiful must she have been who has inspired so beautiful a memorial!" And perhaps in the future pilgrims will come to this church, and will say also, when they remember that it is a

memorial to a woman, "How beautiful must she have been to kindle such filial devotion in her son!"

It has been a revelation to me, and I am sure to many of you, to find such beautiful churches in America, the home of Puritanism. We have a few beautiful churches in England and Wales, but many have already expressed the thought that we have nothing equal in magnificence to this. There we still suffer from the Protestant reaction against Catholicism, and we still remember that, with all its offices, Protestantism helped us to ignore the fact that art was the handmaid of religion. Protestantism raised into predominance over all the other senses the sense of the hearing of the Word. And now we are beginning to realize that the Word became flesh in order that men should behold His glory, full of grace and of truth. I come from a little county in England where very little has been done in the way of showing the grace and truth of the Word made flesh. There in our bare and rude temples among the hills of Wales we have one form of artistic expression,—we have the service of song, and I have never elsewhere heard anything to equal that. But we still very largely need the other side of the artistic expression, that which shows to the eye the grace and beauty of the Word made flesh. What a pity it is that in that mistranslation of one of the appellations of our Master He should be called merely "the Good Shepherd"! You remember that He is "the Shepherd beautiful." And we are kindled and inspired by that to believe that His service should also be, and the temple where we adore His name should also be, beautiful. The comparison has often been made of our own age with the mediæval ages and with the great period of Greek wonders, and we are told that, whereas in the old days the great Greeks were content to dwell themselves in rude wooden huts as long as they had the Parthenon to look out upon, we to-day demand that we shall dwell ourselves in the Parthenon, and we are content that the wooden huts shall be assembled together and made into the house of God. We are beginning to be alive to that reproach. We are beginning to feel that we may emulate those ancient Greeks to some extent,—emulate the spirit of those ages which we call dark because we are so much in the dark about them, that spirit which raised those great miracles of architectural beauty, the cathedrals of Europe, and that we, too, in our age should do something to beautify

worship and beautify the temples where we gather together to hear the word of the Lord.

I am very grateful to our friends at Fairhaven for inviting us out here and letting us have a picture, a vision, of this beautiful temple. We shall go back and tell our friends these things, and I hope we shall do something in our little way to enable them to emulate our friends in America. Then, indeed, we may carry with us the word of Browning, and, looking on our simpler and poorer houses, we may say,—

“I bid these walls be consecrate,
This wretched cell to be
A shrine; for here I speak,—for here
God speaks to men through me.”

[Applause]

The PRESIDENT.—Now we want a brief word—if Irish eloquence can cease—from our friend, Mr. John A. Kelley, of Belfast.

REV. JOHN A. KELLEY.

I rise with great pleasure to show myself to you as an Irishman. I have very great pleasure in obeying your command given me this morning after we came into the church, that I should say a few words to you, because it seems to me that in all the great and inspiring meetings that we have had Ireland has not been spoken for, although represented in person by my good friend and fellow-presbyter, the Rev. Thomas Dunkerley, of Cumber, by Rev. Alexander Ashworth and Mrs. Ashworth, of Belfast, and by myself. But the representatives who were called upon were called upon as British representatives. Now let me inform you who do not know that Britain does not include Ireland. [Laughter.] Ireland likes to speak for itself. [“Hear, hear!”] It may be presumption, but somehow or other it is the sort of thing that the Almighty has planted in us, and that which the Almighty has planted in us must have its expression. And here you give us the opportunity to-day, which opportunity I embrace at once and for many reasons. In the first place I am glad to have an opportunity of telling you how we, the representatives of the Association of Irish Non-subscribing Presbyterians

and Other Free Christians in the north of Ireland, feel at the reception that you have given to us. We are thoroughly satisfied,—in fact, Mr. President, we are overwhelmed at the kindness that we have received since we came to this country. [Applause.]

But there is a second reason, and that is that the opportunity that I now enjoy has been given to me in this beautiful church, which, as I look upon it, seems to me to be fittingly represented by the words of the poet, "A thing of beauty is a joy forever."

We have enjoyed our visit to your great country, and when I go around your various great cities and find that my fellow-countrymen are there in great numbers, exercising their great influence, I rejoice that it was the good providence of God that a day of evil, as it seemed to us, came upon our little island, and that millions of our countrymen came out into this great land where they have had room to grow and to prosper. On their behalf I would speak this day, and I feel very deeply that that which we find around us so congenial, so spiritual, so uplifting, is in some sense—and I say it without bragging—due to that little island of 32,000 square miles and a population less than our great London. In the dark ages of Christianity, when the light of truth and of spiritual growth seemed to have gone out, it was in Ireland that it was kept safe, and the apostles and confessors were sent out from my little island all over England and into Europe, and the light was kindled once more. I asked myself yesterday, What would have been the fate of Plymouth and of New England, had Ireland not existed under God's providence in those Middle Ages?

I am glad to be here. I thank you, brethren and sisters of this part of God's kingdom, for all you have done for us, for all you have done for true spiritual religion, and now I just say farewell.

"Farewell, a word that has been and must be;
A sound that bids us linger—yet farewell."

[Applause.]

The PRESIDENT.—Even in this beautiful house of worship we must be humbled in the presence of one who comes from the land of immortal beauty. You will want to have a parting word from our friend, Rev. Mr. André, of Florence.

REV. L. E. TONY ANDRÉ, OF FLORENCE, ITALY.

Let me limit myself to few words. In English I must be very short; but without many words, with all my heart, I thank our American friends.

We have enjoyed during all this week the most generous hospitality, and we shall remember it all our life. You have given us the opportunity of meeting here friends from all parts of the world, and of exchanging with you and with them in perfect communion of spirit helpful religious impressions.

We have admired your strong organization and the power of free religious thought in a free country. What a comfort this is for those who feel lonely, as I do in Italy!

In Italy liberal Protestantism has not many adherents, and the few we have are not in favor. But souls and hearts can meet across the seas, and, when alone in my far-away country, I shall remember the Boston Congress, and it will strengthen me.

I thank the President of the committee, Dr. Eliot; the Secretary, Mr. Wendte; and all the members of the committee; the ladies and the ministers of Boston and other cities where we have been so heartily received. Not to forget anybody, I thank all those who have in any way contributed to the magnificent success of these meetings. And to all friends I say good-bye until the next Congress. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT.—While Mr. Kelley was speaking, I looked about for a Scottish representative. I found an English one. May we have a word from Mr. Pope, of London? [Applause.]

REMARKS OF REV. W. W. C. POPE, OF LONDON.

In recent travels out in the Western States I overheard two American ladies talking in the train, and one was advising the other as to the places of interest to be visited. The speaker said: "Whatever you do, be sure you go to Victoria in British Columbia, for that place is finished, that place is perfect, restful and quiet. It is just the place that all we people are looking for." As to this church, it is perfect, finished. I have been looking about for ideas to take home

with me about church building which I will have the audacity to offer to an architect. I am afraid I shall not take away the ideas that are embodied here, but the impression on my mind that it is perfect.

Some months ago, at a meeting of the Council of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in London, I was asked to speak to a resolution having reference to our coming to America. I ventured to say then that, if the whole of our English ministers could be picked up and sent to America, it would be the very best investment that the British and Foreign Unitarian Association had ever made. In all my going out West,—and I have been as far as San Francisco,—I have dropped off on every possible occasion, whenever I could find there was a Unitarian congregation or any other congregation of like mind,—I have dropped off dozens of times and stayed over, in order that I might have the great privilege of calling on the minister and being introduced to any of his friends, and seeing their building, and, whenever I could possibly do so, I have attended their service. Two or three times I have taken some humble part in it. Wherever I have been, you have good commodious buildings, and the men I have seen are whole-souled men who preach their message. You have good congregations. I have had the pleasure of being introduced to several. But there is one thing I would like to offer as a suggestion. I wish, Mr. President, somebody would put it into your heart to appoint a small committee on this subject, which then could be duplicated in London, a small committee of laymen,—there is no need of putting ministers on a committee like this,—laymen who will see that ministers on this side and on the other side of the Atlantic get an opportunity to exchange for three to six months every year. I cannot conceive anything that would do our cause and our churches and our ministers in England more good than a visit to America such as this. It has been inspiring from beginning to end. I am going back twenty years younger, all due, Mr. President, to your energy and to the extreme kindness, the unbounded, lavish kindness that we have received at the hands of our friends in America. I thank you. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT.—Our last speaker will be our constant friend and inspirer, Professor Jean Réville. [Applause.]

REMARKS OF PROFESSOR JEAN RÉVILLE, OF PARIS.

Mr. President, you have bestowed upon me the honor of saying some words in the name of the non-English-speaking delegates. But you asked me at the same time if I could not say some words in English, and so, as I am fairly obedient to the authority of the President, I cannot do otherwise than to speak in English. And now I must beg for your indulgence.

I have been at all the Congresses of the International Council. I am proud to have been one of the founders of this Council. The idea was born here in the United States amongst the Unitarians of America, and the first meeting, the first Council, was elaborated by the English Unitarians in London. I was pleased to have been called to take part in this first meeting in London. But, when it was finished, I was somewhat anxious, and I said to myself, "That is a very good thing, but it will be impossible to repeat such a meeting in another place and to do as well as it has been done in London." Two years later we came to Amsterdam, and I was still anxious. But after some days all my anxiety had vanished away. The meetings in Amsterdam were as interesting and as spirited as those in London. It was of another kind, there were other surroundings, but the spirit was the same.

Two years afterwards we went to Geneva, and it also was another kind of meeting, but we had the same satisfaction. And now we are here in New England, on the other side of the ocean, and I cannot express sufficiently all that we have experienced in these few days, and how thankful we are to all those who have prepared for us these interesting meetings, these reunions where we have been so much instructed and so much inspired, and which have made our time here not only helpful for our spirits, but also agreeable for our eyes and hearts.

I speak, sir, in the name of the non-English-speaking delegates who are here,—if all those who would have liked to come were here, this church would be crowded, but the Atlantic Ocean is large and we are not so accustomed to go across it as you are in America. We are not accustomed to come to America as you are accustomed to come to Europe. So, if all those who wished to be here were here, we would

be very numerous. And when I go back and tell what we have seen and done here, and what we have experienced, I am sure that many more still will regret that they could not come. And I thank not only the committee who organized the meetings in Boston, our dear President, our dear Secretary, Mr. Wendte, who has worked with so much zeal, and all those who took part in these organizations: I thank also—and it is a duty for me, because they have not so prominent a place—those ladies and gentlemen who in Concord and Plymouth and Hingham, and now here, have received us with so much cordiality and given us opportunity to see so much of this beautiful country of New England, and to see not only the large cities, but to see the country, the country life, to see these beautiful houses with pretty gardens, to see this green country, these beautiful hills, and this sea which is surrounded by all kinds of summer resorts. All this is really interesting and charming for us. And now we understand much better your American life. It is not the life of the busy streets of New York and Philadelphia: it is also the life of family homes in these pleasant resorts of New England. [Applause.]

And now, artistically, you have kept for last what is the most beautiful, this church,—this church where we find all the poetry of our own cathedrals of the Middle Ages, this church where the whole past seems to revive in a new manifestation of beauty and spirituality. We are here, as it was said, in a Catholic church, in a church which reproduces the beauty of the Catholic Christian inspiration of the Middle Ages. But who are those who meet in this church? They are Liberals of all countries, men who are not at all of the Roman Catholic spirit. Now, I think, we can see here the promise of a new catholicity, a future church which will be catholic by its universality and which will be free and modern by its inspiration. We are here, delegates of nearly all countries of the world, and we are united by the same spirit of faith and of liberty, and I say that we manifest here our catholicity, our spiritual catholicity, the catholicity of a free faith, which is the same in all countries, the same in all times, the expressions of which are alike. The real Christian free faith is the same in all times. We must accustom ourselves to communicate with all those who have this free spirit and this free faith in all countries and in all languages. We must accustom ourselves to appreciate this faith in times past, as it was here when you built

a church reproducing the most beautiful, the most magnificent aspect of the faith of the Middle Ages. We must be able to recognize what is the value of a free faith in all ages. Now let us make a pledge that, when we all go home, we shall all in our different countries work for this larger catholicity of the future, in which all shall be one in the same spirit of faith and of liberty. [Applause.]

After an anthem by the choir and the hymn by the congregation, "Nearer, my God, to Thee," the benediction was pronounced by Rev. Dr. Eliot.

At the close of the services, luncheon was served in the Parish House. The invocation was pronounced by the Rev. Alexander Webster, of Aberdeen, Scotland.

After the luncheon the delegates were taken in groups by the young men and women of the parish, acting as guides, to visit the library, the town hall, and the Fairhaven High School, after which a trolley trip was taken through the town, returning to the station in time to take the return train for Boston.

MINISTERIAL UNION MEETING.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

The monthly meeting of the Ministerial Union in Channing Hall held on Monday, September 30, was an occasion of unusual interest because of the presence of a large number of delegates to the International meetings, and the reception of a special committee and an address from the Ministerial Fellowship of Great Britain and Ireland. President Rev. Seth C. Beach, D.D., of the Ministerial Union, presided. Rev. Harry Lutz was secretary of the meeting. The Rev. Charles Roper, of London, being introduced as the president of the British society, made extended and fraternal remarks introductory to the following address and greeting:—

ADDRESS AND GREETING.

The members of the Ministerial Fellowship (of Great Britain and Ireland) send sincere and brotherly greetings to their ministerial brethren of the Unitarian Churches of the United States and Canada on the occasion of the International Congress at Boston, September, 1907.

We recognize the interest and importance of this Fourth Meeting organized by the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers. A number of our fellow-members are crossing the Atlantic, personally to grip your hands and to feel the thrill and inspiration of your strenuous life, while those who are left behind will be with you in spirit as fraternal coworkers in the same field of labor.

We gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to the leaders of thought among you for the freshness and vigor of their presentations of religious truth. So strong and so many are the ties that bind us together that, notwithstanding the stretch of ocean between, we feel we are indeed One Household of Faith, with a common gospel and a common literature. Your prophets are our prophets, and we rejoice to think that our prophets are also yours.

We want you to feel that you have our strong and hearty sympathy in the noble work in which you and your churches are engaged. In many ways your greater achievements inspire and encourage us. We proudly feel that our sympathy with you is reciprocated, and that we together recognize that we are serving in the same holy cause, searching for the same truth in the same fearless way, and looking up to the same God for light and strength and guidance in our common endeavors.

The Ministerial Fellowship is an elective body, which was founded in 1899, and now numbers 152 members, every year adding considerably to its roll. By their subscriptions its members are insured for benefit between pastorates,—a system which we have found most serviceable in many cases and which we cordially commend to your consideration. You may perhaps profit from our experience in this direction, as we in our Settlements Bureau and projected Supply Bureau are trying to learn from yours. We are convinced that in the close co-operation of brother ministers much good may be done for themselves and for the churches which they represent.

Brethren, all hail! The contingent that invade your shores come in the glad spirit of peace and brotherly love. We know how heartily you will welcome them as our representatives.

We earnestly pray that ... the future, as in the past, we may on both sides of the Atlantic work for the realization of universal peace and acknowledged brotherhood the wide world over, until men everywhere have beaten their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. God speed the time when men's energies are wholly devoted to discovering his newer and wider truth, and bringing nearer that glorious kingdom of God, for which so many generations of faithful men and women have labored with unflagging zeal and undaunted hope.

We are, in all sincerity and on behalf of our whole fellowship,

Yours fraternally,

CHARLES ROPER, *President.*

DENDY AGATE, *Treasurer.*

J. CROWTHER HIRST, *Settlements Secretary.*

CHRISTOPHER J. STREET, *Secretary of the Fellowship.*

Rev. Frederick Summers, C. J. Street, and others made addresses. Rev. V. D. Davis, B.A., of London, editor of the *Inquirer*, gave a delightful address, without notes, in which he pleaded for a profounder religiousness as the fountain and source of all ministerial activity and effectiveness. His words were not taken down at the time, but found their way into the hearts of his listeners, whose entire attention showed how universal and deep was their response to his appeal.

THE CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS' MEETING.

Among the courtesies extended the foreign delegates to the Congress, their welcome by the Congregational Ministers' Meeting at the Congregational House will always be cherished. On three successive Monday mornings this association of clergymen invited and listened to addresses by Professors G. Bonet-Maury and Jean Réville of Paris, Rev. Dr. John Hunter of Glasgow, Rev. Miss Gertrude von Petzold, Rev. William G. Tarrant and C. J. Street of England, and others.

The discussions which followed the addresses, while disclosing differences of opinion, were marked by the spirit of Christian courtesy and liberality.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CLUB.

By invitation, on September 28, Hon. F. Maddison, M.P., of England, Rev. W. C. Bowie of London, Rev. F. C. Fleischer of Holland, Miss Mary E. Richmond of New Zealand, Rev. W. G. Tarrant of London, S. C. K. Rutnam of Ceylon, delegates to the International Congress, addressed the Twentieth Century Club of Boston at their monthly luncheon, and received a warm welcome.

THE AFTER-MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

One of the most interesting features of the late Congress was the series of meetings which were addressed by foreign delegates after the Boston session.

The Rev. John Hunter, D.D., Rev. V. D. Davis, and Professor E. Montet attended the Michigan State Conference of Unitarians, and made addresses. Professor Montet also spoke at the State University, and Dr. Hunter lectured before the same institution. The little party proceeded to Chicago, where a series of meetings had been organized. We quote from an editorial by Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, the one-time secretary of the Chicago Parliament of Religions, in his paper, *Unity*:—

“The postscript to the great Boston meeting held in Chicago was altogether a delightful affair to all parties concerned. Three delegates from over the water were escorted to Chicago by Rev. L. G. Wilson, secretary of the American Unitarian Association, but he dropped them soon after his arrival, and went on his way mission-arying. The entertainment and, still more, the utilizing of these men was intrusted by the international secretary, Mr. Wendte, to Mr. Backus, secretary of the Western Unitarian Conference, Mr. Case, pastor of the St. Paul Universalist Church, and Mr. Osborne, secretary of the Congress of Religion. The responsibility of executing the program was left largely to Mr. Osborne.

“The delegates arrived Friday afternoon. On Saturday three automobiles, tendered by friends of the Lincoln Centre, carried a party of twelve sight-seeing. At the University of Chicago, Dean Shailer Mathews and Professor Gerald Birney Smith, of the Divinity School, received the delegates and showed them around, after which the party was joined by half a dozen or more members of the faculty, among which were Doctors Henderson, Small, Foster, Vin-

cent, Burton, and others, in a sumptuous luncheon. At the close of the luncheon Dean Mathews, in the name of the president, extended to the foreign delegates the welcome and courtesies of the university. On Sunday morning Dr. John Hunter, of Glasgow, preached to a large and delighted audience at the Lincoln Centre. Professor Montet, dean of the Protestant Theological School of the University of Geneva (Switzerland), preached in Dr. White's pulpit, the People's Liberal Church, in Englewood, and Rev. V. D. Davis, editor of the London *Inquirer*, preached at Unity Church on the North Side in Mr. Hawley's pulpit. In the evening there was a real fellowship meeting held at the Lincoln Centre, where a large audience was gathered. The opening services were in charge of Mr. Osborne, and Mr. Jones presided. In addition to addresses by the foreign delegates, Mr. Hawley, of Unity Church, and the Rev. Mr. Allais, pastor of the French M. E. Church of Chicago, took part.

"Perhaps the most unique feature in this postscript was the Monday noon lunch, as guests of the Outlook Conference, a quiet, scholarly group of progressive ministers inside the so-called orthodox churches, who on this occasion threw open their doors and received as their guests not only the foreign delegates, but the resident pastors of the Unitarian, Universalist, Independent, and Jewish churches. The luncheon was served in one of the rooms of the Y. M. C. A. building, which was crowded to its utmost capacity. Some fifty ministers broke bread together. Representatives of the Chicago University, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and the unorthodox churches, sat down together. Professor Foster, of the university, was called upon to preside, and after the luncheon graciously presented the foreign delegates. Guests from Seattle, Kansas City, and nearer home were called upon. Professor Montet spoke in French, and Dr. Loba, of the Evanston Congregational Church, felicitously interpreted his words in English. Dr. Hunter here, as elsewhere, carefully prepared his address beforehand. Of Mr. Davis's charming address, full of kindly fellowship and lofty spiritual earnestness, we can give no report; neither can we of the kindly and felicitous words of the presiding officer, Professor Foster. Altogether the noonday luncheon was but another significant suggestion of that fellowship that is almost here,—the fellowship that will discard the technical differences and the historical traditions, find

joy not only in communion of thought, but in a shoulder-to-shoulder enthusiasm in common tasks, the facing of common obligations.

"After luncheon the delegates were shown the marvels of the Corn Show, and in the evening the program came to an end in a reception given at the Abraham Lincoln Centre. Rev. Professor Montet also addressed on Monday morning a gathering of Methodist ministers, and was introduced by the Methodist bishop presiding as 'the successor of John Calvin.'

"The informal leave-taking in the evening at the Lincoln Centre, addresses which followed the handshaking, and inspiring song by Miss Jennie Johnson, and preceded the coffee and chocolate, are, of course, unreportable. Dr. George F. Shears spoke for the laity of Chicago and the Lincoln Centre. Dr. Montet, released from the thrall of a foreign tongue, glowed with kindness and found all hearts in the Esperanto of the kindly eye, the playful countenance and suggestive gesture. Immediately following him, his fellow-countryman, the Rev. Mr. Allais, pastor of the French Methodist Church, rendered the speech in graceful English.

"Closing words were spoken by Mr. Davis, of London, and they were words laden with tenderness, grace, and the holiness of large views and high purposes.

"This was indeed a tiny postscript to the great Boston Congress, but it was a real congress which quickened hearts, clarified heads, and disintegrated barriers.

"Bless them for coming! May all good graces wait on them wherever they go! The peace that belongs to the children of God is theirs."

To resume our story:—

Professor Montet lectured at the University of Pennsylvania and preached in the French Protestant Episcopal Church of Philadelphia and elsewhere. Professor Bonet-Maury gave a course of lectures at McGill University, Montreal, and addressed the Cercle Français in Boston. Professor Otto Pfeleiderer gave a course of lectures at the Harvard Divinity School, and at a reception in his honor by the Deutsche Gesellschaft in Boston spoke on the religious situation in Germany.

The Worcester and Connecticut Valley Unitarian Conferences

were also favored with addresses by Rev. Miss von Petzold, Rev. S. Kanda, Rev. T. P. Spedding, and Revs. Charles Peach and Alexander Webster.

Of the German delegates, Rev. L. Ragaz, of Basel, gave the principal address at the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Smithfield Street German Evangelical Protestant Church in Pittsburg, Penn., the longest established German-American church in the United States. Rev. G. Schoenholzer preached in Rev. Hugo Eisenlohr's German-American church in Cincinnati to a great audience. The sermon is to be printed. Rev. Dr. Fischer, of Berlin, preached in the German Church of the Holy Spirit in St. Louis on October 6. All these appointments were made by the International Congress Committee. Other delegates spoke in New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Montreal, London, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, and at other points. Mr. Sim Harris, of England, even addressed the students of the Pacific Unitarian Theological School in Berkeley, Cal., on his impressions of the Congress, and Rev. S. Kanda, on his return journey to Japan, similarly reported the Congress proceedings to his old-time friends of the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco.

In these and other similar ways the influence of the Congress has been extended, and distant communities have been made to feel something of its glow and uplift.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS AND COMMUNICATIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS AT BOSTON.

MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD, ENGLAND.

My friend, the Rev. V. D. Davis, B.A., asks me to send through him a message to your great meeting from this college. Permit me, then, on its behalf to offer a few words of respectful and affectionate greeting. Its dedication "to Truth, to Liberty, to Religion," with no limiting restrictions of name or creed, points to the broad platform on which you are gathering brethren from so many churches in fraternal concord. Your Congress will supply a noble example of that faith which is growing stronger year by year throughout all civilized lands, in the fundamental unity that underlies the partial expressions of our different theologies. Great, indeed, are the labors that yet await us in the attempts to disengage the sentiments that unite from the thoughts that divide, to bring them into clear expression amid the rivalries of sects, and set them in vital relation with the social needs and reforming energies of our time. In this task we are sustained by each other's sympathy. The churches which will assemble under your earnest and genial presidency may lie far apart from one another in various lands, under divers forms of ecclesiastical polity. But they will all feel the quickening of a wider life, as they realize that they are not mere isolated units. They have a common fellowship, they form a company of their own in the great army which is vowed to the warfare with ignorance and indifference, with selfishness and sin.

May the meetings which have been organized with so much devotion fulfil your warmest hopes! May those who come from the East and the West, from the North and the South, feel that they do indeed sit down in that kingdom of God which is not the dream of a distant future, but the constant presence of the Spirit within us.

Believe me, with the warmest regards, always faithfully yours,

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

I wish with all my heart that I could say "Yes" to your very kind and tempting invitation to me to speak at your international gathering in September. But,

alas! I am afraid it is quite impossible. I have just begun a piece of work which will take me the whole of the coming year, and probably a little more. Till it is finished, I must not think of a journey to America,—which, however, we hope to accomplish as soon as the book is fairly out of my hands.

It would have been a great pleasure and stimulus to join your meetings. Now it is not so much a day of pulling down as a day of building up. Nor shall we advance much further, I believe, in the work of sweeping away the old misconceptions till the body of new thought is more firmly outlined. “On ne détruit que ce qu'on remplace,” as Amiel said long ago. It is here your international gathering may be fruitful. All success to the Boston meeting! I shall read the record of it with the greatest interest, and much, much regret that I cannot be there.

With kind regards, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

MARY (HUMPHRY) WARD.

LONDON.

... I wish I could join in a deeply interesting conference of this kind. It would give me the sincerest pleasure, but it seems almost impossible. Moreover, I have never been in the United States, and it seems unjust to leave the Old World without seeing the New. I will keep your kind invitation in my mind, and, when the time comes, will try to join the Congress. But, to my regret, you cannot put me in your programme. I wish this could be so, and I am grateful for your purpose.

Yours very sincerely,

STOPFORD A. BROOKE.

LONDON.

Telegram.—Friends in the old country send greetings [and] good wishes to Internationals assembled.

ION PRITCHARD.

SENAT DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

Nothing could have flattered and pleased me more than your kind invitation to attend the Fourth International Congress of Religious Liberals to be held in Boston from September 22–27 next, as all my personal sympathies are with this movement. Unfortunately, I shall not be able to leave Belgium at that time, and therefore must decline the hospitalities I should have been so glad to accept from the committee in charge of the Congress. I remain

Faithfully yours,

GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

INDEPENDENT CONGREGATION,
BRUSSELS, BELGIUM. *

I have received the kind communication of the committee inviting me to the Fourth International Congress at Boston. I feel extremely grateful to the committee for the great honor and kindness shown to me.

I would most willingly show my thankfulness by contributing as best I could to the success of the Congress. But, unfortunately, the decline of my health makes it impossible for me to attempt the journey and to be of any real service to the Congress.

With renewed thanks and best wishes for a great success,

Yours very truly,

JAMES HOCART.

PARIS, FRANCE.

I had hoped up to the present moment to be able to come to the International Congress of Religious Liberals in Boston, in accordance with the gracious invitation extended to me some months since. But the relatively short time at my disposal, and other considerations, prevent me from carrying out my desire, and to my great regret I shall not be able to take part in the meetings of the Fourth Congress.

All my sympathies are enlisted in the spirit which has actuated these religious reunions, and my friends Jean Réville and Édouard Montet will know how to express to you, and to the members of the Council, my deep regret, as well as my warm remembrance of the precious days we spent at the Congress in Geneva some two years since.

I wish to enroll myself among the subscribers to the volume which will contain the papers and proceedings of the Congress.

Believe me, dear and honored colleague, to be sincerely, in the spirit of our Master,
Your devoted

J. ÉMILE ROBERTY,
*Pastor and President of the Presbyterian
Council of the Church of l'Oratoire
de Louvre, Paris.*

[Translated.]

PARIS, FRANCE.

I thank you very sincerely for your invitation for myself and my wife to attend the Congress in Boston next year. Certainly, it is as tempting as it is generous, and nothing could prevent us from accepting it, even at this early date, were it not for the eighty years which look me squarely in the face the 10th of next March (this I must say, with benignity and courage to go forward) and the all-engrossing duties which now call us to this centre of the great and long-impending religious crisis in our dear and much-tried country. In any case we shall be with you, and all the brethren, of whatever faith they may be, in your efforts

for peace and good fellowship among the followers of Christ and the worshippers of the only true God and our most loving Father.

This is written with our joint love and prayers.

HYACINTHE LOYSON.

PARIS, FRANCE.

Having the last month, by absolute order of my doctor, taken a cure of complete silence, I can again speak and do my work. But any supplementary effort is forbidden. So I am afraid to get so very tired the coming year. You know that a new and larger meeting-place is just in building for us. It will be, we hope, finished about Christmas. Next summer another part of the new building is to be finished. My holidays of 1907 will, I am sorry to foresee, be given to a complete rest. So I cannot give any promise in advance.

Thank you for your kind letter, to which, if my heart could make the law of life, I would have given an enthusiastic "Yes" for an answer.

Truly yours,

CHARLES WAGNER.

CASTRES (TARN), FRANCE.

Disciple convaincu du Christianisme primitif, spirituel et moral, tel qu'il nous est révélé dans la personne, la vie et l'enseignement de Jésus-Christ,—mais adversaire non moins convaincu de tout espèce de Dithéisme, de Tri-théisme, de Quatrithéisme, tel que l'ont fabriqué les traditions successives de l'histoire,—

J'ai l'honneur d'adhérer à un unitarianisme Chrétien, positif et vivant, tel qu'il s'affirmera dans le prochain Congrès unitaire de Boston.

CAMILLE RABAUD,

*Pasteur en Retraite, Pres. hon. du Consistoire
de Castres.*

Je joins mon adhésion à celle de M. le pasteur Rabaud.

BRUNIQUEL, *pasteur honoraire.*

ÉGLISE RÉFORMÉE DE LUNERAY,
CONSEIL PRESBYTÉRAL.

Cher Monsieur,—J'étais membre du Congrès de Genève et j'éprouve une vraie peine de ne pouvoir aller à Boston, mais je serai de cœur et de pensée avec vous.

Ancien prêtre libéral dans l'Église Romaine, j'ai l'honneur comme Pasteur de Luneray d'être le successeur de Réville, et tous mes efforts n'ont d'autre bout que de travailler à l'extension de la liberté et de l'indépendance de pensée

religieuse en laquelle seule se trouvent la vie et le progrès. Ci-joint ma cotisation avec mes meilleurs souhaits pour le succès du Congrès, auquel j'aurais tant désiré assister.

Veuillez, cher Monsieur, agréer l'expression de mes sentiments très-distingués.

J. JOYE.

CHANTEUILLET, PRÈS CREST,
(DRÔME), FRANCE.

J'aurais voulu vous écrire il y a déjà longtemps pour vous dire mon amer regret de n'avoir pu me rendre au Congrès. Le temps m'a manqué, absorbé que je suis par la crise catholique que de jour en jour s'intensifie, s'élargit, se dramatise. M. André et M. Houtin se seront acquittés, j'espère, du message que je leur avais donné de vous dire, à vous et à toute l'assemblée ma profonde sympathie et mes vifs regrets.

Au revoir, cher Monsieur, croyez moi votre très cordialement dévoué

PAUL SABATIER.

NÎMES, FRANCE.

J'ai l'honneur de vous remettre sous ce pli un mandat-poste international pour être admis au Congrès international des Unitaires, etc.

Heureux de témoigner ainsi ma sympathie pour "ceux qui dans tous les pays aspirent à unir religion pure et liberté complet," je vous prie de vouloir bien agréer l'expression de mes sentiments de confraternité chrétienne.

G. BENOIT-GERMAIN,

*Secrétaire du Conseil Presbytéral
de l'Église Chrétienne Réformée
de Nîmes (France—Gard).*

DEUTSCHER PROTESTANTENVEREIN,
BERLIN, September 7, 1907.

The German Protestant Society has commissioned the Rev. Max Fischer, doctor of theology, member of the council, to represent them at the Liberal Religious Congress, meeting in Boston, U.S.A., and to express their hearty wishes for the success of the meeting.

The Protestant Society takes this opportunity of assuring the Congress that it gives them great pleasure to be able to take part in their deliberations.

The Congress is working towards establishing views of human life and the universe in harmony with the progress of science, and aims at developing a liberal Christianity.

The German Protestant Society considers its foremost object to be to work for the realization of Christian liberty in the Protestant Church of Germany and in religion as proclaimed by Luther. In the name of the gospel they deny

the right of any party in the Church to enforce binding creeds after the manner of the infallible Church of Rome and of Protestant Orthodoxy.

Thus the Congress at Boston and our German Protestant Society have the same aims, and the work of the one will help forward the work of the other. We therefore heartily wish success to the Congress meeting at Boston.

K. SCHRADER, *President.*

[*Translated.*]

BERLIN, GERMANY, September 20, 1907.

Cable Message.—The German Protestantverein, Friends of Evangelical Freedom in the Rhine Lands, and Union for Evangelical Freedom in Hanover invite the International Congress of Religious Liberals to hold its next session in Berlin.

KARL SCHRADER,
President German Protestantverein.

PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY,
UNIVERSITY OF JENA, GERMANY.

There is very much to induce me to come to the Congress in Boston, but also much seems to make it impossible. It would give me great pleasure to make the personal acquaintance of so many friends and comrades of the spirit who are to gather there, and at the same time gain, in the most agreeable manner that can be imagined, an insight into American life, with whose great significance for the culture of our day and the future I am profoundly impressed. How gladly would I, on my part, contribute a little, that in this land of mighty striving and uplift a freer conception of religion might more and more control the spirits of men! All these things unite in making very attractive the invitation which you extend and which has given me such sincere gratification. But many considerations dissuade me from its acceptance, chief of which is the excessive burden of my literary work. New books come into being through inward compulsion, the old ones urgently call for new editions, my relations with many countries and schools of thought, especially of late with liberal Catholicism, make increasing demands upon my time. All these things together occupy and absorb me so completely that for years I have not even been able to take a real vacation. How can time be found for a journey to America? The year to come is already crowded with literary engagements.

It will, however, be a sincere pleasure for me to take part in your meetings by sending you a little treatise, written especially for your Congress. Its title may be "What does a Free Christianity require in order to win the Victory?"

Cherish, I beg of you, despite my declination, a friendly regard for me, and accept my sincere thanks for all the good will expressed in your invitation.

Yours faithfully,

[*Translated.*]

RUD. EUCKEN, PH.D.

UNIVERSITY OF JENA, GERMANY.

Accept my heartfelt thanks for the kind invitation to participate in the Fourth International Congress of Religious Liberals. Your added invitation to me to contribute a paper to this Congress I feel to be a great courtesy and honor on the part of your committee. Be assured that it would interest and rejoice me very much if I could accede to this call, and through the medium of this Congress learn to know so many able theologians as will gather there. I have delayed until now my reply to your letter, since it is not easy for me to write a declination. But this I am unfortunately compelled to do. Other obstacles to such a journey I might perhaps overcome, but not the main one, which is that in the last half of September the theological examinations of the Thuringian State Church take place, in which, as Dean, I am compelled to take part. Hence I must forego anything which at that season will prevent my participation in this function.

With regret and assurances of esteem,

Your obedient

[*Translated.*]

H. H. WENDT, D.D.

UNIVERSITY OF JENA, GERMANY.

Permit me to express my sincere and hearty thanks for your kind invitation to your International Congress of this year in Boston. If my acknowledgment reaches you only now, I beg you to believe that this was not due to any lack of appreciation for the honor you have done me or any want of sympathy with your important cause, which is our common cause. Quite the contrary. It was my ardent desire and my constant hope to clear away all the obstacles to my journey which presented themselves that induced me to defer from day to day my reply to your amiable invitation.

In opposition to my desire and hope, it has not been possible for me to overcome the hindrances to my journey, the chief of which is that a book, whose completion by a certain date I have contracted for, is not so advanced as I had hoped. Sorry as I am, I must forego attendance on this Congress, and can only hope that at some subsequent session I may be able to participate in its proceedings, and besides the acquaintance of my valued friend, its Secretary, make the acquaintance of the other leaders in this movement.

With best wishes for an uplifting session this autumn, I am

Yours,

H. WEINEL, D.D.

[*Translated.*]

UNIVERSITY OF GOETTINGEN, GERMANY.

Accept my hearty thanks for your kind invitation to the Fourth International Congress of Unitarian and Other Liberal Theologians. I do not need to tell you how much honored I feel by the kind confidence which is expressed in this invitation. Be assured that I would gladly come and take part in your gather-

ing, and that I cherish the positive expectation that I should feel at home among you and should enjoy the spiritual communion.

Notwithstanding this I shall have to ask you to excuse me if I do not come. I am at present too much weighed down with labors outside my vocation to enable me to devote my autumn vacation to a journey to Boston. Journeys for lecturing purposes in February, March, and April, have taken up almost my entire vacation this year, and for the autumn I have made other engagements. The founding of the association Freunde Evangelischer Freiheit (Friends of Evangelical Freedom) in Hanover, of which you know, and its promotion, also absorb much of my time and strength, to which must be added scientific investigations. With all my heart, however, I wish your undertaking a great success.

With best esteem,

Yours,

W. BOUSSET, D.D.

[*Translated.*]

UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG, GERMANY.

Your kind invitation to take part in the Congress of religious free thinkers in Boston I esteem a great honor and pleasure, for which I heartily thank you. I have from the first had an active sympathy with your endeavors, and I do not question that in the essential things I should be in good understanding with the gentlemen of your committee. I have already once enjoyed the kind hospitality of America, and recall with the greatest respect that world of work and activity. Under these circumstances I have fully considered the matter, and experienced a lively wish to accept your invitation. But the hindrances prove too great, and I can only ask to be excused. I would gladly again visit your beautiful city of Boston and particularly Harvard University. But I must forego this pleasure.

With sincere thanks,

E. TROELTSCH, D.D.

[*Translated.*]

CHARLOTTENBURG, NEAR BERLIN, GERMANY.

To my great regret I must forego the pleasure and honor of appearing at your Congress. My work will not this year permit such an interruption. I have made various literary engagements for which the university vacation is indispensable. Express my thanks to the committee, and believe me

Your devoted

[*Translated.*]

PROFESSOR DR. SIMONS.

BREMEN, GERMANY.

It has not been possible for me to come to the Boston Congress. I can only inform you by letter that I greet with my whole heart this International Council of Unitarian and Other Religious Liberals, and wish it all success.

That these free-thinking men should meet in the New World, in your cele-

brated city, look into each other's eyes, and form a union of friendship and community of purpose, is to me a happy reflection and beautiful augury. Truth is our common aim, and the love of truth unites us all, wherever may be our field of labor. We know ourselves to be servants of God, and the Christians among us as disciples of Jesus, who owe it to impart all they have received to their brethren. We believe that God needs us for His divine purpose, and counts on us and is well pleased with our endeavors in His cause. So our great reformer Luther relied entirely on the Word, and through the Word accomplished so much, and so Tolstoi tells us: "The mightiest of free forces, a force which cannot be imprisoned, is that which appears in the soul of man when he in solitariness reflects upon the events of the world, and then in the simplest, most natural way communicates his thoughts to his wife, his brother, his friend, and to all with whom he comes in contact, and from whom to withhold the truth he would deem it to be a sin. Neither milliards of roubles nor millions of troops, cannon, wars, or revolutions, can bring about that which a free man can bring to pass if he simply utters that which he knows to be true, entirely independently of that which is established or which is taught him."

So also I see, prophetically, that the word of the religious free thinkers in Boston will send its effluent waves hither and thither, will quicken men's souls and inspire them.

May all the addresses to be held at your Congress fulfil this vision, and all, on their return home, bear with them this religious and moral momentum, and impart it from their pulpits or their professional chairs to their brothers, friends, and the younger generation! It is my hope that your Congress may yet meet in Germany, and that we may meet face to face with the men with whom we have long felt ourselves to be united in spirit. Give to all our brothers the hearty greeting of a liberal pastor of the ancient and free Hanse town, Bremen.

Your devoted,

[Translated.]

O. VEECK, D.D.

WIESBADEN, GERMANY.

I am unfortunately unable to come to the Boston Congress. I send you herewith a modest contribution towards it in the form of a pamphlet, on page 42 of which you will find it recorded that at the time of the union of Protestant churches of Nassau the basis was simply the recognition of God, Duty, and Immortality. This remains to-day the foundation of the common belief of our churches, which in all essentials is at one with the Unitarian confession of Love to God and Love to Man as the only necessary bond of the future church of true catholicity and humanity. This confession needs, however, to be supplemented by the acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as the Saviour and Redeemer of men. But in the religious education of the people by the State the principles of Love to God and Man are sufficient. The Jesus Cult and the Sacraments may be left to the administration of the churches.

I send greeting to your Fourth International Congress of Progressive and Liberal Christians, and wish it all success.

TH. SCHNEIDER, *Professor.*

[*Translated.*]

COLOGNE, GERMANY.

It would be a great pleasure to journey across the ocean and take part in a gathering in which the representatives of Unitarian faith from all the enlightened countries of the earth are assembled. I should return from it strengthened and inspired. But this may not be, if only because my acquaintance with English is defective.

I was eight years and more a German pastor in Bucharest, Roumania, then in Belgrade, and since 1891 have been a Protestant pastor in Cologne, the only Unitarian among my colleagues. May the Congress have a brilliant success!

Yours faithfully,

[*Translated*]

JATHO.

FREE EVANGELICAL CONGREGATION,
KOENIGSBERG, PRUSSIA.

If this year we are unfortunately prevented from sending a delegate to the Congress of Religious Liberals in Boston, we shall yet, even at this distance, take part in its proceedings with lively interest and sympathy.

The number of independent, self-sustaining congregations which endeavor to unite "pure religion and perfect liberty" is, unfortunately, very small as yet in Germany. All the more do we look for encouragement and the strengthening of our aims by the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers, which justly claims our entire sympathy. In the year 1884 we were brought into closer relations with the Unitarian fellowship through our now deceased minister, Dr. Julius Rupp.

We send a hearty greeting to the participants in the Congress, and hope that the proceedings may take a happy course.

DIE FREIE EVANGELISCHE GEMEINDE ZU
KOENIGSBERG IN PREUSSEN.

[*Translated.*]

DANZIG, PRUSSIA.

Accept my warm acknowledgments for the invitation to take part in the International Congress in Boston.

You are aware with what joy and enthusiasm I participated as a delegate in the first two Congresses at London and Amsterdam. With the same disposition of the heart I greet the Boston Congress. My love for the great and timely undertakings of this Association for religious freedom and respect for each other's religious convictions has since then only increased. I have followed all their proceedings with the deepest interest, and, if I did not keep in closer

touch with you through correspondence, the cause was solely my own occupations and duties, which first had to be attended to.

I particularly welcome the clause in your program which declares that you do not require of your membership "the acceptance of any formal dogma or particular church or association," and that you also invite to your Congress the unchurched and non-church elements in Germany. Personally, I am much drawn to America, the land of freedom in which I first cast off the fetters of Rome. Whether I can come to your Congress as a delegate I do not yet know. Perhaps a representative of the Bund der Freien Religiösen Gemeinden in Deutschland (Union of Free Religious Congregations in Germany) may yet be sent to your Boston gathering. The matter is now under consideration by the committee.

I remain, with respect,

Yours,

G. SCHIELER, D.D.,
*Minister of the Free Religious Societies of
Danzig and Tilsit, and Member of the Com-
mittee of the Union of Free Religious Con-
gregations in Germany.*

[Translated.]

FREE RELIGIOUS CONGREGATION,
MANNHEIM, BADEN, GERMANY.

I ask of you the great favor to convey to the International Congress of Religious Liberals in Boston my sincere sympathies. Gladly would I have come in person to hear and to see what the active participation of so many prominent and scholarly men in your land of freedom has been able to accomplish for religious freedom, and to rejoice and renew my spirit by the spectacle of an inclusive religious tolerance, which, to judge by your publications, has found a permanent home among you.

As various circumstances, however, prevent such a journey on my part, I will at least communicate to you that I have for years past pursued the aims and activities of the Unitarian body, especially, with the deepest interest, and that I trust the Boston meeting may help to triumphant results the cause of religious freedom. I beg to announce my adhesion to your Congress and to enclose the subscription fee.

With high esteem,

Yours,

GEORG SCHNEIDER,
Minister Frei-religiöse Gemeinde, Mannheim.

[Translated.]

THEOLOGICAL FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY,
CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

I thank you heartily for the invitation to attend your International Congress for Liberal Christianity, in which I ought to take part with lively interest and sympathy. Because of my university duties, it is, however, unfortunately not

possible for me to attend it, since only recently I received a leave of absence for a whole semester in order to prosecute my studies abroad.

I am, with esteem,

Yours,

JOHANNES ORDING, D.D.

[*Translated.*]

UNITARIAN SOCIETY, CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY.

We are well organized and very aggressive in our propaganda of liberal thought. We have a monthly magazine, *Unitaren*, which I edit, and which circulates in various parts of the country. We often make use of the daily press.

Norway ought to be represented at the Boston meetings. There are a million and a half of my countrymen in America: not a few of them are Unitarians.

The prospects for our faith in Norway are brighter. The whole nation is permeated with religious liberalism, and besides myself there are other men, more able and prominent than I, fighting our battles and working for our cause.

With best wishes,

Yours,

HERMAN HAUGERUD,

Minister.

ROTTERDAM, 1907.

The Remonstrant Society, at its general meeting of the 4th of June, 1907, appointed Professor H. Y. Groenewegen, D.D., of Leyden, as a delegate and representative of the Fourth Congress of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Thinkers and Workers at Boston, and charged him with the expression of its heartiest sympathy and best wishes for all the congenial spirits and fellow-workers who vindicate the principles of freedom and toleration in religious thought and life.

For the Remonstrant Society,

THE BOARD OF DELEGATES.

LEEMANS, *President.*

B. VAN STOLKER, *Treasurer.*

W. H. STENFERT KROESE, *Secretary.*

NEDERLANDSCHE HERVORMDE GEMEENTE,
TE ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

Dear Sirs,—I received the invitation to attend the fourth meeting of the International Congress of Religious Liberals, and I need hardly tell you that all my sympathies go with it, and that I should like very much indeed to be present at it.

The enormous distance, however, which separates me from America makes it impossible for me to undertake this journey.

Wishing you the greatest possible success, I remain

Sincerely yours,

F. C. A. PANTEKOEK.

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

I am duly authorized to ask you to enlist among the members of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers the "Budapesti reformatus theologiai tanári kar"; i.e., The Body of the Professors of the Budapest Reformed Theological Academy, represented by Professor Tarkas Szöts (Budapest, IX., Calvin-ter F.), also editor of the chief Hungarian religious periodical of both Reformed and Evangelical Protestants, the *Protestáns Szemle* (Protestant Review), and secretary of the Hungarian Protestant Literary Society.

I am also authorized to convey to the Boston International Congress of Religious Liberals the heartfelt greetings and earnest esteem of the said body of theological professors and the expression of their enthusiastic sympathies for the work of this Congress in promoting and maintaining religious freedom and the free cultivation of theological science.

I am very glad to be entitled to make you these communications, and to enjoy the honor of sending you by post-office order the Congress fee for the said distinguished body of professors.

With best wishes

Faithfully your friend,

GEZA SCHULEK.

KOLOZSVÁR, HUNGARY.

Greeting you with the most sympathetic feelings, we pray God's blessing upon your work.

We intrusted our representative, the Rev. Nicolas Jozan, of Budapest, to express our heartiest greetings to you by the living word also.

In the name of the Hungarian Unitarian churches,

JOSEPH FERENCZ,

Bishop of the Unitarian Churches in Hungary.

BASEL, SWITZERLAND.

Honored and dear Fellow-believers.—Accept on the part of our Swiss association the assurance of our hearty sympathy with your undertaking. May your World-congress sooner arrive at the goal of "a betterment of the Church in its head and members" than did the Councils of the Middle Ages, one of which once held its sessions within the walls of this city of Basel, the present seat of the Swiss Association for a Free Christianity.

The Rev. G. Schoenholzer, of Zürich, is commissioned to bring you our greetings in person.

Conjoined with you in reverence for religious freedom, we subscribe ourselves

[Translated.]

GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE SCHWEIZERISCHER
VEREIN FUER FREIES CHRISTENTUM.

A. ALTHERR, *President.*

HANS BAUR, *Secretary.*

GENÈVE, SUISSE.

J'ai l'avantage de vous informer que le section de Genève de l'Union Suisse du Christianisme libéral, en réponse au désir que vous avez exprimé, a désigné, pour la représenter au Congrès Unitaire de Boston, Messieurs les Pasteurs Ernest Rochat et Louis Maystre.

Veillez dire à nos amis des États-Unis combien le sympathique empressement qu'ils n'avaient mis à traverser l'océan, pour se rendre à notre appel, au Congrès Unitaire de Genève, a laissé une profonde et durable impression dans les divers milieux du protestantisme genevois.

Veillez aussi leur transmettre, avec le salut fraternal de la Section de Genève, ses vœux pour l'entier succès du Congrès Unitaire de Boston dans lequel réside pour tous l'espoir de réaliser nouvelle étape du progrès de la cause libérale.

Agréer Monsieur, mes salutations dévouées, pour la Section de Genève de l'Union Suisse du Christianisme libéral.

L. MARÉCHAL.

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND.

To the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers meeting in Boston:

Rev. Dr. Tudor Jones and his congregation (about 400) send hearty greetings to the Boston Congress.

The Liberal Religious movement is making great progress in New Zealand.

Best wishes,

W. TUDOR JONES.

CALCUTTA, INDIA.

In response to your kind invitation received by the last mail, we, on behalf of the Brahmo-Somaj in India, send to the Fourth International Congress of Religious Liberals our cordial greetings. The blessing of God rest upon the Congress and its work. May it prosper from year to year!

We regret it will not be possible to send any delegates, this session, to the Congress from India. The Brahmo-Somaj Committee, however, has just sent a second scholar, Mr. Binay mohon Sehanavis, B.A., to the Meadville Theological School, and it is hoped he will arrive in Boston just in time to attend the meetings of the Congress before proceeding to Meadville.

I remain

Fraternally yours,

B. NATH SEN,

Secretary Brahmo-Somaj Committee.

CALCUTTA, INDIA.

I remember to have read in one of your communications to the Brahmo-Somaj Committee an expression of your earnest hope to hold the conference once in

India. We are anxious that the conference of 1909 may be held in this ancient home of many historic religions. One of the subjects to be settled at the coming Theistic Conference of India is a proposal of inviting the International Council to hold its biennial conference of 1909 in India. I shall be very much obliged if you will kindly let me know if there is a fair possibility of the Council's accepting the invitation. The principal meetings will no doubt have to be held in Calcutta during the winter; but many of the visitors may profitably visit some of the important towns as well, and we shall be able to organize well-attended meetings in such towns as Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Delhi, Benares. Of course the details might be settled later on,

Yours sincerely,

HEM CHANDRA SARKAR,
Secretary Theistic Conference.

BALLYGUNGE, CALCUTTA, INDIA.

... Feeling myself honored by your invitation, and especially thankful for your kind offer, I am sorry to inform you that, amongst other causes, the growing infirmities of my parents, and especially of my dear mother, will not permit me to be far away from them. I am their only son, and they are broken-hearted over my apostasy from old Hinduism. So I am keeping as close to them as possible during their last days, which cannot be prolonged too long. I need hardly remark that it would have given me the sincerest pleasure to be associated with all of you in a noble work.

Very truly yours,

SIVA N. SASTRI.

PRARTHANA SAMAJ MANDIR,
GIRGAON, BOMBAY, INDIA.

I have the pleasure of acknowledging receipt of your letter inviting the Bombay Prarthana Samaj to participate in the proceedings of the Biennial International Congress to be held in Boston September next.

In reply, I am directed by the Managing Committee of the Samaj to request you to be good enough to convey to your Council the best thanks of the Samaj for the honor so done to them, and to inform you that the Samaj fully sympathizes with the aims and objects of the Council, and wishes every success to the proposed Congress. The committee has requested Mr. V. A. Sukthanker, a member of this Samaj who is at present in Germany, to attend the Congress on behalf of this Samaj, and give the Council all the information regarding this movement personally. In case he is not able to do so, I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the last printed report of this institution, which is identical in its creed and purpose with that known as the Brahmo-Samaj in other parts of the country. I trust this will furnish you with all the necessary information desired.

Yours fraternally,

SECRETARY PRARTHANA SAMAJ.

BANDA, UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH, INDIA.

I very heartily respond to the Bulletin of the Fourth International Congress of Religious Liberals to be held in Boston, "the home of Dr. William Ellery Channing," one of whose "spiritual descendants" I claim to be, having from him received the first inspiration of the ideal cosmopolitan Christianity.

Proud though I am to count myself among the "Religious Liberals," as a matter of fact, I am conservative, never having advanced further than the truly representative Christian, the nineteenth-century exponent of the religion of Christ, Channing, whom I love to call "Saint," uncanonized though he remain.

Christianity I own, the religion of Christ, the religion which for its foundation stone has "glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men," and whose fellowship is as open and as all-embracing as the sympathies of the typical Christian, the "Good Samaritan," who has, I fear, not yet a church dedicated to him in the length and breadth of Christendom. Unitarian to the backbone, avowing monotheism with the Jew, the Christian, and the Mohammedan, I have ceased to designate myself by that name, because I find the epithet not broad enough and I realize Dr. Martineau's objection to be so labelled. For similar reasons I am disinclined to describe myself a Unitarian without ceasing to be one in reality, and I prefer to assume the name "Christian" without any adjective, and do not feel tired of explaining my position when the question arises as to what I am and what not, though the process is not simple. The great matter for wonder is that the most liberal definition of Christianity was given by the most conservative of the apostles, Saint Peter, who by proclaiming "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him," voiced the sentiments of the truly International Congress of Religious Liberals of all ages and all countries,—the truth of which, when fully realized, establishes a *creed* of universal brotherhood, which has not yet been understood and I am afraid was not grasped in its entirety even by him who gave utterance to those words.

A Christian from India, I send my hearty greetings to you, dear brethren, who have come together from various lands to attend the Fourth International Congress of Religious Liberals, now holding its sessions most appropriately on the soil of the *United States*, typical of the World Republic wherein every child of God is destined to be "a law unto himself."

AKBAR MASIH.

RAM MOHUN ASHRAM, GIRGAON, BOMBAY.

Allow me to offer through you my personal greetings as well as those on behalf of my Samaj to the Council which is doing the noblest service to humanity in the name of the Father of all. While writing this, most unspeakably sweet memories are reviving in me of the gathering at Amsterdam, in which I had the privilege of being present. I do not know if any one will be able to go from here to America, and I shall be very sorry if there be no delegate from us in the

meetings of this year. However my friend, Mr. G. Subba Rau is there, and, I hope he will represent our cause.

Wishing every success to your cause, I remain

Yours sincerely,

V. R. SHINDE.

MIDNAPUR, BENGAL, INDIA.

To the Members of the International Congress of Liberal Thinkers and Workers assembled in Boston, Greeting. Brethren, may blessings of the good Father rest upon you and your Congress, is the prayer of

J. C. GANGULI.

SHILLONG, KHASI HILLS, INDIA.

I have much pleasure in communicating to you the following resolution of the Khasi Hills Unitarian Union passed at its twentieth annual meeting on the 1st of April, 1907:—

That this meeting respectfully sends its greetings and sense of gratitude to the forthcoming meetings of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers at Boston, U.S.A.

Yours respectfully,

KYNJRO SINGH,

Secretary Khasi Hills Unitarian Union.

VALPARAISO, CHILE.

It is only natural that one of Puritan extraction, living in a South American Republic, should, by virtue of circumstances, be compelled to ask for generous treatment at the hands of the people among whom he resides, so that he may be free to follow the dictates of his own conscience and to worship God according to the teaching and custom of godly parents or the promptings of the divine indwelling spirit. And what we desire for ourselves we should certainly be willing and anxious to see granted to all men. Naturally, therefore, anything which you can do to scatter the seed of liberal thought or quicken the growth of liberal ideals has my hearty sympathy and approval.

I received your kind invitation to attend the International Congress of Religious Liberals, but am, of course, too far away to attend, but enclose my membership fee, and by way of greeting enclose some lines which I had written the very morning of the day which brought your letter. If you feel that the lines have in them a real uplift and that they in any way voice the spirit of what you purpose, you are free to make such use of them as you choose. Love of nature, joy in life, a striving to voice the appeal of the beautiful and earnest yearning after the Divine One, our Father, are the same the world over.

With cordial greetings,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN TRUMBULL.

NATIONAL LIBRARY, LIMA.

I am more than grateful to the Señorita Carolina Huidobro for the opportunity which she has given me to present to you the homage of my sincere appreciation and consideration.

The high-minded, noble, and precious aspirations which sensitize a liberal creed have always been the ones which have dominated my own spirit, and believe me, were it not for my failing health, together with my advanced age, nothing would have stood in the way of having the great honor of attending the coming Congress to meet in Boston.

With sentiments of personal consideration, I am at your service as your faithful co-religionist and affectionate helper,

[*Translated.*]

RICARDO PALMA.

PITTSBURG, PENN.

As a Protestant Congregation whose articles are based on the conviction that the truth, unhampered by human prepossessions, wishes, or hopes, can alone yield to the individual, and to society as a whole, inward and outward freedom, and lead to the development of life in an ideal direction we rejoice in the coming together of the International Council of Unitarian and Other Religious Thinkers and Workers, with whose objects and aims we feel ourselves at one.

We therefore beg to communicate to you our best wishes, and to ask you to receive our minister, Rev. Dr. J. H. Asbeck, as our representative at the Congress.

With esteem,

THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE FIRST
GERMAN UNITED EVANGELICAL CON-
GREGATION OF DUQUESNE HEIGHTS,
PITTSBURG, PENN.

[*Translated.*]

By REINHOLD GRAMM, *Secretary*.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, August 1, 1907.

Dear Sir,—I have your communication addressed to me as president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and requesting me to appoint delegates to represent the conference at the forthcoming Congress of Religious Liberals to be held in Boston in September. I regret extremely that your communication did not reach me several weeks sooner, in time for the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Conference, which took place on July 10. I do not feel empowered to take so important a step as appointing delegates to represent the Congress officially without the authorization of the Executive Committee. As this committee will not meet again till the middle of October, no action can be taken upon your communication in time for the Boston meeting. Personally, I am in hearty sympathy with the aims of the Congress, and I would take the greatest pleasure in attending, were it at all possible for me to do so.

In answer to your second communication requesting a statement of the doctrines of Reform Judaism, I am sending you under separate cover a copy of my recently published book, "The Reform Movement in Judaism." On pages 488-489 you will find the Declaration of Principles of the Philadelphia Rabinnical Conference of 1885 and on pages 492-510 the resolutions and activities of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Wishing you and your co-laborers much success in this latest co-operative effort for the liberation of the world's religious thought, I am

Very truly yours,

DAVID PHILIPSON,
*President of the Central Conference of
American Rabbis.*

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